

“Visiting the Orient”

German-speaking Jewry, Zionism and early forms of tourism to the Middle East (1897-1914)



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Cover image: *A Place of religion and tourism: Jews at the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem*
[Photograph by Charles Scolik sen., Vienna]

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Introduction

The history of Jewish migration to Palestine is inseparably intertwined with Zionism and the creation of a Zionist narrative for the formation of a ‘Jewish homeland’ on the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean.¹ While the role of Jewish immigration cannot be questioned, the preoccupation with the *aliyot* (the different waves of Jewish immigration to Palestine) overshadows the influence of modern tourism on Zionism. Particularly in the early decades of the Zionist movement, tourism helped to spread the Zionist ideas throughout Europe by connecting Zionism with travelling to the Holy Land and its cultural and historical values prominent in Western-European Jewish circles. Consequently, Zionist ideas about tourism to Palestine utilised religious sentiments with notions of Jewish nationalism and a modern understanding of leisure and travel. Whereas historians such as Kobi Cohen-Hattab and Yossi Katz depict the period of the British Mandate in Palestine as “the beginning of Jewish tourism

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1. For a small selection, see Michael Brenner, *Geschichte des Zionismus* (München: C.H. Beck, 2002); Derek J. Penslar, *Zionism and Technocracy: The Engineering of Jewish Settlement in Palestine, 1870–1918* (Bloomington/Ind.: John Wiley & Sons, 1991); Gideon Shimoni, *The Zionist Ideology* (Hanover/N.H.: Brandeis University Press, 1995); Shmuel Almog, Jehuda Reinharz and Anita Shapira (eds.), *Zionism and Religion* (Hanover/N.H.: Brandeis University Press, 1998), David Vital, *Zionism: The Crucial Phase* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); Donna Robinson Divine, “Zionism and the Transformation of Jewish Society,” *Modern Judaism* 20:3 (2000), 257–276.

to Palestine,”² this essay will deal with the period between the First Zionist Congress (1897) and the First World War (1914). It will argue that in these formative years of the Zionist movement, the positive link between migration and modern tourism was established. While the scale and organisational structure of tourism reached a first peak during the Mandate years, early Zionist thinkers had discussed the importance and necessity of travelling to Palestine for the growth of the movement at the end of the 19th century. Theodor Herzl (1860–1904), the founding father of modern Zionism, stated in his book *Der Judenstaat* [The Jews’ State, 1896] that trade and commerce had to be created in a “new country [Palestine] which has yet to be acquired and cultivated”³ and lobbied not only for immigration, but also for travel to Palestine in order to achieve these goals. Consequently, the interest of the Zionist movement in developing tourism to Palestine relied upon economic and ideological conceptions creating a unique fusion of Zionism, migration measures and tourism between 1897 and 1914.

Viewing tourism as a phenomenon of a modernising world as well as an integral part of the Zionist project offers an excellent opportunity to discuss, from a fresh perspective, Jewish affiliation to Palestine in the crucial years of early Zionism.⁴ By examining the complex encounter between the Orient and the Occident as well as the formation of modern

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2. In their study, Cohen-Hattab and Katz classified two major phases in the development of tourism to Palestine (1850–1918 and 1918–1948) and emphasized the importance of the second phase. For more details, see Kobi Cohen-Hattab and Yossi Katz, “The attraction of Palestine: Tourism in the years 1850–1948,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 27:2 (2001), 166–177, here 169–170. For additional details on tourism in the period of the British Mandate, see Arturo Marzano, “Visiting British Palestine: Zionist travellers to Eretz Israel,” *Quest: Issues in Contemporary Jewish History* 6 (2013), 174–200; Michael Berkowitz, “The Origins of Zionist Tourism in Mandate Palestine: Impressions (and Pointed Advice) from the West,” *Public Archaeology* 11:4 (2012), 217–234.
 3. Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State: An Attempt at a Modern Solution of the Jewish Question* (transl. by Sylvia D’Avigdor), 7th Edition (London: Henry Pordes, 1993), 31.
 4. Cohen-Hattab and Katz, “The attraction of Palestine: Tourism in the years 1850–1948,” 168. For a discussion’s summary on travel and tourism, see Dimitry Shumsky, “This Ship is Zion!’: Travel, Tourism, and Cultural Zionism in Theodor Herzl’s *Altneuland*,” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 104:3 (2014), 490–493; Dario Gaggio, “Tourism, Transnationalism, and the Construction of Everyday Life in Europe,” in Rebecca

tourism to the Middle East this essay will underline the significance of travel in early Zionism.⁵ It will demonstrate how strongly tourism was connected to general processes of “heritage and identity construction, national and global economies and development of local communities”.⁶ In so doing, the following discussion will divulge the significance of tourism for the formation of a modern notion of Jewish belonging, which reflects a shift from the perception of Palestine as a Holy Land to a homeland of Jews.

The First Zionist Congress and German Jewry

When the first Zionist Congress opened its doors in Basel (August 29–31, 1897), it not only created a new “forum for Jewish national self-definition and policy”⁷, but also represented a powerful tool to transmit Zionist ideas to the Jewish world. Against the background of rising tensions, anti-Jewish pogroms and oppression in the Russian Empire, Romania and other regions of Europe, the Zionist Congress aimed to solve contemporary Jewish issues and offer a modern solution to the so-called Jewish Question.⁸ The responses given to the issues at hand were as diverse as the different groups represented at the congress. Thus Herzl used the congress to formulate a consistent

Friedman and Markus Thiel (eds.), *European Identity and Culture: Narratives of Transnational Belongings* (Surrey/Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012), 157–162.

5. For more information on recent developments in the field of tourism and migration, see Shaul Krakover and Yuval Karplus, “Potential Immigrants: The Interface between Tourism and Immigration to Israel,” in C. Michael Hall and Allan M. Williams (eds.), *Tourism and Migration: New Relationships between Production and Consumption* (Dordrecht/Boston/London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002), 103–118.
6. Rami Farouk Daher, “Reconceptualising Tourism in the Middle East: Place, Heritage, Mobility and Competiveness,” in Rami Farouk Daher (ed.), *Tourism in the Middle East: Continuity, Change, and Transformation* (Clevedon/Tonawanda: MPG Books, 2007), 2.
7. Michael Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry before the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 8.
8. Heiko Haumann, Peter Haber, Patrick Kury, Kathrin Ringger and Bettina Zeugin (eds.), *The First Zionist Congress in 1897: Causes, Significance, Topicality* (Basle/Freiburg/Paris/London: S. Krager Pub, 1997).

programme that could link the diverse groups together.⁹ Herzl's intention to spread Zionist ideas and establish a new internal link continued after the First Zionist Congress and resulted not only in the establishment of national organisations, such as the Zionist Federation of Germany (*Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland*, 1897), but also in the launching of an official Zionist press, e.g. the German-Zionist gazette *Die Welt*. Herzl, who had lobbied for the idea of an international assembly, was eager to use the broad publicity to spread the newly formulated Basel Programme and gain the support of Jewish and non-Jewish circles.¹⁰

Against the background of continuing scepticism and growing anti-Zionist publications and statements, Herzl saw the congress as an important propaganda tool to counter-balance the growing resentment in the Jewish communities. Moritz Güdemann (1835–1918), chief rabbi of Vienna, who had published his book *Nationaljudenthum* (National Judaism, 1897) before the First Zionist Congress, was just one voice that expressed strong criticism of Herzl's visions. Calling Güdemann's book a "malicious counter-pamphlet,"¹¹ Herzl was eager to use the congress to rebuke and delegitimise such anti-Zionist claims. However Güdemann was not the only opponent of Herzl's Zionist vision in the German-speaking sphere. The *Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens* (CV = Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith, 1893), which was founded to combat Antisemitism and lobby for Jewish integration and emancipation

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9. Already before the First Zionist Congress, many ideas on Zionism existed and rivalled for influence, see Paula Daccarett, "1890s Zionism reconsidered: Joseph Marco Baruch," *Jewish History* 19 (2005), 315–318. For more details, see Rafael N. Rosenzweig, *The Economic Consequences of Zionism* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), 1–10; Alain Dieckhoff, *The Invention of a Nation* (Paris: Editiones Gallimard, 2003), 13–50.
 10. For more details, see Michael J. Reimer, "'The good Dr. Lippe' and Herzl in Basel, 1897: A translation and analysis of the Zionist Congress's opening speech," *Journal of Israeli History: Politics, Society, Culture* 34:1 (2015), 1–21; Michael Heymann, "Max Nordau at the early Zionist Congresses, 1897–1905," *The Journal of Israeli History* 16:3 (1995), 245–248.
 11. Raphael Patai (ed.), *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl* (transl. by Harry Zohn), Vol. 2 (London/New York: Herzl Press and Thomas Yoseloff, 1960), 536.

in Germany also condemned Herzl's Zionism.¹² Moreover, several B'nai B'rith lodges, the Associations of Rabbis in Germany and some communal leaders remained highly sceptical of Herzl's ideas.¹³ As a response, Herzl published an article in the Zionist newspaper *Die Welt* and criticised the claims that Zionism could be an affront to Judaism and/or incompatible with patriotic sentiments. Calling the opponents of Zionism "protest rabbis", Herzl claimed that most of these critics neither understood Zionism nor its modernising spirit.¹⁴ This illustrates the difficulties the early Zionists faced in attempting to gain influence in communities with traditional hierarchies.

