Singing the Land

Hebrew Music and Early Zionism in America

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Foreword by Edwin Seroussi

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Foreword

Rabbi Louis Werfel (1916–1943), one of the six Jewish chaplains of the USA armed forces stationed in North Africa during WWII and the only Orthodox Rabbi killed in action, spent one Sabbath in Wahran (Oran, Western Algeria). On that occasion he attended an *Oneg Shabbat* of the local Zionist youth and reported the following: "It was an inspiring sight to watch those French-speaking, Sephardic-familied youngsters, about 200 of them, singing the same Palestinian songs that our youngsters sing back in the United States."[1] "Palestinian songs" are, as Eli Sperling shows in this monograph, a code for what the *Chalutzim* (Jewish pioneers) and what eventually Israelis will call *Shirei Eretz Yisrael* (Songs of the Land of Israel). This vernacular Hebrew song repertoire emerged within the circles of modern Zionists from the 1880s onwards. It became emblematic of the movement's territorial branch, i.e., those who saw as its aim the constitution of an independent Jewish homeland in Palestine/Eretz Yisrael. The reception, distribution, and performance of this "Palestinian" Hebrew song repertoire in the USA are addressed for the first time by Sperling in this detailed and well-documented volume.

What Rabbi Werfel's anecdote teaches us is a fascinating lesson that Sperling's text illuminates from the perspective of American Jewish sources. We learn from this fleeting episode about the magnetism that the same repertoire of Hebrew songs stemming from the *Yishuv*, especially during the British Mandate era (1922–1948), had for significant segments of American Jewry as well as for Zionist-leaning Algerian Jews who were completely separated physically and culturally from their American coreligionists. As Sperling rightly emphasizes once and again, what I would call the "sonic allure" of the modern Hebrew song repertoire relied on an "interactive, communal

performance and affirmation of their [the American Jews'] place in Hebrew national culture, 'all as one,' in solidarity with Zionists in Palestine and Jews elsewhere, as they practiced their Hebrew." These two basic tenets, an embodied sense of sharing an imagined Jewish national space and the performance of the Hebrew language through singing (as opposed to actually speaking it), became hallmarks of a de-territorialized modern Jewish identity that ironically stemmed from the novel (and not overwhelmingly accepted) attempt to re-territorialize the Jews in their ancestral land.

Research on the Songs of the Land of Israel is a scholarly enterprise judiciously carried out by Israelis, academics, and more so by enthusiasts who perceive their dedication to this repertoire as a patriotic duty (see their flagship *Zemereshet* website assiduously consulted by Sperling). Their publications, radio and TV programs, and websites are exclusively in Hebrew, rendering these writings sealed to outside readers. The existence of a vibrant non-Israeli sphere of modern Hebrew song practices is hardly mentioned by them, and naming this revered song repertoire "Palestinian" certainly causes a harsh cognitive dissonance among its Israeli fans. There is therefore a need to de-Israelize the research on the modern Hebrew songs (i.e., texts performed with a melody) by focusing on the repertoire as it was received and performed outside of Palestine/Israel. Sperling's present work significantly contributes to this much needed corrective. "Palestinian" songs spread through the Jewish world like wildfire soon after they were conceived in Palestine/Eretz Yisrael. Through these songs, Sperling argues, American Jews "would internalize a sense that they were all part of a global Jewish nation that included Jews in the *Yishuv*, Europe, America . . ."

The "Palestinian" song came to America even before it was called "Palestinian," in the period that precedes the one this book focuses on (as mentioned above, the British Mandate "interregnum"). Sperling rightly claims that territorial Zionism made its inroads to America since the late nineteenth century via the massive Eastern European Jewish immigration. Networks of ties between the immigrants in the new continent, the Old Country, and the incipient Jewish settlement in Ottoman Palestine already appeared at the early stages of the modern Hebrew song presence in America. An outstanding agent in this transfer of the incipient lyric Zionist capital was an immigrant from Belarus, Joseph Magil (Magilnitzki; 1871–1945). Magil settled in Philadelphia and opened there a Hebrew/Yiddish printing shop specializing in educational materials and Hebrew tutorials for Jewish schools, prayer books, Passover *Haggadot*, as well as songsters (the last as early as 1905). These products, among the earliest modern Hebrew songsters overall to include musi-

cal notations (*notn* in Yiddish, a fact stressed in the titles), included Hibat Ziyon (a proto-Zionist movement) songs and Yiddish lullabies amid newer items emerging from Ottoman Palestine of which *Tikvatenu* (aka *Hatikvah*), a song repeatedly addressed by Sperling in different contexts of his book, is one of the most notable ones. This song appears in Magil's songsters, as Sperling shows in later periods, next to *Degel Ha-kokhavim*, the Hebrew version of the Star-Spangled Banner, a sign that already then Zionist leanings were not detrimental to or contradicting American patriotism. Magil's *Collection of Zionist and National Songs: The Best and Most Popular Songs of Famous Poets in Hebrew, English and Yiddish* (Philadelphia, c. 1914) was his most comprehensive achievement in a field that, as Sperling shows, will burst into a torrent of creativity after the Balfour Declaration and the end of World War I.

Agents involved in the transmission of the modern Hebrew song repertoire in America were human and material, as one can learn from this monograph. Occasional American visitors to Palestine brought back with them oral knowledge and at times, notated songsters (in manuscript or printed). Such was the case of the Yiddish folk singer, composer, and author Anna Shomer Rothenberg (1885–1960), whose *Songs Heard in Palestine* (1928) stem from her field trip to Eretz Yisrael in 1927 and from the connections she established there with those involved in the creation and circulation of new Hebrew songs. On the other hand, "Palestinian Jews" visited America on fundraising missions while sharing songs from the Land of Israel with their audiences. And there were also those agents born or established in Palestine who immigrated to America for good, eventually called *yordim* (those who "descended" from the Promised Land) by the *Yishuv*'s zealous territorialists. Two towering figures exemplifying this type of agent, Abraham Zvi Idelsohn and Moshe Nathanson, are extensively addressed by Sperling and for very good reasons. They were not only authors of new Hebrew songs themselves (as were eventually local American-born Jewish composers), but were also deeply involved in the distribution of their songs and of the songs by others through the publication of songsters, recordings, and educational endeavors. In their turn, songsters acquired their own agency, detached from their creators and distributors. Once they stood on the shelves of libraries and Hebrew schools in America they could be accessed by educators or youth movement leaders unrelated to the agents who were involved in the conception of these song collections.

These movements of humans and objects that circulated over distances a song repertoire in constant flux were not exclusive to the Palestine-USA axis. The networks generated by these movements included many Jewish centers

in Europe, most especially in Germany and Poland, countries that hosted the largest Jewish communities outside the Russian Empire/Soviet Union and the Americas. Anneliese Landau, for example, reports from Germany the following: "In 1934, [Jakob] Schoenberg took advantage of the presence of a group of Palestinians in Germany to note down their folk songs and dance tunes when they sang for him at his special request. The following year he published a selection of these songs in the form of a handy little song-book [*Shirei Eretz Yisrael*, 1935] . . ."[2]

One can see in this German case the same patterns described and analyzed by Sperling for the USA. Migrations, unexpected encounters, ethnographic initiatives, and printing technologies all converge to produce a pocket-size songster destined to reach an audience eager to reenact through song and dance the "spirit" of the *Yishuv* in Palestine in a "foreign" land (from the Palestinian Jewish perspective). This malleable artifact containing music notations, Hebrew poetry and language (the "difficult" words of each song were translated by Schoenberg into German) could be easily carried by members of German Zionist-leaning youth movements, taken out on the spot and activated at any campfire or hike in the woods. As we know now looking back, however, the life span of this important 1935 Hebrew songster was a very short one, as its users found themselves displaced in the best of cases or perished in the worst. After the Holocaust this same artifact would offer us scholars a muted picture of the Palestinian Hebrew song as it was transmitted from Eretz Yisrael outwards by wandering *Chalutzim* to the "diaspora" (from a Zionist perspective) or just to another Jewish "center" (from a German Jewish perspective) on the brink of catastrophe.

This center/diaspora fluidity evokes a poignant paradox rooted in the instrumentalization of the Palestinian song among the Zionist-leaning strands of American Jewry appropriately described by Sperling. The ethos of the Palestinian song (and dancing) repertoire that was dearly embraced by American Zionist Jews was deeply anchored in the eyes of its creators in the "negation of the diaspora" (*shlilat ha-galut*) concept.[3] Put differently, there was a subtext in the Hebrew song that negated, among other real or imagined aspects of Jewish life in the "debased" diaspora, the model of a non-territorial Hebrew culture that developed on American soil.[4] This disavowal of the very possibility of an alternative "Promised Land" by most (but not all) *Yishuv*-based ideologues was embedded in some of the same songs warmly embraced by the agents analyzed by Sperling in this monograph.