Early on Herzl understood that the Western European middle-class Jewries, which had successfully integrated into their nations and had for the most part gained civil emancipation, would not easily endorse Zionism or become the first immigrants to Palestine. Thus, he saw it as the greatest necessity to persuade Jews in Western Europe – in total contrast to the Jews of Eastern Europe – of the value of the Zionist project and encouraged them to participate and support – directly or indirectly – the Zionist scheme.¹⁵ One crucial instrument for such an envisioned process of persuasion became travel and tourism. In Herzl's book *Altneuland*, travel and tourism emerged as central themes in the development of Palestine and Zionism and paved the ground for a new

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12. Zionism remained disputed, for example in Germany, but also in the U.S., see Isaiah Friedman, *Germany, Turkey, and Zionism 1897–1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 11–12. For further details, see Michael A. Meyer, "American Reform Judaism and Zionism: Early efforts at ideological rapprochement," *Studies in Zionism: Politics, Society, Culture* 4:1 (2008), 49–64.
 13. One of the most prominent results was the refusal of the Munich Jewish Community to host the First Zionist Congress, which forced Herzl to transfer it to Basel. Also Herman Adler, chief rabbi in Great Britain, severely criticised Zionism. For more details, see Patai (ed.), *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, 564–565; Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry before the First World War*, 10–13; Stuart Cohen, *English Zionists and British Jews: The Communal Politics of Anglo-Jewry, 1895–1920* (Princeton/N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), 47.
 14. Theodor Herzl, "Protestrabbiner," *Die Welt* 16.07.1897 (no. 7), 1–2. For more details, see Friedman, *Germany, Turkey, and Zionism 1897–1918*, 18.
 15. *Ibid.*, 56–57.

form of propaganda.¹⁶

While Herzl was still mainly concerned with the question of international guarantees and the role of Jewish immigration to Palestine, Herbert Bentwich, an early British Zionist and later co-founder of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland (1899), stressed in a letter to Herzl that promoting a personal experience of the land was as important as the actual propagation of immigration to Palestine, especially in a Western-European setting.¹⁷ Thus, he described his travel to Palestine (1897) as a modern pilgrimage and stated to the editor of the *Jewish World*:

“The Pilgrimage is what its name denotes, and not an ‘Expedition’ nor an ‘Investigation Commission,’ as Dr. Herzl suggests; and it will have served its purpose, if it enlarges the interest of Western Jews in the land with which their history and traditions are so intimately bound up, and if it operates as an encouragement to similar pilgrimages in future years, so that the reproach that Palestine is less visited by Jews than by any other denomination may be removed from our people.”¹⁸

Aiming to transform the religious and often elusive connection with *Eretz Israel* into an actual experience of the country, travel and tourism to Palestine emerged as important elements in early Zionism, which could overcome remaining scepticism and resentment.

16. Shumsky, “‘This Ship is Zion!’: Travel, Tourism, and Cultural Zionism in Theodor Herzl’s *Altneuland*,” 474–477.

17. On the rise of British Zionism, see Cohen, *English Zionists and British Jews: The Communal Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, 67–76.

18. In another letter Herzl replied to the criticism of Bentwich, but emphasised his strong support for Bentwich’s attempt. For more details, see Patai (ed.), *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, 513.

Royal Visits to Palestine

During most of the nineteenth century *Eretz Israel* did not occupy the Jewish imagination beyond its religious significance. This changed toward the end of the century. Zionism and the idea of returning to the Promised Land was just one impetus leading to this change. No less important were the royal visits of the Austrian Crown Prince Rudolph (1881) and the German Emperor Wilhelm II to Palestine (1898).

The Crown Prince Rudolph's visit to Egypt and Palestine gained much public attention due to his book *Eine Orientreise (An Orient Tour, 1884/1885)*. His father, Emperor Franz Joseph I had already travelled to Palestine in 1869 and toured Palestine and Egypt. However Rudolf's account provided a much broader insight into the Prince's visits to the pyramids, other Egyptian antiquities as well as to Palestine and its Holy Places. It led to a growing interest in travel and leisure in general and specifically in the region of the Ottoman Empire as a travel destination.¹⁹ Encapsulating his impression of the Holy Land, Crown Prince Rudolf noted that Palestine was a "real country for tourism, a religious version of Switzerland".²⁰ His other tours with his wife, Stephanie, to Constantinople (1883) and to Athens, Beirut and Damascus (1885) additionally sparked interest in the region in the German and German-Jewish public of the period.²¹

The Imperial visit of Wilhelm II to Palestine enhanced interest in Palestine amongst Jews, and Zionists in particular as well. Although

19. Jean-Paul Bled, *Kronprinz Rudolf* (transl. by Marie-Therese Pirner/Daniela Homan), (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2006), 54–55. For more information on the increase of tourism in the region, see Susan Nance, "A Facilitated Access Model and Ottoman Empire Tourism," *Annals of Tourism* 34:4 (2007), 1058–1061.

20. [Original: "Palästina ist, so lange man auf den normalen Heerstraßen der frommen Caravanan wandert, ein echtes Touristenland, die Schweiz in's [sic!] Religiöse übersetzt; dort wird der Sinn nach Naturschönheiten der Reisenden, hier der Glaube und die Andacht ausgebeutet und zu Geld gemacht."] Robert-Tarek Fischer, *Österreich im Nahen Osten: Die Großmachtpolitik der Habsburgermonarchie im Arabischen Orient 1633–1918* (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2006), 226.

21. Fischer, *Österreich im Nahen Osten*, 226–227.



Figure 1: Ludwig Schneller, *Die Kaiserfahrt ins heilige Land* (Leipzig: Kommissionsverlag von H.G. Wallmann, 1899), Cover.

the Zionists knew that the official purpose of Wilhelm II's visit (October 11–November 26, 1898) was the inauguration of the German-Protestant Church of the Redeemer in the Old City of Jerusalem, the idea of using the visit to promote Zionism in European circles became prominent.²² In a draft letter to Wilhelm II (June 15, 1898), Herzl wrote:

“Your Imperial Majesty is going to Palestine. It will be a procession of high and symbolic splendour. This journey will astound the

22. O. Erter e.g. discussed the positive impact of the visit. O. Erter, “Des deutschen Kaisers Palästinafahrt,” *Die Welt* 11.03.1898 (no. 10), 1–2. For more details on the Palestine trip, see Alex Carmel and Ejal Jakob Eisler, *Der Kaiser reist ins Heilige Land. Die Palästinareise Wilhelms II. 1898: Eine illustrierte Dokumentation* (Cologne: Kohlhammer, 1999); Klaus Jaschinski and Julius Waldschmidt (eds.), *Des Kaisers Reise in den Orient 1898* (Berlin: Trafo Verlag, 2002), 75–85; Jan Stefan Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898: Eine Studie zur deutschen Außenpolitik an der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovac, 1997).

people of the East and disquiet those of the West. But if we take everything into consideration, the new Imperial journey to Zion may leave lasting traces in history only if it also ties in with the modern Zionist movement.”²³

The letter reveals how Zionists planned to make use of the imperial visit and gain publicity for their project. Thus, in October 1898, Herzl travelled together with a Zionist delegation including Moritz (Moses) T. Schnirer (1860–1941), David Wolffsohn (1856–1914), Max I. Bodenheimer (1865–1940) and Josef Seidener (1860–1942) to Palestine in order to join the German Emperor and be received by him in Jerusalem. Herzl and other Zionists saw the imperial visit as an opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty to the German Empire, questioning the long-lasting French influence in the area and demanding a stronger German presence in the region. Wilhelm II was praised as an ‘enlightened apostle’; an avatar of a progressive civilization who would be a perfect partner in the “rebirth of Palestine in the light of modern culture.”²⁴ Against the background of growing economical interest in the region, e.g. in the Ottoman railway system and other industries, and on-going financial investments by Jewish bankers and industrialists such cooperation was seen as a promising step. In addition, the visit of Wilhelm II was also seen as a turning point in the relations between Zionism and German Protestantism, which sparked hope and expectation.²⁵

23. Patai (ed.), *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, 643.

24. O. Erter, “Französischer Orient,” *Die Welt* 16.09.1898 (no. 37), 2–3.

25. In particular, the German *Templer*, a religious minority in Palestine, and their colonies, were seen as a possible mediator and supporter of an increasing Zionist presence in Palestine. The academic attempts to promote studies in Palestine, e.g. the German Associations of Study Palestine (Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas) were also mentioned as a possible link. For more details, see Anonymous, “Deutsch-protestantische Arbeit in Palästina,” *Altneuland*, no. 3 (March 1906), 87–88; Anonymous, “Zur Palästina-Reise Kaiser Wilhelm II.,” *Die Welt* 02.09.1898 (no. 35), 26.



Figure 2: Ludwig Schneller, *Die Kaiserfahrt ins heilige Land* (Leipzig: Kommissionsverlag von H.G. Wallmann, 1899), 197. A new way of travelling: The German Emperor and Empress as well as the Imperial delegation as tourists on Temple Mount.

When on November 2, 1898 Wilhelm II received the Zionist delegation in his tent in Jerusalem, Herzl saw this moment as an important step towards possible German concessions and/or support of the Zionist claims to Palestine. Consequently, Herzl noted in his report that his visit to Palestine was neither an amusement tour nor a research expedition, but a political trip.²⁶

Beyond proffering political recognition to Zionism, the imperial visits and the personal meetings between Zionists and members of the European high nobility helped to enhance interest in Palestine in the broader German-Jewish public and empowered the Zionist movement to raise its profile amongst Jews across Europe.

26. Max I. Bodenheimer, member of the Zionist delegation, described the meeting as an inspiring moment. For more details, see Max I. Bodenheimer, "Unsere Palästinafahrt (Fortsetzung)," *Die Welt* 19.05.1899 (no. 20), 14–15.

The Beginning of Jewish Tourism

Different factors, which were based on religious, historical, political or scientific interest, played an important role for individual travellers to the region from the early 19th century and remained major components in the evolution of modern tourism.²⁷ Leading Zionists also realised that experiencing the land and the *new Yishuv* as part of organised tours could be a powerful propaganda tool.²⁸ In 1898, one year after the First Zionist Congress, the newspaper *Die Welt* announced the “first Jewish tour to the Holy Land”, which would follow Jewish requirements strictly and offer a Jewish experience of the country. The tour, which was organised by the Zionist Bureau in Vienna, was planned for October 1898 and included a stay in Jerusalem, several Jewish colonies and Haifa. It also offered a visit to Beirut, Damascus, Port Said, the pyramids and Cairo as well as Alexandretta, Naples and Genoa. In addition, the options of different tickets, e.g. first class or second class, aimed to include as many people as possible and make a visit to Palestine affordable.²⁹ In the following weeks *Die Welt* lauded the planned “First Jewish Tour,” describing it as a unique opportunity to pray in *Eretz Israel* and support the Zionist cause.³⁰ However, despite the propaganda and the broad advertisement for the tour, the first organised Zionist trip to Palestine in the German-speaking region remained a difficult task. Ticket prices, visa requirements, poor transport and accommodation options as well as the on-going scepticism against Zionism in the Jewish communities were major reasons for the problematic start of these tours.³¹

27. Cohen-Hattab and Katz, “The attraction of Palestine: Tourism in the years 1850–1948,” 169.

28. Carl Cohen, “Die jüdischen Sprachen,” *Gemeindeblatt der Israelitischen Gemeinde Frankfurt am Main*, no. 10 (July 1938), 7.

29. The different prizes were offered: I Class: 1300 Marks and II Class: 1060 Marks and reflected the idea to offer a tour to Palestine for everyone. For more details, see Anonymous, “Eine Palästina-Reise,” *Die Welt* 29.04.1898 (no. 17), 6–7.

30. Anonymous, “Eine Palästina-Reise,” *Die Welt* 29.07.1898 (no. 30), 10.

31. Another article clarified that the First Jewish Tour would take place even though rumours had spread of its cancellation. For more details, see Anonymous, “Weltchronik: Jüdische Gesellschaftsreise nach Palästina,” *Die Welt* 14.10.1898 (no. 41), 12.

Zionists such as Max I. Bodenheimer, a member of the Zionist delegation, which was received by the German Emperor Wilhelm II, were convinced that journeys to *Eretz Israel* were crucial in order to expand support of Zionism. Thus, the publication of personal travel reports became important and highly desired by the Zionist organisation. Bodenheimer's report of his own visit to Palestine in *Die Welt* described the experience on board the ocean liner on its way to Palestine as an important first step in the realisation of the Zionist ideas and visions. He portrayed it as being a 'free citizen of a small republic' without religious, national or class restrictions and celebrated this against the background of contemporary Jewish persecution and oppression in many places around the world.³² The time on board the steamer from Europe to the Middle East was also seen by Bodenheimer as an opportunity to discuss problems of the Jewish communities in Europe, the idea of the Jews as a seafaring nation as well as the Jewish agricultural colonisation programme. He came to the conclusion that the "conquest" of the soil would be the perfect tool to regenerate the Jewish nation.³³ He even celebrated the Russian-Jewish colonist, who he met on board of the steamer, as the best symbol of the progressive,

32. [Original: "Hier waren wir 'freie Bürger einer Republik' [...] Hier in unserem kleinen Kreise waren weder Schranken der Confessionen, noch der Nation aufgerichtet. In der Freiheit der Natur verlöschte auch zeitweise die Erinnerung, daß wir in weiten Theilen der Erde nur ein geknechtetes Volk sind."] Max I. Bodenheimer "Unsere Palästinafahrt (Fortsetzung)," *Die Welt* 30.12.1898 (no. 52), 14.

33. One of his co-travellers announced that the Jews were a seafaring nation, but also emphasised that the revival of Jewish seafaring laid in a far future and relied on the realisation of political guarantees and agricultural colonisation first. [Original: "Wie das Schiff in sanfter Bewegung auf und niederschaukelte, da machte schon einer im frohen Gefühle seiner Kraft die scherzhafte Bemerkung: 'Wir sind ein seefahrendes Volk.' [...] In dem Gefühle der hohen Schönheit dieses Meeres, welches nach jeder Richtung einen unbegrenzten Ausblick gewährt und den Gedanken gar nicht aufkommen läßt, daß unserem Willen oder Können gesetzt sind, erfaßt mich immer wieder der Gedanke, daß das jüdische Volk das Gefühl der Freiheit auf dem Meere am mächtigsten empfinden würde; kurz und gut, daß wir ein seefahrendes Volk sind. Allein ich sehe ein, daß die Ausführung dieser Idee einer fernen Zukunft vorbehalten bleiben muß, und daß wir zuerst, treu unserem Programme, die rechtliche Garantien, des Gewerbefleißes und Ackerbaues schaffen müssen."] Max I. Bodenheimer "Unsere Palästinafahrt (Fortsetzung)," *Die Welt* 30.12.1898 (no. 52), 14–16.

strong, and regenerated *New Yishuv*.³⁴

While Bodenheimer's first encounter with the Orient took place in Alexandria and was dominated by the "poverty and dirtiness of the Arabic quarters",³⁵ his emotions during the arrival at Jaffa were summarised by the statement "we are at home".³⁶ In a similar way Herzl also documented his first feelings upon the arrival at Jaffa:

We approached the land of our fathers with mixed feelings. Strange what emotions this desolate country stirs up in most people: in the old German pastor from South Africa, in the Russian muzhik in the foul-smelling steerage, in the Arabs who have been travelling with us from Constantinople, in us Zionists, in the poor Romanian Jewess who wants to join her sick daughter in Yerusholayim [...].³⁷

After seeing the land and the people by himself, Herzl noted that he had no more doubts about the future of the Jewish people. Deeply moved,

34. [Original: "Die Gesellschaft auf dem Schiffe, die wir uns nun betrachteten, war eine recht bunte. Russische, französische und deutsche Zeitungskorrespondenten, Vergnügungsreisende jeder Art und eine ägyptische Prinzessin mit ihren zwei Töchtern nebst einer größeren Suite. Das Zwischendeck bot ein überaus interessantes Bild: Da waren einige Araber-Scheichs aus Damaskus mit charakteristischen, gebräunten Gesichtern. In diesen stolzen Wüstensöhnen traten wir bald in ein recht freundschaftliches Verhältnis. Große Freude bereitete es ihnen, als wir eine photographische Aufnahme ihrer malerischen Gruppe machten. [...] Unter verschiedenem zweifelhaften Volk jeder Nationalität und Confession, russischen Pilgern, griechischen und italienischen Arbeitern, befand sich auch ein jüdischer Colonist aus Rußland, der nach langen Jahren seine Heimar wieder besucht hatte und nun einen Verwandten mit in seine neue Heimat führte. Die kräftige Mannesgestalt mit dem sonnen-gebräunten Gesicht, dem klaren, energischen Ausdruck der Augen stand in einem seltsamen Gegensatz zu dem schwächlichen Manne mit gekrümmten Rücken und dem blassen, verhungerten Gesicht, [...]. Einsam saß eine rumänische Jüdin in der Ecke und sah mit gramvollen Blick vor sich hin. Sie will ihren Sohn besuchen im Heiligen Lande einen Colonisten in Sichron Jakob."]. Max I. Bodenheimer, "Unsere Palästinafahrt," *Die Welt* 02.12.1898 (no. 48), 15.

35. Max I. Bodenheimer, "Unsere Palästinafahrt (Fortsetzung)," *Die Welt* 13.01.1899 (no. 2), 15.

36. In his account, Bodenheimer celebrated the positive developments of the country, e.g. in Mikweh Israel, Rishon le Zion and other Jewish colonies, and saw it as a result what "Jewish energy could do in Palestine." Max I. Bodenheimer, "Unsere Palästinafahrt (Fortsetzung)," *Die Welt* 17.03.1899 (no. 11), 14–15.

37. Patai (ed.), *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, 739.

he praised the colonists in Palestine, who worked as winemakers, horse riders or agriculturists, as living symbols of a modern Zion. “All [...] is becoming clear”³⁸ after visiting Palestine, he proclaimed. Thus, the Zionists realised that the increased interest in the region and the emotional power of an actual trip to *Eretz Israel* should be used to enhance the support of the movement across Europe.³⁹

Zionist Tourism as an Ideological Tool

The royal visits, especially that of Emperor Wilhelm II, and the increased Zionist propaganda, gave rise to expectations of economic and political co-operation between Germany, the Ottoman Empire and the Zionist movement. However, these hopes, as described by Otto Warburg (1859–1938), a botanist and leading member of the Zionist movement, were quickly disappointed.⁴⁰ The growing international economic interests, e.g. following the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, as well as the political rivalries of the European powers, made such envisioned cooperation impossible.⁴¹

In addition, not only the economic and political setting hindered the Zionists, but also internal discussions between cultural, political-practical and religious Zionists made the situation even more complicated.⁴² The debate on other options for colonisation, e.g. Uganda, intensified interest in non-Palestine destinations.⁴³ Alfred

38. Original: “All das wird einem an Ort und Stelle sonnenklar, wie in einem Anschauungsunterricht im Freilichte.” Theodor Herzl, “Palästina,” *Ost und West*, nos. 8–9 (August 1904), 611–614.