If the "negation of the diaspora" ethos of *Shirei Eretz Yisrael* created a paradox once Palestinian Hebrew songs were increasingly adopted, in spite

of this negative substratum, by Jewish educators and Zionist activist as an ideal tool for the creation and maintenance of a Hebrew-based American Jewish option, American "diaspora nationalism" offered an alternative paradigm for the American Jewish self. For American non- or anti-Zionists, "Jewish music," i.e., Yiddish songs, cantorial music, and klezmer, offered an alternative sonic venue, one rooted on the Eastern European imaginary, on the Brave Old World as center of authentic Jewish culture that was lost and reconstituted in the *goldene medine*, rather than on a Palestine-centered one. Here, however, the fluidity of music as a system of signification clearly comes to the forefront when a same tune could have been deployed by different sectors of American Jewry as both "Palestinian" and "diasporic." For the "Palestinian song" relied as much on tunes of Yiddish folksongs and Hassidic *nigunim* as it did on Russian marches and romances, as well as on Orientalist musicalizations of the "Orient" (generally disguised under the "Yemenite" label as Sperling stresses more than once in his text). These melodic resources were similar to those recruited by "diaspora nationalists" with the only exception being that their texts in modern Hebrew chanted the praises of the "New Jew" returning to the ancestral land as well as of the Land itself. We learn therefore that the same music could have been instrumentalized by the advocates of very different conceptions of American Jewishness. These conceptions though shared a common denominator: Palestine/Israel was not a destination but rather an ideal to be adopted or rejected.

Eli Sperling's pioneering monograph opens unexpected new vistas for the understanding of contemporary American Jewry during its critical formative stages in the period between the two World Wars and expands the study of the modern Hebrew song beyond the borderlines of Israel. He has judiciously selected a group of key figures from Reform and Conservative institutional backgrounds who engaged with the "Palestinian song" as an indispensable tool for "musicking" a modern sense of Jewish peoplehood without forsaking American loyalty. Zionism, however, was a disruptive force within Jewish modernity in the sense that it polarized Jews who found themselves in increasingly diverse existential situations and divisive political camps. These splits and contradictions embedded in the DNA of the Zionist cause, namely its transformational vision of territorial independence mixed with redemptive messianism, are coming to the forefront as these lines are being written. They surface not only in the rifts between American and Israeli Jews or between the American Jewry and the Israeli state, but also within the Israeli Jewish society itself.

Sperling concludes his study with the sound claim that today American

Jews (i.e., those who still have sympathies towards Israel and its culture) lean towards the most contemporary Israeli pop with no intermediaries, gatekeepers, and editors involved in the process of constituting the chosen repertoire or consuming it. One could add though that even the most current trends of Israeli pop carry at times the themes and sounds (and certainly the Hebrew language) of those Palestinian songs from a long-gone era of American Jewish history that Sperling captivatingly addresses in this monograph.

Edwin Seroussi
Bethlehem, New Hampshire, August 2023

Preface

While beginning the research for this study in 2015 as a doctoral student at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, my initial intent was to investigate Hebrew music culture in the *Yishuv* (Jewish community in pre-1948 Palestine) with a more peripheral focus on diasporic contexts. I commenced my archival work by collecting a variety of Zionist Hebrew song publications from the *Yishuv* and similar publications produced during this period in the US and Europe. To my surprise, I uncovered troves of Zionist-themed-Hebrew musical works from pre-1948 America, which often shared content and contributors. Previously unaware that such a body of music existed, I sought to contextualize these pieces from the US—many of which were produced during embryonic stages of American Zionism's evolution in the early decades of the twentieth century. In doing so, I quickly learned there were limited numbers of scholarly sources that analyzed or mentioned this extensive body of publications. With ample literature on Hebrew music culture's evolution in Palestine, Zionism's broader evolution in America, and an abundance of understudied musical sources, it seemed natural to me, my doctoral committee, and my colleagues at the Emory University Institute for the Study of Modern Israel that the focus of my dissertation should be on novel aspects of American Hebrew song's unique evolution. The research quickly uncovered a series of rich, illustrative Zionist songbooks, Hebrew musical curricular materials used in Jewish education, many Hebrew musical performances and recordings, as well as an often-overlapping assemblage of contributing characters and institutions integrally involved with proliferating aspects of Zionism and Hebrew national culture amongst American Jewry in the first half of the twentieth century.

Renowned Israeli musicologist Edwin Seroussi learned about the project early on in 2016 and connected with me through my doctoral advisor at Ben-Gurion University, Arieh Saposnik. Edwin was at the University of Chicago that year teaching courses and conducting research and had stumbled upon a series of American Zionist songsters from the pre-1948 period, like those I discovered during my own archival work. He was intrigued by these publications and wrote a course about them, which he taught in Chicago (in fact, one undergraduate student from that course wrote a wonderful and rich seminar paper about a particular source that I cite below). Edwin was pleased that I was working to uncover new elements of this unique story and joined my doctoral committee as an outside advisor. His early interest and guidance were crucial to the study's development and in determining its importance as a novel and significant inquiry in the project's early stages—which indeed helped concretize and narrow the focus of the work from the start. And as the project has continued to evolve and unfold past my doctoral studies into my early career as a scholar, the research and the insights I have gleaned from it have proven to possess interdisciplinary intrigue and value amongst a diverse range of audiences.

In 2020, historian Avi Shilon recounted that "in a meeting of the Forum for Young Scholars of Zionism at Tel Aviv University . . . [prominent historian] Anita Shapira, expressed sorrow for the young researchers, in light of the fact that the 'big' archival discoveries relating to the history of Zionism and its leading figures had already been made. What is left for historians to do, Shapira said, is to search for unique and more limited angles of research." Shilon generally agreed with Shapira's assessment, adding—amongst other clarifications and additions—that the resultant scholarship in the field often "employs a new, transnational perspective and . . . new methodologies and comparative research."[1] Shapira and Shilon are both correct. Yet, as a young researcher, the challenge of finding new methodologies and angles to pursue answers to novel questions in the field is not something I feel sorrow over, quite to the contrary.

Of course, key biographies of Zionist and Israeli leaders—like Shilon and Shapira's respectively insightful biographies of David Ben-Gurion—as well as works that continue to unpack Israel's complicated foreign relations, wars, domestic politics, society, demography, religious issues, leaders, and a variety of traditionally-pursued inquiries are and will remain to be of great value to the field of Israel studies, its many sub-fields and other disciplines. Yet, continuing to evolve and broaden the study of modern Israel and Zionism to include new modes of inquiry, comparative analyses, transnational angles,

and subjects of focus that may not have been significant in the past—beyond providing novel research areas for a new generation of scholars—is quite a positive evolution in the field (a notion echoed by Shilon). New, innovative directions in research, even if narrower in scope, or studies that are not focused on well-known or central Zionist figures hold power to illuminate many important and possibly understudied aspects of and figures within Israeli and global Zionist history.

My intention for this book is to provide an accessible analysis of Hebrew music culture and Zionism's parallel development in pre-1948 America to readers across the multiple fields within which I teach and within which I situate my scholarship—these include international affairs, Israel studies, Middle East studies, history, Jewish studies, and music. Further, the insights and historic context that this interdisciplinary study offers about the roots of American Zionism have proven to be useful and intriguing to certain non-academic audiences with whom I interact as a public scholar. As such, it was a toilsome balancing act deciding which pieces of context and background information to include or omit without rendering the book either unsophisticated or indecipherable to any given reader. As such, I endeavored to include historic and other relevant contextual background in a way that would help the book be most useful to those diverse readers I wrote it for. What may seem familiar or contextually unnecessary to readers in one field or geographic area could be critical to those in another having the ability to fully understand the nuances of the arguments and analyses contained within the following. My hope is that such items that may seem redundant or superfluous to certain readers are clearly understood to be part of an effort to make the book as widely accessible as possible.

As I have pursued this research over the years, amongst my greatest surprises is the sheer numbers of Israelis and Americans that are not familiar with the complex origins of the American Jewish-Israel relationship during the pre-1948 period; something I hope to rectify in some way through the following. In service of this goal, and my hope that the work will resound with a variety of Jewish and non-Jewish audiences, I labored to avoid taking positions on Israeli-Palestinian national contests and intercommunal violence as part of the following. A variety of arguments can be made about the ways in which events and figures analyzed in the following impacted the Palestinian national movement and aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict before and after 1948. Yet, making those arguments is not my intention. Rather, in telling this story, I see my role as scholar to be that of an informant, offering an accessible analysis of the unique events and novel sources I uncovered in my archival

work. My deepest hope is that *Singing the Land* offers historic context and insights to readers across diverse ideological spectrums and backgrounds and helps inform their understanding of, and positions on, the implications and outcomes of Hebrew national culture's evolution in Palestine and America prior to Israel's establishment as a state.