39. In his analysis of *Altneuland* Shumsky also described the actual importance of the journey. For more details, see Shumsky, “This Ship is Zion!: Travel, Tourism, and Cultural Zionism in Theodor Herzl’s *Altneuland*,” 478.

40. Otto Warburg, “Deutsche Kolonisations-, Wirtschafts- und Kulturbestrebungen im Tuerkischen Orient,” *Altneuland*, nos. 6–7 (June 1905), 161–163.

41. Friedman, *Germany, Turkey, and Zionism 1897–1918*, 82–83.

42. Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry before the First World War*, 49–76.

43. For other territorial options, see Gur Alroey, “Zionism without Zion? Territorialist Ideology and the Zionist Movement, 1882–1956,” *Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture, Society* 18:1 (2011), 1–32, here 1–17.

Nossig's article in the magazine *Palästina* on the Jewish Colonisation-Programme in Palestine illustrated the on-going debate in the context of the Uganda plan. Nossig (1864–1943), a Polish-Jewish journalist, artist and early Zionist, strongly criticised the negative depictions of early Zionist settlements in Palestine and reasoned their failure in the inefficient preparations, the strong reliance on philanthropic help (particularly of the Rothschild family) and poor educated settlers.⁴⁴ He lobbied for the continuation of a colonisation programme in Palestine even without political guarantees and supported Franz Oppenheimer (1864–1943) and Otto Warburg in their attempts to prioritise Palestine, which as a consequence delegitimised the East-African project.⁴⁵ The discussion on Uganda demonstrated the emotional power of Palestine as an important instrument to support Jewish colonisation and Zionism again.

In 1902, Otto Warburg had undertaken a tour of the Orient in order to collect information on the Jewish colonies in Palestine as well as in Anatolia and other regions of the Middle East. Even though many colonies had dissolved after a couple of years, he supported the existing colonies in Sazelar, Dabkis and Caraja (all in Anatolia) and hoped to propagate the Palestine option in a broader Oriental plan.⁴⁶ The “Jewish nation wants Palestine,”⁴⁷ he concluded and called for a Jewish colonisation and economic programme for the Orient.⁴⁸ Other Zionists, e.g. Nossig, agreed that the Jews, who had no army and were

44. He even argued that not only Palestine could be taken into account for Jewish colonisation, but also the greater region, including modern-day Turkey, Egypt and Syria, in order to support the growth of a Jewish presence in the region. Alfred Nossig, “Das jüdische Kolonisations-Programm,” *Palästina*, nos. 3–6 (1903–1904), 171–211, here 171–176.

45. Nossig, “Das jüdische Kolonisations-Programm,” 176, 195.

46. Warburg hoped to settle 20,000 Romanian-Jewish families and estimated an investment of 40 Million Marks, which he understood as much less than Hirsch and Rothschild invested in similar actions. Otto Warburg, “Jüdische Ackerbau-Kolonien in Anatolien,” *Palästina*, no. 2 (February 1902), 66–71.

47. Nossig, “Das jüdische Kolonisations-Programm,” 197.

48. *Ibid.*, 198–199.

no conquerors, had to establish an economic influence in the Palestine region in order to achieve the Zionist dream.⁴⁹ Thus, it became clear that such an economic influence could not only be established through migration, but also through investment and tourism to the region. In 1902, the Association of Zionist University Students in Vienna promoted a trip to Palestine in order to strengthen “the ideals of our nation and to broaden our horizon”, to gain knowledge of the land of “our memory and our desire” and enhance economical developments.⁵⁰ The planned three-week trip for “Zionists and academics” was designed to give every participant a unique and positive experience of *Eretz Israel* and to transform the members into ‘ambassadors’ of the Zionist vision of Palestine back in their hometowns.⁵¹ Whilst such student trips were designed to (re-)connect the youth with *Eretz Israel* and transform tourists into immigrants, the more broadly advertised *Gesellschaftsreisen* aimed to spread Zionist ideas amongst the bourgeois Jewish circles and gain their European-wide support.

Even though political recognition and immigration were not mutually exclusive, new strategies were discussed and other options for Palestine remained prominent. David Wolffsohn, who was elected as Herzl’s successor at the Seventh Zionist Congress, aimed to continue the quest for political guarantees in Palestine, which also resulted in the continuing necessity of promoting the Zionist vision for Palestine through migration and tourism.⁵³ Thus, Zionist tourism emerged as

49. Ibid., 178.

50. Anonymous, “Tribüne: Palästinafahrt,” *Die Welt* 27.06.1902 (no. 26), 8.

51. [Original: “... den Teilnehmern wird Palästina ewig in Erinnerung bleiben, sie werden durch den innigen Verkehr mit unseren Pionieren der Arbeit, dem jüdischen Ackerbauern, ihre Hoffnungsfreudigkeit und ihren Arbeitsmut stärken und ein Stück Palästina ihren Brüdern und Schwestern in die Heimat bringen.”] Anonymous, “Tribüne: Palästinafahrt,” *Die Welt* 27.06.1902 (no. 26), 8.

52. Friedman, *Germany, Turkey, and Zionism 1897–1918*, 120–123.

53. This became even more important, because the Zionists were working along side other organisations with different visions for Palestine, like the Alliance Israélite Universelle, the Jewish Colonization Association or Zangwill’s Jewish Territorialist Organisation. For more details, see Vital, *Zionism: The Crucial Phase*, 17–20, 25; Cohen, *English Zionists and British Jews: The Communal Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, 85–98, 155–239.

an important element in the propagation of Zionist ideas, becoming part of a strategy to gain economic influence in the region as well as to raise support of the Zionist movement in Europe. Especially the explicit development of Zionist *Gesellschaftsreisen* emerged as an urgent endeavour.

A Jewish Grand Tour to the Middle East

A large component of the early support of Zionism, Michael Berkowitz argued, was based on the fusion of culture and politics, rendering the Promised Land as a new pillar of Jewish identity.⁵⁴ In addition, the idea of the Orient, which also relied on specific cultural and historical images, became a further essential asset of Zionist propaganda.⁵⁵ It created an image of the Orient based on biblical inspiration that saw the region, and especially Palestine, as a ‘timeless paradigm’ representing a romanticised illustration of the scriptures. This “imageneered Levante” was reinforced by European Orientalism and archaeological excavations of the 19th and early 20th century in Palestine and other parts of the Middle East rendering a unique European perspective on these regions.⁵⁶

Zionist leaders realised that this cultural-religious interest in the region was an important pillar of the Zionist work in major European capital cities, such as London, Paris, Berlin and Vienna. The Zionist bureaus in Vienna and Berlin, for instance, published reports of Palestine tours and stressed the cultural importance of such a trip. Articles on

54. Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry before the First World War*, 2.

55. For more details on the influence of the Orient as a concept and Zionist propaganda, see Ian Davidson Kalmar and Derek J. Penslar (eds.), *Orientalism and the Jews* (Waltham MA: Brandeis University Press, 2005); Arieh Bruce Saposnik, “Europe and Its Orient in Zionist Culture Before the First World War,” *The Historical Journal* 49:4 (2006), 1105–1123; Wolf Kaiser, *Palästina – Erez Israel: Deutschsprachige Reisebeschreibungen jüdischer Autoren von der Jahrhundertwende bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Hildesheim/Zürich/New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1992), 93–153.

56. Daher, “Reconceptualising Tourism in the Middle East,” 7–8. For more details on excavations, see Haim Goren, *Zieht hin und erforscht das Land: Die deutsche Palästinaforschung im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2003).

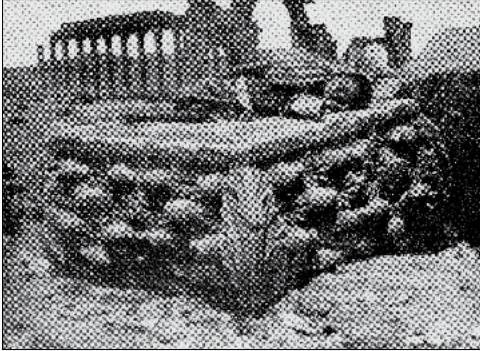


Figure 3: Hermann Guthe, *Palästina: Land und Leute – Monographie zur Erdkunde* (Bielefeld/Leipzig: Verlag von Velhagen & Klasing, 1908), 159 The mystical “Orient” as a tourist destination: Sleeping boy in the ruins of Palmyra/Syria [Photograph by Bonfils, Beirut]

Heinrich Heine’s account, in which Simon van Geldern’s memoirs of his Orient trip were included, and the unique case of the Orientalist Herman Burchardt, continued to spur interest in the region and made travelling to Palestine increasingly fascinating for enlightened members of the Jewish bourgeoisie.⁵⁷ Consequently, the Zionist Bureau in Vienna produced a special brochure on visits to Palestine stating that Herzl had championed the idea of a trip to *Eretz Israel* at the 6th Zionist Congress. The brochure further indicated that the 7th Zionist Congress had also recommended a visit to Palestine to see the Holy Land and to experience its history and its future. Palestine trips therefore intertwined propaganda for the Zionist cause with new ideas of tourism as part of a modern and bourgeois understanding of leisure and travel.⁵⁸ Additional examples of this were the advertisements

57. Burchardt (1857–1909), an Orientalist educated in Berlin, had Jewish ancestry and travelled and lived in many places in the Middle East and East Africa. His numerous photographs, which were donated to the Oriental Institute Berlin (Völkerkundemuseum Berlin/Ethnological Museum Berlin) inspired many European Jews and their imagination. Anonymous, “Heinrich Heine,” *Ost und West*, no. 1 (January 1906), 27; Moritz Friedländer, “Hermann Burchardt,” *Ost und West*, no. 2 (February 1910), 105–110. For further details, see Annegret Nippa and Peter Herbstreuth, *Unterwegs am Golf von Basra nach Maskat: Photographien von Hermann Burchardt (Along the Gulf from Basra to Masqat)*, (Berlin: Verlag Hans Schiler, 2006).