Introduction

One afternoon in September 1947, forty-eight young demonstrators invaded the British Admiralty's administrative offices, housed on the thirteenth floor of a Manhattan office building. The American Jewish students and their two leaders—both Jewish veterans of World War II—were protesting Britain's recent refusal to allow entry to the *Exodus* ship full of European Jewish Holocaust survivors seeking safe harbor in British Mandatory Palestine and denounced the British Admiralty as "pirates" for returning "to Germany the passengers of the Exodus." As the impassioned, mostly high school-aged protestors exited the building's stairwells and piled into the office space, something quite distinctive occurred. Their voices joined in singing the "Star-Spangled Banner," which they followed with Zionist Hebrew songs. Whereas the "Star-Spangled Banner" served as a performative affirmation of their American patriotism, the Hebrew songs enmeshed it with support for Zionist national aspirations to bring more Jews to Palestine and a sense of comradery with "those [Jewish] fighters for Israel"[1] clashing with the British colonial administration and Arab populations amidst political chaos in Palestine.

In 1947, American Jewish demonstrations against the British government and its immigration policies in Palestine were common. Likewise, American Jews expressing American patriotism astride pro-Zionist sentiments in the late 1940s is unremarkable and a well-studied aspect of American Jewish history. What is quite significant about this protest and indeed representative of an underexplored yet ubiquitous phenomenon in American Jewish and Zionist history is the distinct, central role those Zionist songs played in it. Why is it that the American national anthem and Zionist songs were the means through which these young Jews chose to express their sense of

American patriotism alongside their support for the Zionist national movement in Palestine? Further, how might Zionist songs have played a broader role in shaping American Jewish connections to and expressions of Zionism and Hebrew national culture in the years prior to this 1947 protest?

Through analyzing a selection of American Zionist song publications, curricular materials, performances, public programs containing Hebrew songs, journalistic coverage of Hebrew music culture, as well as other sources from the first half of the twentieth century,[2] the following book demonstrates that Hebrew music culture was central to the processes that comprised what might be called the "Zionization" of American Jewry prior to Israel's declaration of Independence in May 1948. Few American Jews during the period had been to Palestine and seldom did they interact with Zionists there prior to Israeli statehood. Considering this physical distance and the limitations of communications technologies, fostering an enduring sense of inclusion in the emergent Zionist national movement and its claims to land in Palestine amongst American Jewry required mechanisms for active participation in Zionist activities and Hebrew national culture from afar. Moreover, many Zionist activists and Jewish communal professionals integrated such Zionist engagements into already established Jewish settings, institutions, and contexts. Indeed, Hebrew national culture—including Zionist Hebrew songs—emerged as significant tools used to this end. Interdenominational Jewish educators, clergy, and Zionist activists successfully evolved Zionism's presence in American Jewish life pre-1948, making it mainstream, and Hebrew songs were a common thread amongst their efforts.

American Hebrew national culture and music were shaped by diverse American Jewish tastes, needs, outlooks, and priorities as much as they were by cultural and national developments in Palestine, all of which were in active flux throughout the pre-1948 period. Likewise in flux were America's diverse Jewish communities' priorities in establishing minority religious communities across the US. American Jews were a socioeconomically, culturally, and religiously diverse population in the first half of the twentieth century. Further, different American Jewish sects and communities related to Zionism in diverse ways and on different timelines throughout the pre-1948 period. Yet, shared among most was the eventual integration of Zionist activism and Hebrew songs into their communal and religious activities by 1948. In the decades leading to 1948, growing numbers of American Jews sought and found outlets to learn about, develop a sense of inclusion in, and even "perform" aspects of Zionism and Hebrew national culture from afar as part of American-Jewish identity. As what follows demonstrates, Hebrew song

helped bridge linguistic, cultural, and geographic gaps between the US and Palestine as many American Jews became Zionists, all while striving to climb the American socioeconomic ladder and build diverse, enduring Jewish religious and communal institutions prior to 1948.

This American Hebrew musical phenomenon did not come to fruition without the concerted efforts of many during the first half of the twentieth century to popularize Hebrew national culture, music, and Zionist engagement in the US, across denominational lines. One example of these efforts occurred in March 1919. Henrietta Szold, American Zionist activist and founder of the Hadassah Women's Zionist Organization of America (established in 1912), wrote a letter to prominent musicologist, educator, and composer Avraham Zvi Idelsohn. At the time, Szold, amongst her numerous endeavors, served as Secretary of Education for the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA, established in 1897), an interdenominational Zionist association. Idelsohn was living and working in Palestine, seeking to uncover, recreate, and proliferate what he deemed to be an authentic Jewish national music. "The Department of Education of the Zionist Organization of America . . . desires to foster a love of Jewish music among its members . . . namely to unite the American diaspora through song with the Palestinian centre," Szold wrote. She continued by requesting that Idelsohn keep her "informed of whatever may be produced in the way of Palestinian songs." And since few in the US had much experience teaching the types of Hebrew songs which she anticipated that he may send to her, Szold further requested that Idelsohn share his methods in teaching those songs in "schools and other institutions" in Palestine so she could more impactfully use them as pedagogical tools to achieve her stated goal of uniting American Jews with those in the *Yishuv*.[3]

Szold's early interest in utilizing Hebrew music as part of her Zionist activism went well beyond her correspondence with Idelsohn and work as the Secretary of Education for the ZOA. Szold was an outlier amongst leaders of American Jewish institutions and religious organizations—most of whom were men, educated and/or ordained at Jewish seminaries. Women were not ordained as Jewish clergy in America until the early 1970s,[4] and, more broadly, women in America had limited options to pursue professional careers or participate in social activism in the pre-1948 period. In her book, *Hadassah and the Zionist Project*, political scientist Erica B. Simmons argues that "Hadassah's successful battle for autonomy [from the ZOA], especially fiscal autonomy," achieved in 1933, "bolstered the organizations credibility amongst American Jewish women." Such developments, combined with "Hadassah's skillful propaganda, made Hadassah the largest American Zionist Orga-

nization during the interwar period." Noting the importance of Hadassah to American Jewish women in the pre-1948 period, Simmons argues that "many were profoundly affected by their involvement in Hadassah." Beyond providing social networks and access to activist outlets, Hadassah "became a training ground for learning new skills." Hadassah's work gave "women confidence in themselves as political activists and organizers and opened the way for them to find a public voice not only in the Jewish community but in the larger American community."[5] Simmons's assessment of Hadassah's role in creating unique activist and professional opportunities for women in the American Jewish community, as well as their impact on raising substantial contributions to Zionist fundraising goals in pre-1948 America are indeed reflected by my archival findings.

Hadassah's focus on healthcare and other "domestic" issues in Palestine helped Szold and her associates frame Zionist activist work in terms deemed socially acceptable for American Jewish women to participate in—even as a central component of their engagements with synagogues and other Jewish organizations in America. Within this context, Hadassah's hundreds of national chapters, as well as other Jewish women's Zionist groups that followed, flowered as outlets for American Jewish women to engage in a variety of activist and professional activities deemed unacceptable for women outside of such religious, communal work. The substantial financial aid and support for a variety of Zionist causes in Palestine that they garnered during the pre-1948 period[6] included musical institutions like the Palestine Conservatoire of Music. And, as shown in her correspondence with Idelsohn, Szold, amongst numerous others in the field of Jewish education, worked to help Jewish educators across America (many of whom were women and/or not professional teachers) attain Hebrew music as an accessible and easy to utilize curricular tool, appropriate for a variety of American Jewish educational settings.[7] By the 1930s, in part a result of Hadassah's successes, women's role in American Hebrew music culture and education became more pronounced than in prior decades. However, the following includes numerous examples of American women's roles in utilizing Hebrew music as part of American Zionist activism and Jewish education throughout the 1920–1948 period. It must be noted that in 1919, when Szold requested Idelsohn's help in securing Hebrew songs for the ZOA, the Zionist national project was still a polemical movement amongst many American Jews, but that circumstance was changing.

Events surrounding World War I catalyzed more mainstream American Jewish support for the Zionist national movement, yet the non-linear shift tended to ebb and flow until the 1930s. In 1915, Louis Brandeis—American

Jewish Supreme Court Justice and highly influential figure in the American Jewish community—famously articulated that "to be good Americans we must be better Jews, and to be better Jews, we must become Zionists."[8] This high-profile proclamation helped allay the concerns of certain American Jews that supporting Zionism could elicit accusations of dual loyalty and obstruct their push toward full inclusion in "Americanness" and the American middle class, a prevalent anxiety at the time. Then, in 1917, the British issued the Balfour Declaration—a short letter from British Foreign Secretary to British Zionist activist and financier Walter Rothschild—offered a formal British endorsement of certain Zionist national goals amidst Britain's nearing victory against the Ottomans in 1917 Palestine, and provided significant international legitimacy to the idea of a Jewish national home in Palestine.[9] This Zionist milestone was celebrated by many American Jews and initiated a boost in American Jewish Zionist support in the aftermath of WWI.[10] Still, despite the conspicuous domestic and international legitimacy bestowed upon the Zionist national project, many Jews and Jewish leaders in the US, particularly within the Reform Jewish movement, were yet to endorse the idea of a Jewish national home in Palestine, let alone the adoption of an extra-American national identity.[11] However, by the 1920s, mainstream American Jewish embrace of and enthusiasm for Zionist engagement and Hebrew national culture (including songs) grew rapidly, and by the late 1930s, non- or anti-Zionist stances in American Judaism waned quickly amidst worsening circumstances for Jews in Europe and Palestine, barred by Congress in 1924 from seeking refuge in America.

Szold sought to use Zionist songs as one instrument to proliferate and popularize Zionist engagement and Hebrew national culture in America during this pivotal period of American Zionism's evolution and was not alone in these pursuits. Beyond just changing the minds of non- or anti-Zionist American Jews or building a broader base of support for the Zionist cause in the US, these inter-denominational clergy, Jewish educators, Jewish communal leaders, and others sought to incorporate varying forms of Zionist national support, ritual traditions, and cultural trends into American Jewish life.[12] In part a result of these early American Zionists' undertakings, musical and otherwise, the aspects of Zionism and Hebrew national culture that were woven into the fabric of mainstream American Judaism throughout the first half of the twentieth century endured. American Zionist institutions like Hadassah as well as many others are likewise still extant and operational on a large, international scale. By the 1940s, much like today, many American Jews supported the Zionist cause, and for some, it was a central component

of their Jewish identity. Simultaneously, they remained firmly committed to their American locale and national identities, embracing growing inclusion in the claim to full Americanness and the American middle class.[13] And Israeli music—something that can be listened to, danced to, or sung, communally or alone—remains a key, contemporaneous piece of American Jews' ability to learn about, participate in, or even perform aspects of Zionism, particularly in Jewish educational, religious, and other communal settings.

Szold's letter is a unique revelation in understanding American Zionism's early Hebrew musical roots. Today, however, these types of outreach efforts to Israeli cultural figures and educators are ubiquitous. There are networks of competing organizations, as well as individual Jewish educators from around the globe focused solely on producing educational, religious, and programmatic materials designed to instill within American Jewry a sense of Zionist belonging, utilizing a variety of pedagogical tools. "Israel education" has in fact become a prevalent sub-field within Jewish education and its associated institutions, across denominations in the Americas and in other diaspora communities.[14] Following in the footsteps of Szold, today, many American Jewish educators, clergy, and communal professionals interested in engaging with Israel and Zionism in their communities utilize Israeli music to help develop and maintain a communal sense of association with Zionism and the state of Israel.

In their 2015 publication, *The Aleph Bet of Israel Education,* the iCenter—an American non-profit organization[15] dedicated to producing programmatic and curricular materials for teaching American Jewry about Israel—advertises the contemporaneous use of Israeli cultural output as a pedagogical tool. In the introduction to her chapter, "Contemporary Israeli Arts & Culture: The Power to Engage," American Israel educator Vavi Toran posits that "The artists who comment on Israeli culture and society through visual art, literature, poetry, film, dance, music" provide Israel educators in America with pedagogical tools "to delve into Israeli society in a way that speaks not only to the minds of students, but also to their hearts and souls." The prose wraps around a large-font quote from iconic American Jewish musical and Zionist figure Leonard Bernstein—"Music can name the un-nameable and communicate the unknowable."[16] In other words, Israeli cultural output, and, more specifically, Israeli music can be utilized to help foster an often-intangible sense of Israeli national and cultural inclusion to American Jews, in this case, within Jewish educational settings. To unpack and understand the origins and implications of these types of American Jewish musical endeavors, we must understand American Hebrew music culture's roots within the parallel

and often overlapping histories of American and European Jews, as well as the Zionist national enterprise.

Hebrew National Culture and Music

Since the onset of Zionist-motivated Jewish immigration to Palestine at the end of the nineteenth century, the formation, proliferation, and cohesion of Hebrew national culture and the modern Hebrew language were significant to the success of the Zionist national enterprise. And Hebrew music was indispensable to their evolutionary processes.[17] The varied economic backgrounds, educations, cultural orientations, religious preferences, political contexts, and mother tongues of the dominantly European Jewish immigrants arriving in Palestine between 1880–1948 posed distinctive sets of challenges to establishing a novel Hebrew national culture and language there[18]—particularly during their embryonic stages of development in the early days of Zionist immigration. During the late nineteenth century, many Jewish immigrants learned Arabic as a way to interact with Palestinian society—comprised of hundreds of thousands of Arabic speakers—and spoke Russian, Yiddish, and other European languages with each other. Nevertheless, Hebrew national culture and language rapidly emerged in Palestine during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as tens of thousands of Jews continued to immigrate and settle there. Part of this evolutionary process entailed Jewish immigrants in Palestine shedding the languages and national associations they brought from their former homelands—to be replaced with Hebrew national culture and modern Hebrew as a spoken language.[19] By the early twentieth century, a decreasing number of immigrants in Palestine learned Arabic as the *Yishuv* grew and allowed Zionists to function largely independent of Palestine's Arabic speaking society.

The development of Hebrew national culture and the modern Hebrew language was a largely international endeavor, at least until the 1920s. Many aspects of Zionism and Hebrew national culture sprang from Europe and other centers of Jewish life. Yet, as the Jewish population in Palestine continued to grow throughout the British Mandatory period (1920–48), it evolved as the center of Hebrew cultural output and language. And, as they evolved in Palestine, they also proliferated to the many Zionist communities emerging across the global Jewish diaspora.[20] This often meant that news of rapidly occurring national, linguistic, and cultural developments in Palestine took time and required channels of communication to make their way to many Jewish communities, namely in Europe and the Americas. In part through

Hebrew music, Zionists successfully proliferated these sprouting frameworks for Jewish national and cultural identity centered on notions of a globally linked Hebraic diaspora with Palestine as its national center and modern Hebrew as its national language.

The Hebrew national culture that emerged in Palestine before Israel's establishment in 1948 went beyond providing a common social framework and language for those in the growing *Yishuv,* or a means to feel nationally and/or culturally separate from non-Jewish Palestinian society. More so, it was a fundamental component of the Zionist ideal of reimagining Jewish life, turning away from what was deemed to be a deeply damaged and ailing diasporic past in Europe.[21] As such, Hebrew national culture's evolution must be understood within the historical context of emerging national cultures across Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The vast majority of Jews in Palestine and America during this period came from Europe. Thus, both American Jewish and Hebrew national culture were influenced by the tumultuous experiences of European Jewry during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as national entities and nation states formed out of European monarchies. Amidst such national shifts, Jews were largely excluded from and/or persecuted by these emerging European nations, many of which faced precarious economic circumstances and political chaos. These circumstances helped catalyze a mass exodus of Jews from Europe to the Americas, Palestine, and elsewhere surrounding the turn of the twentieth century. In the case of those Jews who left Europe for America, most sought to assimilate to the national culture that existed upon arrival. This was not the case in Palestine. As such, while American Jews formed a cultural framework for living as a minority religious community in America, Zionists utilized many familiar European national cultural trends as templates to form a novel Hebrew national culture in Palestine.

As national movements and the associated cultures developed in nineteenth century Europe, fostering a sense of national cohesion and identity amongst their members was of obvious import. Creating such a sense of cohesion often entailed promoting popular sentiments that members of a nation were part of an "organically" unified folk or people, with shared roots in an "authentic," local, and frequently peasant culture. Such emphasis on the folk was typically central to one's national identity, regardless of an individual's socio-demographic position. Even for many aristocratic elites, association with the folk was often important to their national identity and feeling authentically "German," "French," "English," etc. Shared amongst national movements experiencing these cultural evolutions in the nineteenth century

was music as a tool in forming and proliferating national cultures—cultures based on national mythologies that didn't exist prior to the inception of the associated nation-states.[22] The Zionist movement (as well as the majority of the American Jewish community) emerged from this greater European setting; in part as a reaction to Jews often being excluded from those national movements (and music cultures)[23] forming around them. As Jewish immigration to Palestine steadily increased throughout the pre-1948 period, national institutions and cultural movements were formed there, modeled on emergent European frameworks. The result was a Hebrew national culture based on largely-secular, Euro-centric conceptions of Jewish life and national identity centered in Palestine. American Jewry used Hebrew music as a source of inclusion in a national, "organic community"; in this case though, transnationally, as a complex and important element of their lives as diasporic Jewish Americans.