58. [Original: “Wir alle sind von dem Wunsche erfüllt mit eigenem Augen jenes Land zu sehen, wo jeder Stein, jede Scholle Erde die Erinnerung an die glorreichsten Tage unserer Geschichte wachruft, das Land, mit dem die schönsten Hoffnungen für unsere Zukunft verknüpft sind. Palästina aus eigener Anschauung kennen lernen – dieser

of the Zionist Bureaus in Vienna and Berlin. They praised the cheap prices, the good structure, the interesting travel routes, the well-chosen travel time, as well as the “bourgeois middle-class comfort” and the unique Jewish/Zionist character of the trip.⁵⁹ The 1906 Zionist trip e.g. provided a special salon train to Constanta (Constanza/Romania) and from there to Haifa a luxury steamer with promenade decks, cabins with bathrooms, parlours, banquet rooms, kosher food and “tasty, healthy and diversified bourgeois food”.⁶⁰ Clearly the Viennese Zionist Associations designed their trips as social events which included balls and formal dinners, as well as a cultural journey. In addition to the tours in Palestine, e.g. to Jerusalem, Jericho, Rishon le Zion, Mikweh Israel and Haifa, the trips also included visits to Beirut, Nahr el Kelb, Ras-Beiruth, Baalbek and Constantinople.⁶¹ The routes followed a programme already experienced during the royal visits of Crown Prince Rudolf and Wilhelm II, who toured the whole region from Cairo to Athens, and not only Palestine.⁶² The value of such trips was inspired by traditional elements of a religious pilgrimage, which

Traum so Vieler kann nun leicht in Erfüllung gehen. [...] Von dieser Erkenntnis durchdrungen hat der VII. Zionistenkongress den Besuch des heiligen Landes den Gesinnungsgenossen empfohlen. Wir sind die Vollstrecker seines Willen, wenn wir diese Reise möglichst weiten Schichten unseres Volkes ermöglichen.” LBI AR 25273 039 The Herbert Offen Memorial Collection, Zionister Zentralverein, Jüdische Gesellschaftsreise nach Palästina, Vienna/Budapest: Technisch-Literarische Druckerei AG Budapest 1906, 2. [<http://www.lbi.org/digibaeck/results/?term=gesellschaftsreise&qtype=basic&stype=contains&paging=25&filter=All&dtype=any>, assessed on 17 April 2015].

59. Anonymous, “Jüdische Gesellschaftsreise nach Palästina im Herbst 1906,” *Altneuland*, nos. 7–8 (July 1906), 243.
60. [Original: “... schmackhafte, gesunde und abwechslungsreiche bürgerliche Kost”] Anonymous, “Jüdische Gesellschaftsreise nach Palästina im Herbst 1906,” *Altneuland*, nos. 7–8 (July 1906), 244.
61. The prize was 547 Kr. from Vienna and 530 Kr. from Budapest and it was organised by the Viennese Zionist Central Association. Anonymous, “Jüdische Gesellschaftsreise nach Palästina im Herbst 1906,” *Altneuland*, nos. 7–8 (July 1906), 244
62. The map of Wilhelm II’s trip to Palestine illustrates the interest in the Middle East in general. The trip started in Venice and continued to Constantinople-Haifa-Jaffa-Jerusalem-Haifa-Beirut-Alexandria-Nile and ended back in Venice. For the map, see Paul Langhans, *Karte zur Palästinafahrt des Deutschen Kaisers. Die östlichen Mittelmeerländer* (Gotha: J. Perthes 1898). [<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/ptv1b53029674w/fl.zoom>, accessed 17 April 2015].

gained new influence after the Christian ‘Second Great awakening’ in Europe and America during the first half of the 19th century.⁶³ However, the specific emphasis laid on the ideals of culture, *Bildung* and a modern understanding of tourism and leisure. A Non-Jewish traveller noted in his logbook:

A visit to Palestine is no longer a difficult trip made by a few who delight and awe their friends and countrymen on their return. It is no more difficult than a tour in England, except that it is farther [sic!] away and the country is not yet in all respects prepared to furnish the comfort and speed of more advanced lands. Many have made this tour and described it. But I do not think any person, however gifted, can gain a correct knowledge of the land in a single trip. The first trip only opens the way and gives a foundation upon which to build.⁶⁴

As a result, Zionist tours emerged as an integral part of the process of a revival of modern tourist pilgrimages.⁶⁵ Realising the economic potential of such tours the Zionist movement was eager to establish links with the already existing travel industry.⁶⁶ Thomas Cook, who offered organised tours to Palestine and Egypt from the second half of the 19th century, became a model for Zionist efforts to encourage

63. For a specific focus on the Protestant relation to Palestine, see Stephanie Stidham Rogers, *Inventing the Holy Land: American Protestant Pilgrimage to Palestine, 1865–1941* (Lanham (ML)/Plymouth: Lexington Press, 2011), 1–4.

64. Harry Westbrook Dunning, *To-day in Palestine* (New York: James Pott & Company, 1907), III.

65. Doron Bar, Kobi Cohen-Hattab, “A New Kind of Pilgrimage: The Modern Tourist Pilgrim of Nineteenth Century and Early Twentieth Century Palestine,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 39:2 (2003), 131–148. For the on-going relevance of Christian pilgrimages, see Yaniv Belhassen and Jonathan Ebel, “Tourism, Faith and Politics in the Holy Land: An Ideological Analysis of Evangelical Pilgrimage,” *Current Issues in Tourism* 12:4 (2009), 359–378.

66. Michael Stausberg, *Religion and Tourism: Crossroads, Destinations and Encounters* (Abingdon/Oxon/New York: Routledge, 2011), 3–4.

tourism to Palestine.⁶⁷ In 1905, the “International Jewish Tour” (*Internationale Gesellschaftsreise der Israeliten nach dem Heiligen Lande*) which was advertised in the magazine *Ost und West*, invited the “Jewish intelligentsia” of Germany and Austria-Hungary to tour Palestine and Egypt and their biblical and Jewish sights.⁶⁸

In 1906, other tours, e.g. the one of the Zionist Office in Vienna, offered participants a ‘good impression of the whole Orient’ and an opportunity to see and support major Zionist initiatives.⁶⁹ Thus organised Zionist tours combined major sites of antiquity with a visit to contemporary Zionist settlements in Palestine offering a meaningful Jewish experience in travelling to Palestine.⁷⁰

The Zionist Orient Tour in 1907 organised by the Viennese Zionist Office again offered travel through the Middle East, including Constantinople, Smyrna (today Izmir), Beirut, Damascus as well as Palestine and Egypt.⁷¹ The detailed programme reveals the enormous interest in embedding the visit to Palestine in a more general Grand

67. Between 1869 and 1882, Thomas Cook claimed to have brought 4,500 travellers to Palestine, approx. 2/3 of the number of tourists arrived in this period. Xavier Guillot, “From one globalization to another: In search of the Seeds of Modern Tourism in the Levant,” in Rami Farouk Daher (ed.), *Tourism in the Middle East: Continuity, Change, and Transformation* (Clevedon/Tonawanda: MPG Books, 2007), 103.

68. Anonymous, “Internationale Gesellschaftsreise der Israeliten nach dem heiligen Lande,” *Ost und West*, no. 1 (January 1905), 70.

69. The article proclaimed that the participants not only visited the Bezalel Art Academy and other institutions in Palestine, but also gave donations, such as to the Bezalel Academy, the National Fund and other institution working for the Jewish colonisation. Anonymous, “Gesellschaftsreisen nach Palästina,” *Palästina*, nos. 1–2 (January 1907), 45. For other tours, see Anonymous, “Galizien: Gesellschaftsreise nach Palästina,” *Die Welt* 30.01.1914 (no. 5), 124; Anonymous, “Die allgemeine jüdische Palästinafahrt im Frühjahr,” *Die Welt* 27.02.1914 (no. 9), 2.

70. In 1907, another Palestine Tour was organised and included visits to Constantinople, Smyrna (today Izmir), Rhodes, Beirut, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Damascus, Baalbek, Haifa, Nablus, Egypt and Piraeus (organised by the Zionists and the travel agent Tabor A. Grajewsky & Co. in Jerusalem: 28 days = cost 525 M.). Anonymous, “Palästinareise im Herbst 1907,” *Palästina*, nos. 6–8 (June 1907), 200–201.

71. The tour was designed for 32 days (15 April – 16 May 1907) and included a detailed programme. Anonymous, “Gesellschaftsreisen nach Palästina,” *Palästina*, nos. 1–2 (January 1907), 43.



Figure 4: Jewish Tour to Palestine [Jüdische Gesellschaftsreise nach Palästina] by the Zionist Central Association Vienna, 1906. From: Leo Baeck Institute Archive New York, AR 25273039 The Herbert Offen Memorial Collection Zionist Orient Tours.

Tour to the Middle East and in doing so, stimulating interest in Palestine or *Eretz Israel* and its modern *New Yishuv* as part of the Orient. The 1907 programme illustrates the fusion of a cultural and Zionist content of the tour. In Constantinople, the trip included a visit to Pera and Galata, the Galata tower, the Hippodrome, the Hagia Sophia, the Oriental bazaar, the Bosphorus, the Golden Horn as well as a performance of Derwishes. In Beirut, it offered a city tour and an excursion to local places (the Nahr el Kalb and the Pigeon Rocks), Ras-Beirut as well as a train ride through the Lebanese mountains and a trip to Damascus with its bazaars, Oriental houses, baths, the tomb of Saladin and the old synagogue. Moreover, it planned a ride with the Hedjaz railway to Tiberias, a visit to Haifa and some Jewish colonies, an automobile trip to more Jewish colonies, such as Sichron Ya'akov and Petach Tikvah, and a journey to Jaffa. As a highlight, a train ride to Jerusalem was organised, where all major sights were to be visited (including the Citadel, Hezekiah pools, synagogues,

schools, Mountain Zion, Bezalel Art Academy). In addition, trips to the surrounding areas such as the Mount of Olives, the tombs of the kings and prophets, archaeological excavations, Jericho, the Jordan valley, the Dead Sea, Bethlehem etc. were planned.⁷² In Egypt the trip comprised a tour of Port Said, its Indian Bazaar and the Suez Canal, a visit to Cairo, its quarters, museums and the Citadel, the Alabaster Mosques and tombs of the Mamluks, and also automobile trips to the Pillar Mosque, the Maimonides temple, the pyramids, Heluan and a trip on the Nile as well as a train ride to Alexandria to see its bazaars, mosques and synagogues.⁷³ Similar detailed programmes were offered by other organised tours, including the one advertised by the Viennese Palestine Information Bureau in 1914.⁷⁴

The Zionist trips were designed for the Jewish bourgeoisie of the urban centres, such as Berlin and Vienna and intended to engage them with the Zionist project through a cultural approach, emphasising *Bildung* as well as modern Zionist values and initiatives. Such tours reflected the desire to see the old Orient stretching from Greece to Egypt and discover the remnants of antique civilization as symbols of cultural heritage.⁷⁵ At the same time, these trips were used to illustrate the positive influences of Western Europeans in the contemporary Orient, as mentioned by Herzl during his stay in Egypt, and stress the importance of support for the Zionist case as a European, civilising and modernising endeavour.⁷⁶

72. Anonymous, "Gesellschaftsreisen nach Palästina," *Palästina*, nos. 1–2 (January 1907), 44.

73. *Ibid.*, 45.

74. Anonymous, "Palästinafahrt im Frühling," *Die Welt* 02.01.1914 (no. 1), 16.

75. Max I. Bodenheimer, "Unsere Palästinafahrt (Fortsetzung)," *Die Welt* 16.12.1898 (no. 50), 14–15.

76. Herzl mentioned on his trip through Egypt "what industry and energy can make even out of a hot country", which indirectly referred to a possible influence of the Zionists in Palestine and his euro-centred view. Patai (ed.), *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, 763.



Figure 5: Adolf Friedemann, “Photographische Aufnahmen meiner Palästina-reise (1),” *Die Welt* 21.08.1903 (no. 34), 15. Tourist attractions: Old and New – The Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and the main street of Petach Tikwah.

The Zionists and European Shipping Companies

The growing Zionist interest in the evolution of tourism to Palestine and the region was not merely a side effect of promoting immigration to *Eretz Israel*, but an important tool for the Zionist project. The growing cargo and passenger market to the Middle East was quickly noticed by leading European shipping companies and led to competition in the Eastern Mediterranean market. In 1905 Otto Warburg realised that the new services of the *Deutsche Levante Linie* (German Levant Line/Hamburg) to the Middle East reflected the growth of this regional economic market, which was until then dominated by the *Oesterreichischer Lloyd* (Austrian Lloyd/Trieste), an Austrian-Hungarian shipping company.⁷⁷ In the same year, the Hamburg-Amerika-Line opened new facilities for the expanding tourist market in Palestine and Syria. New offices were opened in Jaffa/Jerusalem and Beirut, aiming to link the major cities Jaffa/Jerusalem, Haifa and Beirut through affordable services.⁷⁸ While the tourist and migration market grew, the Austrian Lloyd, the German

77. Otto Warburg, “Deutsche Kolonisations-, Wirtschafts- und Kulturbestrebungen im Tuerkischen Orient,” *Altneuland*, nos. 6–7 (June 1905), 164. For more details, see Maura Hametz, “Zionism, Emigration, and Antisemitism in Trieste: Central Europe’s ‘Gateway to Zion’, 1896–1943,” *Jewish Social Studies* 13:3 (2007), 106–113. On the Austrian Lloyd, see Rudolf Agstner, “The Austrian Lloyd Steam Navigation Company,” in Marian Wrba (ed.), *Austrian Presence in the Holy Land in the 19th and 20th Century: Proceedings of the Symposium in the Austrian Hospice in Jerusalem on March 1–2, 1995* (Tel Aviv: Austrian Embassy Press, 1996), 136–157.

78. Anonymous, “Die Hamburg-Amerika-Linie,” *Altneuland*, no. 10 (October 1905), 319–320.

shipping companies as well as the Royal Romanian Company were well aware of the Zionist influence.⁷⁹ When the Zionists announced that Palestine – similar to Egypt – had gained importance in the “world of tourism” due to religious, as well as educational and cultural interests, the European shipping companies had already established direct cooperation with the Zionist offices.⁸⁰ The close co-operation became visible when the Zionist Office in Berlin and *Bolthausen’sche Gesellschaftsreisen* (Bolthausen Travel Agency) in Solingen/Germany advertised three spring and nine summer and autumn Orient Tours (1909). The programme of each tour followed the patterns of previous ones (visiting Greece, Constantinople, Syria, Palestine and Egypt), promoted a mixture of sea and land travel and promised an “extensive experience” of the Orient.⁸¹ In addition, the Palestine Office advertised these tours in cooperation with the Austrian Lloyd, who offered specially reduced tickets for the Orient Tours, kosher food and other specific Jewish services.⁸² The Zionist Offices, *Bolthausen’sche Gesellschaftsreisen* and the Austrian Lloyd advertised their organised tours and in doing so, demonstrated the strong interlinkage between commercial interest and the political agenda of the Zionist movement.⁸³ The intense marketing campaign which included advertisements and promotions of specials fares, additional times and options of a free return ticket, reflected an on-going and well-established network of the Zionists and European shipping companies, developing tourism to the region.⁸⁴ The cooperation with the European shipping agencies was not only used for the purpose of tourism, but also for Jewish

79. Anonymous, “Gesellschaftsreisen nach Palästina,” *Palästina*, nos. 1–2 (January 1907), 47.

80. *Ibid.*, 45.

81. [Original: “Totaleindruck vom Orient.”] Anonymous, “Aus der Türkei: Der Orient,” *Palästina*, nos. 11–12 (1908), 223–224.

82. Anonymous, “Handel und Verkehr: Palästinareise,” *Palästina*, no. 3 (1909), 77.

83. Redaktion, “Palästinareisen,” *Palästina*, nos. 11–12 (1908), 201–202.

84. Between 1911–1912, the Viennese Information Office announced various Palestine Tours for all “classes” with special reductions by shipping companies. Anonymous, “Palästina-Gesellschaftsreise,” *Palästina*, nos. 1–2 (1911), 55–56. For additional organised tours, see Anonymous, “Palästina-Gesellschaftsreise März 1911,” *Palästina*, no. 3 (1911), 87; Anonymous, “Palästina-Gesellschaftsreise,” *Palästina*, no. 4 (1911), 120; Anonymous,

immigration to Palestine.⁸⁵ Offering affordable tours to Palestine and the Middle East was as important for the Zionists as giving out reduced immigration fares. How strongly the two markets, tourism and immigration, were intertwined, was not only visible in the ticket negotiations between Zionists and shipping companies, but also in other levels. When addressing Jewish students e.g., tours to Palestine were seen as a crucial method to attract youth to Zionism. Therefore Aron Sandler (1878–1954), a doctor and a member of the board of the Jewish community Berlin, demanded that German Zionists should not only provide technical and educational training to their youth, but also encourage young people to travel to Palestine in order to strengthen the Zionist connection to the land and the embedded idea of immigration.⁸⁶ Thus, Orient tours for students and gymnasts were openly supported and advertised which led to a growing popularity of these trips after the turn of the century.⁸⁷ Clearly these efforts were guided by the belief that such trips would help to transform young people from tourists to immigrants and strengthen the whole movement.⁸⁸

“Mitteilungen des Palästina-Informationsbüros in Wien,” *Palästina*, nos. 7–8 (1912), 198–199; Max Grunwald, “Das neue Palästina,” *Ost und West*, no. 6 (June 1913), 457–458.

85. Special reduction of fares was given to immigrants on their way to Egypt and Palestine, for the tickets of the III class on the Syrian Line (30%), the IV class on the Express Line (30%) and III and II class on the Express Line (25%). In addition, reductions for train rides were also granted (50%: Vienna-Trieste). Anonymous, “Handel und Verkehr: Palästinareisen,” *Palästina*, no. 6 (1909), 150.
86. [Original: “Die Kurse sollen aber weiterhin in ähnlicher Form wie die zu organisierenden Palästinareisen uns in intimer Weise mit Palästina verknüpfen und so zu einer wirksamen Waffe gegen etwa erwachenden Indifferentismus gegen Zweifelsucht und mannigfache Verirrungen werden.”] Aron Sandler, “Die Coethener Kurse fuer Koloniale Technik,” *Altneuland*, no. 4 (April 1905), 97–105, 106.
87. Redaktion, “Studentenreisen nach Palästina,” *Palästina*, nos. 6–7 (1910), 148–149; Anonymous, “Zweite Palästinafahrt jüdischer Turner und Studenten,” *Die Welt* 30.01.1914 (no. 5), 124.
88. For more details, see Daniel Wildmann, *Der veränderbare Körper: Jüdische Turner, Männlichkeit und das Wiedergewinnen von Geschichte in Deutschland um 1900* (London/Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 83–89; Miriam Rürup, “Gefundene Heimat? Palästinafahrten jüdischer Studentenverbindungen 1913/1914,” *Leipziger Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur der Juden in Deutschland* 2 (2004), 167–189.