While immigration to America and Palestine were just two options available to many Jews during this period, those immigration waves yielded the two largest Jewish communities in the world by the conclusion of World War II in 1945. Since American Jews and those in Palestine were often rejected by the same emergent national entities and cultures they fled, it seems natural that Hebrew national culture and its focus on Jewish renewal and even muscularity after centuries of traumas in Europe and elsewhere in the world could indeed be appealing to both. Yet, integrating into America didn't require creating a novel Jewish national culture, or association with one being created in Palestine. While Brandeis and many others argued that the Zionist national movement was important to American Jews in the early years of the twentieth century, American Jewish success first and foremost required acceptance into an often-xenophobic American society and capitalist economy as a minority religious immigrant group. Building and sustaining the *Yishuv* did require developing a novel national culture, and eventually, Hebrew culture and the *Chalutzim* of Palestine did intrigue American Jews, and became a beacon of their diasporic Jewish identity in America. However, in part a reflection of certain American Jews' anxieties that Zionism could derail their social and economic goals in the US, it wasn't until the 1930s and '40s, when American Jewry became more secure in their place in Americanness, that Zionist songs and even Hebrew national culture became widely popularized and accepted in an interdenominational, mainstream capacity.

Throughout the pre-1948 period, Hebrew songs came to the US through numerous American Zionists' efforts to collect music during trips to Palestine, or through other private channels and correspondences, such as

Henrietta Szold's with Avraham Zvi Idelsohn. Simultaneously, certain Zionist institutions like the Jewish National Fund—tasked with raising money to purchase and develop land in Palestine and then Israel for Jewish settlement—had teams of professionals that exported Hebrew music to American Jewry from Palestine, often part of institutional fundraising campaigns vital to the land interests of Zionists settling in Palestine. Ethnomusicologist Philip Bohlman contends that: "Defined most simply, national music reflects the image of the nation so that those living in the nation recognize themselves in basic but crucial ways."[24] He goes on to argue that national music often relies on imagery of land and nature, as well as national language and unity amongst a people, connected through a sense of shared history or language.[25] With Bohlman's definition of national music in mind, it certainly makes sense that Hebrew songs would be utilized by Zionist institutions prompting their national agendas in America. Likewise, we can see why early American Zionist activists and educational professionals like Szold and many others saw Hebrew music as a useful pedagogical tool to help promote American Jewish engagement with the *Yishuv*. American Zionist activists and educators successfully contributed to the growth of Hebrew national culture in America through music. Hebrew songs brought to life imagery of land in Palestine and the *Chalutzim* (Jewish Pioneers) building the *Yishuv.* Many central elements of emerging Hebrew national culture (including language) and Zionist notions of the movement being tied to a universal, biblical Jewish past there were musically communicated to American Jews through Hebrew song.

Hebrew music culture and its associated community-building qualities on the one hand served a bottom-up function for disseminating Zionist thought in America based on the perceived internal needs of the communities, their leadership, and those American Jews interested in Hebrew song and Zionism. On the other hand, Hebrew music culture was simultaneously utilized in a very top-down capacity by Zionist institutions promoting national agendas, typically relating to building spheres of ideological, financial, and political support. In both cases, the themes present, and even musical selections were quite similar and reflected similar elements of Hebrew culture and Jewish life in the *Yishuv*.[26] As such, we can see that the Hebrew national culture and music that flowered in America during the pre-1948 period represented an amalgam of local American Jewish outlooks and interests and the agendas of Zionist institutions pursuing national growth and then Israeli statehood in Palestine. And by 1948, as both communities emerged as the two main centers of global Jewish life, both largely saw the success of the other and the health

of the relationship—despite a variety of fluctuating tensions, expectations of the other, and other complications—as beneficial to their own respective, local interests.[27]

One important component of Hebrew national culture that was musically communicated to American Jews were Zionist notions that Jews everywhere maintained a biblically rooted, national claim to land in Palestine. This message was particularly relevant to Zionists in Palestine as they sought to acculturate European Jewish immigrants arriving in the Middle East for the first time. While music's use as a tool to foster a national claim to an area is certainly not unique to Zionism,[28] it is distinctly important to analyzing Hebrew cultural evolution in America and Palestine. Hebrew music, often inclusive of European composers' interpretations of Middle Eastern musical aesthetics, promoted a yearning to live in, work, and defend land in Palestine and the east—reconstituting a perceived biblical Jewish claim to land there, a claim not reserved for those Jews gathering in the *Yishuv*. Often, such European interpretations of eastern musical aesthetics woven into Hebrew music were seen by Zionists as reinforcing a sense of ancient Jewish ties to land in Palestine and the east, regardless of their diasporic pasts throughout Europe. This was particularly relevant in the 1930s, as parallel to the rise of Nazi Germany, European Jewish immigration to Palestine rapidly increased, broadening the *Yishuv*'s demographic and cultural landscape.

Having new floods of immigrants in the 1930s—many of whom were cosmopolitan central Europeans—feel included in Hebrew national culture and Zionist claims to Palestine was of great import to political and cultural leaders in the *Yishuv*. Numerous Hebrew composers worked to utilize their interpretations of musical traditions from Jews across North Africa and the Middle East (often with a focus on Yemenite Jewish musical traditions) into their bodies of work. Israeli musicologist Motti Regev argues that it was, in fact "around 1930 that composers and lyricists started to produce the songs that were perceived as directly reflecting the experience of 'constructing the Hebrew nation.'" Further, that in the following years, Jewish composers and songwriters in Palestine and then Israel "wrote the songs that became the symbol of Israeli 'rootiness.'" In other words, the 1930s saw the emergence of Hebrew songs that symbolized Zionists' senses that they were culturally and nationally rooted in Palestine, a phenomenon achieved in part through endeavoring "to incorporate 'oriental' musical elements into their essentially East-European dispositions."[29]

These evolving Hebraic Middle Eastern musical interpretations present in Hebrew music culture (in Palestine and the US) were often referred to as

simply being "Yemenite" in origin. Yemenite musical traditions were indeed brought to Palestine by Yemenite Jewish immigrants pre-1948. Yet, the types of "Yemenite" songs included in the following were dominantly composed by European musicians. Seroussi argues that the study of Yemenite music's role in shaping pre-1948 Hebrew music culture offers unique examples of "individual musical trajectories within diasporic Jewish spaces [and] vividly illustrates the accumulation of compound musical capitals and their circulation since the distant past." As an example, Seroussi presents the story of one Yemenite immigrant to Palestine, "Yehiel Adaqi (1903–1980), a Yemenite Jewish musician and singer," who he argues was "one of the earlier brokers" of Yemenite Jewish music in the *Yishuv*. According to Seroussi, "A chain of movements and encounters that filtered Adaqi's musical baggage mediated his transfer of musical lore from Yemen to Israel, enriching it with stylistic features that deviate from the 'authentic' Yemenite Jewish soundscape imagined by European Jewish musicians and music scholars." "In other words," Seroussi notes, "European-born Jewish musicians in Palestine/Israel who interacted with Adaqi [and other Yemenite Jewish musicians] as a reliable source of quintessential Yemenite Jewish music since the 1920s were unaware of the textured heritage this musician carried with him from his early years." Yet, Adaqi, based on his experiences in other colonial territories, "namely, Ottoman, British, French, and Italian to where the Yemenite diaspora expanded" was a "mediator, a connector, and a creator" in Palestine. In this capacity, Seroussi argues that he "informed the orientalist imagination of European Jewish composers who settled in British Palestine and dictated how the Yemenite Jewish sound, imagined by these composers to have remained immovable for two millennia, took shape." And, quite relevant to the following, Seroussi correctly notes that "this Yemenite sound made in Israel would reverberate back in the American Jewish diaspora as an index of the new musical Israeliness."[30] As the following demonstrate, the types of European-composed, Hebraic-Yemenite pieces that Seroussi describes indeed made their way to the US, and their inclusion in the American Jewish music lexicon was even a common phenomenon by the 1920s.