In 1911 an article in the newspaper *Palästina* analysed the positive development of the Zionist movement and came to the conclusion that the changing attitude toward Zionism was lucidly linked to the growing numbers of organised tours to Palestine.⁸⁹ In support of this argument Max Grunwald declared one year later that small Palestine tours were the best way of experiencing Zionism and should thus be strongly supported.⁹⁰ The on-going Zionist efforts therefore not only raised awareness of Palestine, but were also a crucial influence to bring 15,000-18,000 tourists per year to the country which made it an economically successful tourist destination, similar to Switzerland.⁹¹

In the following years it remained a key interest of the Zionists to win over leading members of Jewish communities to join Palestine tours and transform them into agents of the Zionist project in their communities. In addition, the voyages of Edmond Rothschild (1845–1934), philanthropist and supporter of the early colonisation attempts in Palestine (1912),⁹² of Hirsch Perez Chajes (1876–1927), former lecturer at the Italian rabbinical seminar (Florence) and chief rabbi of Trieste (1914),⁹³ and of Henry Morgenthau (1856–1946), American ambassador in Constantinople (1914),⁹⁴ are just a few prominent examples, which kept Palestine in the minds of Western European Jews as an interesting tourist destination and were used by the Zionists for their own purposes.

89. Anonymous, "Jahresrückschau," *Palästina*, nos. 11–12 (1911), 250.

90. Anonymous, "Herr Rabb. Dr. M. Grunwald," *Ost und West*, no. 8 (August 1912), 774.

91. E. W. Tschlenoff, *Fünf Jahre der Arbeit in Palästina* (trans. by Ahron Eliasberg), (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag 1913), 80.

92. In February 1912, Edmond de Rothschild also travelled to Palestine and visited his old colonisation network, which the ICA took over. He was especially interested in the newly beginning excavations, which were given permission by the Ottoman authorities in Jerusalem. Anonymous, "Die Palästina-reise des Barons Edmund Rothschild," *Die Welt* 20.02.1914 (no. 8), 192–193.

93. Anonymous, "Prof. Chajes' Palästina-reise," *Die Welt* 01.05.1914 (no. 18), 442.

94. As a Jew and a representative of the U.S., his open support for the new Jewish colonies in Petach Tikwa and other places and his general positive remarks on the colonisation efforts were well received. Anonymous, "Palästina-reise des amerikanischen Botschafters in Konstantinopel," *Die Welt* 10.04.1914 (no. 15), 359–360.

Imagining the Orient

When in 1910 Schalom Asch (1880–1957), a Polish-yiddish journalist and dramatic adviser, reflected on the on-board experience at his arrival in Palestine and described the inner “union” between Orthodox Jews praying for their arrival in *Eretz Israel*, Christian pilgrims and their pastors praying for the arrival in the Holy Land and young Jews from Plonsk (Poland/Russian Empire) ready to work on the land of their forefathers, he indirectly documented not only the similarities, but also the differences in the travellers’ expectations and imaginations.⁹⁵ Herzl had realised that it was crucial “to think in images”⁹⁶ in order to gain the support of the masses for the Zionist cause and push Palestine into Jewish consciousness. As a result, the Zionist movement started to produce postcards for propaganda purposes engaging artists (such as Menachem Okin, E. M. Lilien and others) to visualise modern Palestine.⁹⁷ Articles e.g. on the artist Ismael Gentz (1903) were seen sympathetically, because Gentz (1862–1914), a German artist, had painted many images of the visit of Wilhelm II and the Holy Land, featuring romanticised visions of Palestine, which indirectly corresponded with the Zionist visions.⁹⁸ Other illustrated reports on Palestine, such as the photographic trip of Adolf Friedemann for the Zionist newspaper *Die Welt* (1903),⁹⁹ as well as the illustrated report by Max Grunwald – (1871–1953), a German-Jewish rabbi, historian and folklorist, which included exclusive footage of Jewish settlements

95. Schalom Asch, “Der Libanon: Aus der Palästina-reise,” *Palästina*, nos. 11–12 (1910), 273–276.

96. Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry before the First World War*, 120.

97. *Ibid.*, 120–143.

98. Gentz, a non-Jew, was described by the magazine *Ost und West* as a German Orient painter, who followed in the footsteps of his father Wilhelm and offered many pictures on Oriental scenes. Nathanjah Sahuwi, “Ismael Gentz,” *Ost und West*, no. 2 (January 1903), 85–98.

99. Adolf Friedemann, “Photographische Aufnahmen von meiner Palästina-reise (I),” *Die Welt* 21.08.1903 (no. 34), 15; Adolf Friedemann, “Photographische Aufnahmen von meiner Palästina-reise (I),” *Die Welt* 30.09.1903 (no. 40), 7.

and the new Jewish ‘agriculturists and workers’,¹⁰⁰ were used to convey a specific image of Palestine to the Jewish bourgeois elite in Berlin, Vienna and other urban centres in Central Europe.



Figure 6: Max Grunwald, “Das neue Palästina.” Modern Zionist imaginaries: Jewish colonists during the wine harvest. From: *Ost und West*, no. 6 (June 1913), 467–468.

In addition, these reports aimed to reinforce Grunwald’s statement, which declared that travelling to Palestine was the best way to discover the ‘nature of Judaism’ and get to know the “Jew in his natural surroundings.”¹⁰¹

As mentioned previously in this paper, Zionists were not the only ones travelling to, and reporting on Palestine. Much literature on Palestine was published at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, constructing a ‘Levantine space’.¹⁰² In 1906, the Zionist magazine *Altneuland* published a report by Friedrich Oetken (1886–1915), German agronomist, who had travelled to Palestine in order to see the Holy Land, its historic sites, and learn about the economic developments in the country and the agricultural colonies in the ‘Oriental land’.¹⁰³ While Oetken visited the German Templar

100. Max Grunwald, “Das neue Palästina,” *Ost und West*, no. 6 (June 1913), 457–458.

101. [Original: “Wer den Juden sehen will, wie er wirklich und wahrhaft ist, wie er sich frei und ungebunden in seinem natürlichen Milieu bewegt und entfaltet, der halte es mit dem Engländer, der greife wenn auch nicht gerade zu Büchse und Blitzlicht, so doch zu Zeiss und Kodak und reise nach Palästina.”] Max Grunwald, “Das neue Palästina,” *Ost und West*, no. 6 (June 1913), 457.

102. Xavier Guillot, “From One Globalization to Another,” 102.

103. Friedrich Oetken, “Palästinafahrt eines Landwirts,” *Altneuland*, no. 4 (April 1906), 97–98.

colonies in Jaffa, Saron and Haifa and described them as “beacons in the region”, the Jewish colonies were more critically observed and only hastily visited.¹⁰⁴ Such brief descriptions of the Jewish colonies in Palestine led to a discussion on the necessity of more friendly Zionist reports on the reality of the new Jewish life in Palestine. It stimulated broader debate on the visualisation and imagination of modern day Jewish Palestine and led to a growing interest in Zionist propaganda.

Baedeker and other Travel Literature

In 1904, Selig Eugen Soskin (1873–1959), an early Zionist and agronomist, had criticised the way in which modern-day Palestine was depicted by contemporary travel literature. The writings of Christian authors, such as Arnold Rüeggs (1856–1933), pastor, lecturer and author of the book *Auf heiligen Spuren – Abseits vom Wege* (In search of Holy traces – Off the beaten track, 1904), were rebuked for their exclusive preoccupation with biblical times. Such a focus, it was argued almost entirely excluded, or displayed negatively modern Jewish colonies and other Zionist endeavours in the country.

One of the most popular travel guides to Palestine, the Baedeker guidebook, was also at the hub of Soskin’s harsh criticism. According to Soskin, the Baedeker guide reinforced old anti-Jewish stereotypes and depicted Palestine almost exclusively as a biblical land.¹⁰⁵ How important the Baedeker was at that time becomes visible in the account of Georg (Gerson) Freudenstein (1889–1943), in which he describes the experiences of his visit to Jerusalem (published 1913), which he had planned according to the Baedeker guide. While the Baedeker programme included many sights of European influence, such as churches and hospitals, Jews were mentioned only in

104. Friedrich Oetken, “Palästinafahrt eines Landwirts (Schluss),” *Altneuland*, no. 6 (June 1906), 170–173.

105. Eugen Soskin, “Rezension,” *Altneuland*, no. 8 (August 1904), 252–253.



Figure 7: Hermann Guthe, *Palästina: Land und Leute – Monographie zur Erdkunde* (Bielefeld/Leipzig: Verlag von Velhagen & Klasing, 1908), 83. A Place of religion and tourism: Jews at the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem [Photograph by Charles Scolik sen., Vienna]

connection with the Wailing Wall.¹⁰⁶

The negative or fragmented depictions of Jewish Palestine were also discussed by Aron Sandler.¹⁰⁷ Sandler exclaimed that whilst “thousands of Western Europeans” travelled to Palestine, many of them do not develop positive sentiments towards the country or its

106. LBI AR 5048 *Palestinian Memories* by Georg (Gerson) Freudenstein, 1913, [4–5] [<http://www.lbi.org/digibaeck/results/?qtype=pid&term=1712451>, assessed 17 April 2015]. For more information on travel literature, see Xavier Guillot, “From One Globalization to Another,” 100–102.