To understand certain components of "the Yemenite Jewish sound" that evolved in Palestine, we can find contemporary-comparative analysis in Israeli music culture through musicologist Oded Erez and anthropologist Nadeem Karkabi's article, "Sounding Arabic: Postvernacular Modes of Performing the Arabic Language in Popular Music by Israeli Jews." Today, roughly half of Israel's Jewish population is of Middle Eastern or African descent (between

1949–1980, roughly 1 million Jews from Muslim lands immigrating to Israel, doubling her population), and local conceptions of musical traditions from these Israelis' Middle Eastern and North African homelands are important components of contemporary Israeli popular music. Erez and Karkabi argue, however, that in Israel, Middle Eastern music traditions and sounds are quite-often integrated into a fusion of genres, where Middle Eastern "ancestry serves as a pretext, used to hold together an eclectic exploration which otherwise would appear neither rooted nor coherent." They highlight contemporary, "internationally successful group Yemen Blues, led by Ravid Kahlani, a descendant of Yemenite Jews" as a case which punctuates their argument. "While Yemen Blues resorts to Yemenite roots as a point of departure [from other Israeli music], and as a framework for how they present themselves, their final musical and performative product" has "little footing in either Middle-Eastern styles or Jewish diasporic traditions."[31] So, too, is the case with a majority of the "Yemenite," "Arabic," "Bedouin" or other purportedly Middle East origins of the dominantly European-composed Hebrew songs brought to America from Palestine in the pre-1948 period, which do not sound distinctly Middle Eastern or Yemenite. Yet, many such songs brought to America included certain Middle Eastern-influenced rhythmic patterns, (modal) melodic phrasing, or melismatic runs, which injected certain Middle Eastern sounding aesthetics to the stylistically eclectic songs, clearly written by and intended for Westerners. Despite the often dubious or unclear origins, these types of Hebrew songs were framed as an indication that Jews everywhere, including America, could tap into their Hebraic national roots in Palestine and the east, sharing in what Regev referred to as "Israeli 'rootiness'" through Hebrew song.

By the turn of the twentieth century, Hebrew, the biblical language revived, or re-invented for modern use in Palestine, was no longer just a proper noun for a language associated with Jewish ritual and religious observance. It became an adjective describing Jews and Jewish national developments in the *Yishuv*, often connoting an ingathering of Jews in Palestine, returning to a non-diasporic past there.[32] Jewish labor in the *Yishuv* was "Hebrew labor" and a watermelon grown by Jews in the *Yishuv* was a "Hebrew watermelon." Jewish cultural output in the *Yishuv* was likewise Hebrew. Hebrew music had a far deeper significance than the mere fact that it was written and sung in the Hebrew language, or even in an Eastern-influenced style. It represented a globally accessible, performative affirmation of Jewish national claims to Palestine.

Immigration, Hebrew Music, and Notions of Diaspora in a Time of Transition

As the Zionist enterprise and Hebrew national culture evolved in Palestine—catalyzed by new immigrant groups, events in Europe, political tensions with British colonial administrators, growing intercommunal violence between Zionists and Arabs in Palestine, and Zionist institutional advancements, amongst other factors—so too did they evolve in the US based on local circumstances. This was not a singular process. Many aspects of Zionism took on different meanings and played different roles in diverse streams of American Judaism as they developed. Leaders in American Jewish communities often professed different visions of how aspects of Zionism and Hebrew culture could be twinned to and yet serve their unique approaches to Jewish communal and religious life, rapidly emerging across the US in the first half of the twentieth century. The variations of Zionist national association and Hebrew culture that developed in the US reflected many themes and elements of Hebrew culture as it formed in the *Yishuv* and can be found across Hebrew music culture in pre-1948 America.

Hebrew music in America allowed for imagery of land in Palestine, as well as depictions of life, national culture, and Zionist political causes in the *Yishuv* to be tangible, despite the distance. Musicologist Talila Eliram notes that Hebrew songs of the period in Palestine, while difficult to define as a single genre, share a common theme, "the love of the land [in Palestine, then Israel] and its scenery, which creates a sense of belonging to the land." She continues by referencing an interview she conducted with Palestinian born Israeli-entertainment-industry-icon Hanoch Hasson who argued that the ability to foster a sense of belonging to the Zionist national movement and land in Palestine is an "important criterion for defining the Israeli Folksongs." Early "Israeli folksongs are part of our being," Hanokh quipped. They are "songs that have a belonging, that portray a sense that 'this belongs to me.'"[33] Hebrew songs sung in America's diverse Jewish communities too created "a sense of belonging to the land." They allowed distant American Jews to communally express, within a Jewish religious setting or elsewhere, their awareness of, affinity for, and "belonging" to "the land and its scenery," as well as to Zionist national ambitions on that land.

Indeed, Hebrew songs' integration into American Jewish culture helped many Jews in America develop and maintain a diasporic sense of belonging to Palestine and then Israel as a homeland. The successful integration of Zionist Hebrew songs into an already robust, diverse, and ever-evolving

Jewish music culture in America reflects established Jewish communal practices. Jewish music forms have long evolved to meet local circumstances, language, cultural patterns, and trends of various communities, including those in Europe where many American Jews emigrated from. Philip Bohlman, in reference to the evolutions of modern European Jewish music amidst the urbanization of many previously-rural-located-European Jews, argues, in fact "that cultural exchange is the rule rather than the exception in Jewish folk music . . . Hybridity, exchange, mixed repertories and styles, and bricolage in virtually every possible manifestation constantly shape tradition . . . New historical forces come to bear on the Jewish community, and folk music serves as one of the most powerful forms of enhancing those forces."[34] As historic forces shifted in America, Europe, and Palestine throughout the pre-1948 period, such established Jewish practices of musical hybridity and exchange helped Hebrew songs be easily integrated in the bricolage of American Jewish music. And while the evolutionary components of American Hebrew music culture and its transnational identity building functions are unique for numerous reasons, they too are part of broader trends amongst many diasporic groups around the turn of the twentieth century.

American Jews, of course, were not unique amongst American immigrant groups in their use of a national music form to interact with a homeland. Diasporic groups of vast origin in America during this period maintained bonds with distant homelands, source cultures, and languages through diasporic musical forms. For example, Chinese American communities—many of which find roots in New York City neighborhoods, also home to massive Jewish communities in the first half of the twentieth century—have long-maintained diverse national and liturgical music forms as part of their evolving relationships to the homeland.[35] So, too, have German Americans. Historian Victor Greene notes that German immigrants, for example, brought with them to the US "well-developed musical organizations, choruses and bands" that found musical roots in the "religious, folk, and military traditions [of the homeland]." They helped keep alive a body of German music in America, including "the most private and intimate family lullabies and the most public national marches and airs."[36] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, German musical festivals were common across the US's many German American communities. They attracted thousands of attendees and brought in many of those aforementioned choruses and bands to perform musical forms central to German national culture. Historian Heike Bungert argues that these festivals and the music forms performed at them did not just serve as nostalgic entertainment, they in fact "helped the immi-

grants construct a German American (musical) ethnicity and assert their status in U.S. society."[37] Many ethnic groups used past musical traditions as a means of maintaining a sense of connection to their source homeland and culture while establishing novel identities in their new home.

Unique to the American Jewish community though is that it was comprised of immigrants from diverse national/geographic origins, cultures, and linguistic backgrounds, including hundreds of thousands of German Jews. American Zionists that sang Hebrew songs pre-1948 had likely not seen Palestine and only a small number of American Jews spoke emergent modern Hebrew fluently; unlike many of those German Americans of the period discussed by Greene and Bungert, who would likely have lived in communities and/or households where German was spoken by at least some, and many community members would have firsthand memories of the German homeland. Indeed, American Zionists' use of Hebrew music to define and maintain a diasporic identity is distinctive amongst examples from other immigrant groups in America. The Zionist national home, language, and culture were still forming parallel to the construction of American Judaism.

Even in this multi-linguistic context, Hebrew music culture fits into a greater understanding of music's utility for immigrant groups seeking to define and maintain diasporic and transnational identities while integrating into host societies. Sociologists Marco Martiniello and Philip Kasinitz argue that music's character as a "'promiscuous' enterprise encourages cross fertilization and discourages the idea of cultural purity." Further, they posit that music can create an artistic "place where ethnic boundaries can be reimagined, where outsiders become insiders and hybridity and genre blurring can produce some of their [artists] most widely appreciated results."[38] Building upon Bohlman's analysis of patterns of musical hybridity in European Jewish communities, Martiniello and Kasinitz's analyses can help inform our understanding of why Hebrew music's integration into America's Jewish musical lexicon indeed created an artistic space for Jewish music (as a "blurry genre") to be cross fertilized with elements of Zionist support, Hebrew national culture, and American patriotism. Historian James Loeffler correctly notes that American Zionism's roots had "an elastic character" in which "two political foci not only coexisted but also actively complemented each other in a harmonious vision of global Jewish nationhood."[39] Not being bound to cultural purity, music uniquely helped American Jews to define and actively engage in the ways these two political foci—America and the Zionist national cause in Palestine—would coexist in American Jewish life; and, like Brandeis sug-

gested in 1915, strengthen each other in ways that suited Jewish life and communal needs in America.