107. Aron Sandler (1879–1954) came from a orthodox-Jewish family in Poznan and studied medicine in Königsberg and Berlin. As an active supporter of Zionism he joined the board of the Jewish community in Berlin and other representative bodies. In 1935 he settled in Palestine. For more information, see Harold M. Blumberg, “The First Scientific Medical Institute in Palestine: Extracts from the Unpublished Memoirs of Dr. Aron Sandler,” *The Journal of Israeli History* 16:2 (1995), 2009–219.

new Jewish colonies.¹⁰⁸ These negative feelings, he noted were mainly based on the difficult climate, the ‘Oriental mentality’, and also on the negative attitude to the Jewish presence in the country.¹⁰⁹ Sandler also held Baedeker responsible for the negative vision of Jewish Palestine, because of its excessive preoccupation with the biblical landscape of Palestine and its implicit rejection of modern day Jewish Palestine.¹¹⁰ In addition, Sandler criticised Baedeker for its anti-Jewish language, for example in describing the “dirty Jewish quarters” of Jerusalem.¹¹¹ Many tourists, who used the Baedeker or Cook Travel guidebook, reiterated the negative image of the Jews and the Jewish quarter. Harry Westbrook Dunning (1871–unknown), a Semitic language instructor at Yale University (USA), noted in his travel report:

The slopes of the hill and the Tyropean Valley are occupied by the Jews. Most of them are emigrants. They belong to two sects, the Aschkenazim and Sepharadim. Each has a large synagogue and several smaller ones. The quarter is a miracle of dirt and filth, far surpassing, in this respect, the rest of the city. [...] The wailing place of the Jews is another of the regulation sights of the city. Of course we want to see the performance as well as the place, so it is best to go late on Friday afternoon. There is supposed to be a feeble wail maintained by one or two actors every day. But on the eve of the Jewish Sabbath all turn out and do their best. [...] The beggars and thieves of the city, knowing that the rich tourist comes hither at the appointed time.¹¹²

Therefore, Sandler concluded that the Baedeker, the most important travel guidebook for Europeans at that time, offered an imbalanced image of Palestine, which differed tremendously from the image

108. Aron Sandler, “Zeugen wider Palästina,” *Palästina*, nos. 6-7 (1910), 115.

109. *Ibid.*, 116–117.

110. *Ibid.*, 117–118.

111. *Ibid.*, 119–120.

112. Dunning, *To-day in Palestine*, 39–40.

that the Zionists desired for the country.¹¹³ He even declared that the “Palestine trip often emerges as a danger to the Palestine colonisation”, suggesting that an alternative to the Baedeker should be offered to travellers who are open to acknowledge the work of the Zionist movement in Palestine.¹¹⁴ As a consequence, in preparation for an organised Orient trip, the Viennese Palestine Office advertised not only the trip itself, but also offered the new *Small Tour Guide through Palestine (Kleiner Reiseführer durch Palästina)* published by the Palestine Office Jaffa for Jewish tourists, which was depicted as providing the best way to “discover the land”.¹¹⁵

Tourists as Zionist Agents of Propaganda

Alongside travel literature and lectures, illustrated talks on Palestine gained popularity in Jewish circles. In 1913, Georg (Gerson) Freudenstein, organised a gathering at his home in Frankfurt/a.M. to report on his trip to Palestine. Freudenstein, who saw himself as a Zionist, presented an image of the land, which the Zionists hoped for: “Palestine – what a strong mysterious charm is suggested by the mere word; all the more so is the actual visit of the Holy Land like the fulfilment of a dream, which one had not dared hope to realise.”¹¹⁶ Freudenstein, who visited Palestine as well as Cairo and the pyramids, was an example of the success of the Zionist efforts in bringing the bourgeois elite of Central Europe to the Orient. In his memoirs, Freudenstein described at length his visit to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo depicting it as the best way to prepare oneself for Palestine.

113. Sandler also criticised the European tour to visit Palestine, which only included several parts of the country, such as the Dead Sea, and functioned to implant a wrong impression of the whole country. Sandler, “Zeugen wider Palästina,” 120–122.

114. Sandler, “Zeugen wider Palästina,” 125–126.

115. Anonymous, “Reiseführer durch Palästina,” *Palästina*, no. 3 (1911), 87.

116. LBI AR 5048 Palestinian Memories by Georg (Gerson) Freudenstein, 1913, [1–2] [<http://www.lbi.org/digibaeck/results/?qtype=pid&term=1712451>, assessed 17 April 2015].

Unsurprisingly, he saw his whole voyage as a “fairy tale out of the Arabian nights.”¹¹⁷

Similar efforts were made by the Palestine Society, which was founded in Hamburg and offered a lottery to go on a Palestine tour. It requested that every tour participant should give an oral or written report back home in their community on their experiences, in order to enhance Palestine tourism.¹¹⁸ Moreover, the magazine *Palästina* celebrated the new catalogue of Palestine pictures by Bruno Hentschel, a German art publisher and photographer (Leipzig/later Jerusalem), which, it is further noted, could be used for lectures and evening discussions on the modern colonisation of Palestine. The images reflected a powerful connection between actual experience and visualisation of *Eretz Israel*.¹¹⁹ Through these channels the Zionist movement sought to promote a new image of Palestine, and of the Jewish colonies: The photos revealed Jewish colonies in a clean, organised, democratic, well-situated and attractive natural setting. They displayed Palestine as a place of good health and comradeship. Thus, it was supposed to introduce a Western European Jewish audience to the modern and progressive Jewish polity in the Middle East and compel them to support Zionist efforts to modernise Palestine.¹²⁰ The specific visualisation also reflected how Zionists intended to combine romanticised images of the Orient and Biblical Israel with modern Palestine in order to attract middle-class central European travellers to visit the region. In this way Zionism presented Palestine as the Jewish *Altneuland* (old new homeland). Consequently, these campaigns were not genuine representations of the situation in Palestine. The Arab population was either absent from these depictions or was seen as an accessory “at best, to the grand project of the Jews rebuilding their

117. *Ibid.*, [3]

118. Anonymous, “Eine Palästina-Reisegesellschaft,” *Palästina*, no. 6 (1911), 164–165.

119. Anonymous, “Lichtbilder von Palästina,” *Palästina*, no. 2 (1910), 58–59.

120. Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry before the First World War*, 150–154.

land.”¹²¹ However, it should be noted that the Zionists did not intend to portray a balanced picture of the land as the Baedeker propagated, but rather a Zionist one.¹²²

Conclusion

Even though a majority in the Jewish communities remained highly sceptical about the Zionist project, the emphasis on tourism helped to ease some of the criticisms. With the increasing interest in the region due to royal visits and visits of prominent figures, the Zionists were able to transform *Eretz Israel* into an important and modern symbol, which went beyond the traditional religious notion. The Zionists could thus create an image of Palestine as both the old and new homeland of Jews and disseminate Zionism across Europe. By establishing a Grand Tour of the Orient, strongly orientated to leisure and *Bildung*, the Zionist movement developed an important tool to gain the potential support of middle-class, well assimilated Jews of Western Europe. As Adolf Friedemann described in 1906, the major intention was not to galvanise mass migration of Western European Jews, but to increase their support for Zionism and give them a new opportunity to be part of this modern Jewish movement.¹²³ Although, after the turn of the century, a new generation of German Zionists, including Richard Lichtheim, Kurt Blumenfeld and Arthur Ruppin, entered upon the stage and pushed for further action, the actual role of immigration to Palestine, especially in the German context, remained weak. Friedman noted that “in 1914, the debate was still academic. Emigration was rare

121. *Ibid.*, 146–149 [Quote 149].

122. After the fall of the Ottoman Empire, Zionist propaganda gained importance. For more information on Zionist propaganda in the Mandate period, see Ayelet Kohn and Kobi Cohen-Hattab, “Tourism posters in the Yishuv era: Between Zionist ideology and commercial language,” *Journal of Israeli History: Politics, Society, Culture* 34:1, 69–91; Kobi Cohen-Hattab, “Zionism, Tourism, and the Battle for Palestine as a Political Tool,” *Israel Studies* 9:1 (2004), 61–85.

123. Adolf Friedemann, *Was will der Zionismus?* (Berlin: Jüdische Rundschau, 1906), 20–21.

and there were no more than twenty German Zionists living at that time in Palestine.”¹²⁴

Tourism to *Eretz Israel* with its economic and cultural impact on the entire Zionist project was therefore the most viable link between the Zionist vision and its reality. The intense cooperation between Zionist agencies and European travel companies and shipping lines illustrates that early on, Zionism acknowledged the importance of tourism to economic growth and cultural development of Palestine. Especially the agreements between the Zionist movement and the European shipping companies which made the trip to Palestine affordable for many Jewish members of the European bourgeoisie, illustrates this strategy. While Herzl stressed that the “Promised Land is the land of work”,¹²⁵ for many Western European Jews, Palestine became the promised land of leisure, in which they could experience the mystical Orient, cultivate themselves as members of the educated European elite and express their religious and Zionist bonds to *Eretz Israel*. By organizing *Gesellschaftsreisen* to *Eretz Israel* Zionists therefore not only promoted the economic and cultural development of the *New Yishuv* and the region according to the Zionist vision of modernisation, but also used the combination of *Bildung* and leisure trips to increase the influence of the Zionist movement in Europe and its Jewish communities.

124. Friedman, *Germany, Turkey, and Zionism 1897–1918*, 131. For more details, see Lilo Stone, “German Zionists in Palestine before 1933,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 32:2 (1997), 171–186.

125. Herzl, *The Jewish State: An Attempt at a Modern Solution of the Jewish Question*, 46.

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