The Hebrew language, for example, arguably the most important feature of Hebrew national culture, was a waning focus in American Jewish life parallel to the growth of Zionism, particularly by the 1930s. There were certainly many educational institutions—across denominations—that taught biblical and modern Hebrew, much like in twenty-first century America. Yet, Hebrew literacy was not then and is not now ubiquitous amongst most American Jews. Hebrew songs—with their ability to blur cultural lines and encourage hybridity—helped American Jews to recognize Hebrew sounds in music and even sing those memorized or transliterated words to enmesh modern Hebrew into American Jewish life. The sounds and interactive experience of singing Jewish prayers or Hebrew songs in this sense could even serve as a substitute for the meaning of the actual words. There is no way to know, for example, how many of the protestors at the beginning of this chapter understood all the words of the songs they sang. Nonetheless, the sounds of those songs and the experience of singing them together was a positive affirmation of their American patriotism, Zionist support, and, equally significant, their solidarity with Global Jewish heritage and communities, which they saw as precariously hinging upon the *Yishuv*'s success. American Jewry's unique engagements with the Hebrew language through Hebrew song in the first half of the twentieth century can be compared to a variety of historical and geographic contexts, even contemporaneous Israeli music cultural trends.

Despite a significant portion of Israeli Jews' Middle Eastern and North African cultural heritage, Arabic has ceased to be a regularly spoken language for most. However, Erez and Karkabi argue that many Israelis engage with the Arabic language through Arabic pop music, as well as other Arabic cultural output in Israel, despite a lack of widespread fluency. The authors frame the phenomenon within "what Jeffrey Shandler (2005) has termed postvernacular uses" of language. Uniquely, they note that Shandler coined the term to help analyze ways in which Yiddish transitioned away from being an important means of communication to "a ground for the cultivation of Jewish identities" in North America.[40] Erez and Karkabi posit that in Israel, "Singing old Egyptian classics in Arabic utilizes an available competency (for some of the Jewish public) and is a welcomed practice" even if that audience isn't proficient in Arabic and/or couldn't converse in the language. They go on to argue that postvernacular "contexts where Arabic is performed as part of Jewish heritage or as an object for aesthetic investment" in Israel demon-

strate the tendency to place value on "postvernacular language from its other semiotic registers, 'as something more akin to music'" than a spoken language.[41] Much like the ways in which American Jews engaged with aspects of Hebrew national culture, language, and Zionist notions of Jewish heritage through song in pre-1948 America, despite a general lack of fluency, many Israelis engage with aspects of their own understandings of their Arabic cultural and Jewish heritages through a variety of postvernacular Arabic musical engagements. The sensations, melodies, and sounds of many songs with Jewish significance (cultural and/or religious), listened to or sung communally, in Jewish spaces, has served as a channel through which a variety of Jewish communities around the globe have maintained connections to unique and diverse cultural, linguistic, and religious traditions alongside efforts to conform to local cultural norms and languages.

Hebrew music culture helped ground many American Jews in their Americanness and Jewishness simultaneously—in many ways complementary to Brandeis's view of Zionism's potential to help shape a patriotic and religiously engaged American Jewish community. At a time when American Jewry, much like other immigrant groups, were establishing paths toward the American middle class through military service, education, participation in the American economy, and other means, Zionist songs served multiple functions. We can certainly see them as important in linking culturally, linguistically, and geographically diverse American Jews to the rapidly growing, global Zionist movement and corresponding events in the *Yishuv*. Concurrently, they served to help bolster American Judaism's vitality in the vast geographic and cultural expanse of the US by lending an often intriguing, global, Hebraic national significance to practicing Judaism in America. But of course, this phenomenon took time and great effort throughout the pre-1948 period, and varied between denominations and institutions.

During the early years of Zionist growth in the late 1800s through the early 1900s, many American Jews were interested in focusing on a Jewish life that involved integration into American society and the American economy rather than dedicating their energies toward the idea of developing a Jewish national home in Palestine. This could be in part related to a relative lack of antisemitism in the US compared to Europe. Similarly, life for Jewish immigrants in the early 1900s was not typically easy, like many other immigrant groups, and the hard work associated with becoming established in cities and towns across the US was exhausting and consuming, likely detracting from Zionist activism and engagement at the time.[42] Indeed, Hebrew music culture evolved to become one important and successful means through which

many Jewish communal professionals and clergy offered American Jewry a sense of excitement about being Jewish through participating in aspects of Zionism.

Judaism, Ritual Traditions, and American Hebrew Music Culture

Part of building Hebrew national culture in Palestine involved adapting elements of Jewish ritual tradition and theology to the new, largely secular Hebrew cultural context, further distancing those in the *Yishuv* from their diasporic Jewish pasts. Indeed, while Hebrew culture at times served to distance the *Yishuv* from the diaspora (sometimes quite deliberately), it simultaneously served as a mechanism to link diaspora Jewry to Zionist developments and the many political events taking place in Palestine. While it could seem counterintuitive, Zionism and Hebrew national culture—with their focus on glorifying Jewish life in Palestine, separating it from the diaspora—helped bolster Judaism in America. Zionism and its dramatic redefinition of Jewish life and identity in Palestine and then Israel came to provide a popular sense of pride and intrigue amongst many American Jews, particularly pronounced by the late 1930s–'40s. This sense has endured as a central element of many American Jews' sense of connection to Judaism and Jewish heritage, despite contemporaneous divisions between Israeli and American Jewish communities, which are certainly not new. In this sense, Zionism grew in its ability to bolster American Judaism's vitality.

Many components of the foundational elements of Zionist thought and Hebrew culture that eventually became interwoven with aspects of American Jewish life were twinned to Jewish religious practice in America through Hebrew songs. This interweaving often took place within the context of private institutions and synagogues associated with the growing denominations of American Judaism in the first half of the twentieth century, a framework entirely different than that of popular Jewish practices in the *Yishuv,* which were often framed as part of national Jewish culture in Palestine. In America, Jewish traditions like holiday celebrations were practiced as to uphold the Jewish religion and American Jewish identity in a way that aligned with norms for religious minority groups in America. An early means of promoting Zionism within these religious denominations, even making Zionism a part of American Jewish religious practice, was achieved through presenting Zionist interpretations of Jewish ritual traditions and emergent national rituals to American Jewry. Hebrew songs about these rituals, often depict-

ing their celebration by Jews in Palestine, appear across denominations of American Judaism during this period of study and served as an important conduit for transmission of knowledge about Zionist rituals and the associated, emergent practices to American Jewry. As the following demonstrate, Hebrew songs helped American Jews integrate a variety of Zionist ritual tradition into American Jewish life.

Zionists are not exceptional in their inventing and shaping of national and religious cultural traditions as means to promote national cohesion. However, the unique nature in which Jewish holidays and emerging national rituals were fashioned to dovetail with Zionist national and cultural foci is of great relevance to Hebrew music culture and Zionism more broadly in America. One example is the Jewish holiday of *Passover*, which was reshaped in the *Yishuv* to align with emergent aspects of the Zionist national narrative. In Palestine, new *Passover Haggadahs* (liturgical books specific to the holiday) were even produced to contextualize the evolving political circumstances of the *Yishuv* within the traditional story of *Passover*. They often included new Hebrew songs written about the holiday. While there is continuity with historic Jewish practice and traditions, we can see how/that new ways of celebrating the holiday of *Passover* were conceived to support Zionists' ever-evolving national outlook and agenda. One illustration of such phenomena, found in many Zionist-reshaped *Haggadahs,* is the framing of Jews' flight from oppression in Europe to Palestine, as well as the Zionist experience in the *Yishuv* as sitting within a greater story of Jews escaping oppression throughout history; represented by *Passover*'s recounting of the Jewish escape from slavery and subsequent exodus from Egypt to the biblical land of Israel. One unique illustration of such phenomena is offered by historian David C. Jacobson in his article, "Writing and Rewriting the Zionist National Narrative." In it, he notes that "Kibbutzim in Palestine devoted sections of their Haggadah texts read on the first night of Passover to responses to the impact of the Arab Revolt in Palestine in 1936–1939 on their lives." Jacobson argues that these *Haggadahs* indicate "the emergence at the time of a consensus among kibbutz members about how to tell the story of the Arab Revolt and how to situate it in the larger narrative of Zionist history and of Jewish history as a whole."[43] Jacobson's analysis is helpful in understanding similar Zionist national trends in numerous Jewish holidays; like *Passover*, *Hanuca*, *Tu B'shvat*, *Purim,* and others reshaped to illustrate contemporaneous Zionist national circumstances and intercommunal violence between Jews and Arabs in Palestine, particularly by the 1930s.

As Hebrew culture progressed in the 1948-period, newly imagined secular

Zionist national holidays such as Jewish National Fund Day and Tel Chai Day (commemorating a famous battle in northern Palestine, 1920) supplemented practicing both reinterpreted and more traditionally celebrated Jewish holidays in the *Yishuv*. Historians Yaacov Shavit and Shoshana Sitton argue that, "In the case of the new Hebrew culture (as in many other cases), a precise distinction between festival, ceremony, and ritual is not possible, nor is it important, for we are presented with a combination of all three." In other words, secular Zionist national rituals and Jewish religious celebrations in the *Yishuv* were largely conceived of as celebrations of Hebraic national identity, inclusive of Jewish religious traditions, ceremonies, and new national rituals.[44] Furthermore, new secular-national holidays created in the *Yishuv* and new interpretations of Jewish holidays were built around similar themes, typically celebrating stewardship of land in Palestine or commemorating Jewish valor and sacrifice in defending it.[45] Represented in many facets of Hebrew cultural output, new religious and secular-national rituals (and what they signified in Hebrew culture) were often introduced to American Jewish audiences through Zionist songs produced in the US and Palestine.

In the American Jewish setting, however, such Zionist reimagined Jewish holidays and emerging national rituals were typically woven into aspects of religious life and practices in synagogues and other communal spaces such as Jewish summer camps, fraternal organizations, religious schools, and youth groups, amongst many others. In the pre-1948 period, as synagogues and other Jewish communal organizations and institutions grew in their centrality to shaping and maintaining American Jewish life, these new Zionist ritual traditions and a variety of other Zionist themes and ideas were often utilized to enhance the synagogue or other Jewish communal experience. Much like in Palestine, Jews in America had to create new frameworks for adapting, expressing, practicing, and safeguarding Judaism in a new setting. And in America, upholding Jewish religious and cultural identity alongside American national identity required private religious institutions, and, equally significant, an interest amongst American Jews to both fund and participate in them. The Zionist reshaping of holidays, which often entailed attaching secular national meaning to them, thus served an entirely different function within preserving Judaism in America than it did in Palestine. In Palestine, these practices were part of developing a national culture centered around a largely secularized, national Jewish identity and Zionist national institutions. In America, particularly throughout the 1920s–'40s, they helped shape notions of private Jewish religious life and institutions that would be intriguing to growing Jewish communities there. Indeed, by the 1940s, as American

Jews maintained widespread Zionist embrace, synagogues and other Jewish religious organizations became ubiquitous hubs of American Zionist thought, rituals, Hebrew national culture, and music. The following demonstrate that Hebrew songs about Zionist-refashioned Jewish holidays and new Zionist national holidays in Palestine were often presented alongside traditional Jewish prayers and songs in synagogues, Hebrew schools, and a variety of other Jewish communal settings throughout the pre-1948 period. For example, Hebrew songs about *Hanuca* appear within entire sections dedicated to them in American Zionist song collections from the period. Such sections often combined novel Palestinian-written *Hanuca* songs like "Mi Zeh Hidlik" with traditional songs like "Ma'oz Tzur" as to allow for the holiday rituals to remain familiar.

The 1930s, '40s and the Shifting Tides of American Zionist Activities

Songs about new national holidays significant to Hebrew culture in the *Yishuv* like Jewish National Fund Day and Tel Chai Day certainly appear in pre-1948 American Hebrew music publications and performances. However, these holidays never gained much traction amongst or stuck as observances in American Jewish communities—despite efforts by American Jews and Zionist institutions to promote them through Hebrew songs and other means. [46] Yet, Zionist notions of Jewish military heroism, stewardship of the land of Israel, and even observance of certain Israeli national holidays commemorating wars and violence, like Israel's Independence Day (deemed an official Jewish holiday by Israel's Jewish courts in the early 1950s) and Israel's Memorial Day, did eventually become very important to many segments of American Jewry, and Israeli songs are ubiquitously included in many such celebrations and commemorations across the US today.

When Israel celebrated its first Independence Day in 1949, Israelis marched and danced in parades through the streets of Israel. Simultaneously, Jews across the US celebrated the one-year anniversary of the Jewish State, as they marched, danced, waved Israeli flags, and sang Zionist songs—as a community—in the synagogues, Jewish communal spaces, and streets of American cities, suburbs, and towns. This was a reality that many American Jews might not have imagined less than two decades before. By the mid-1930s, as violent tensions between Jews, Arabs, and the British colonial administration in Palestine spiraled out of control, Hebrew songs about many Zionist national struggles and the associated intercommunal violence in Palestine

became more common in American Hebrew music culture. While themes of violence and political tensions in Palestine were certainly woven into songs about holidays and rituals, many songs written expressly about Jewish military activities and moments of violence in Palestine were increasingly circulated.

The 1924 Johnson-Reed Act, according to the US State Department's Office of the Historian, "limited the number of immigrants allowed entry into the United States through a national origins quota. The quota provided immigration visas to two percent of the total number of people of each nationality in the United States as of the 1890 [a time with few Jews in America, as the flood was just beginning] national census. It completely excluded immigrants from Asia."[47] The 1924 congressional act's restrictive quota remained in place until the early 1950s and notably cut off European Jews' access to America as they saw the rise of Nazism and then perished in the Holocaust. Throughout Johnson Reed's enforcement, public figures like Henry Ford and Charles Lindbergh espoused a populist, antisemitic, nativist, and generally xenophobic platform in the US, even as part of the Republican party's ideological creed. Many American Jews (often supportive of the Democrat party's more pro-immigrant platform by the early 1930s) were weary of potential backlash for focusing too much public effort fighting against these American political and ideological trends. Particularly since Jews were regularly viewed by many in the American right as subversive, "globalist" outsiders, backlash from figures like Ford, Lindbergh, and their associates was often avoided. Throughout the 1930s, as American Jews watched the rise of Nazi Germany and parallel upsurge of violence between Jews, Arabs, and the British colonial administration in Palestine, a sense grew amongst many, including many previously-non-Zionists, that Zionist support could constitute a path of some kind toward helping Jews in need around the world, barred from entry to America. The US government (particularly among its more right-wing, xenophobic factions) showed little interest in budging on opening immigration to or helping European Jewry as things worsened.

Participating in Zionist causes and Hebrew national culture was one way Jews could feel a sense of agency amidst the helplessness of watching Hitler's rise to power and all that followed throughout the 1930s. Then came a significant turning point in both American Zionism as well as political circumstances in the *Yishuv*. In 1939, the British enacted a policy in the form of a White Paper, which restricted Jewish immigration to Palestine to 75,000 over a five-year period, coinciding with the outbreak of WWII just months later and the Jewish Holocaust in Europe. This policy was broadly viewed as constituting a virtual writ of divorce between the British government and

Zionists and can be seen as one significant catalyst in shaping the strong American Zionist embrace of the 1940s–today, already brewing before the start of WWII.

Britain's strict limitations on Jewish immigration to Mandatory Palestine—a strategy intended to tamp down mounting Jewish-Arab violence (often relating to tensions over increased immigration there by the growing number of European Jews seeking refuge)—served as a lightning rod for American Jewry's support of and interest in being associated with the Zionist cause. Concern in American Jewish communities for European Jewry's safety naturally grew. Following news of the Holocaust becoming widespread in 1942, many American Jews saw such British restrictions on Jewish immigration to Palestine alone as an impetus for supporting the Zionist cause and its efforts to overturn or fight against those policies—including certain violent tactics. Seeking to find a solution to the increasingly destitute circumstances of Europe's Jewish population surrounding the events of WWII served as a significant gateway for many American Jews to engage with numerous aspects of Zionist thought, activities, and music culture throughout the 1940s. Seeing free Jewish immigration to Palestine as necessary to relocate homeless and insecure Jewish refugees, many American Jews increasingly became sympathetic to and informed about Zionist political and cultural developments, including the more violent aspects of life in the *Yishuv*.

By the 1940s, many American Jews found that, by and large, supporting the Zionist cause and participating in Hebrew national culture would not necessarily harm their claims to Americanness or social and economic upward mobility. One simple piece of this reality could be that American Jewish support for Zionist causes meant Jewish refugees would be more likely to go to Palestine than America, where they were not wanted by the antisemitic, nativist, and/or isolationist elements of the American political establishment and population. Parallel to Zionism's growing level of acceptance in American culture, society, and politics, Hebrew national culture's inclusion in American Jewish religious life and practices as well as American financial support of the *Yishuv* grew. The latter part of the 1930s until Israel's declaration of statehood saw the development of many aspects of today's American Jewish-Israel relationship. An important component of this relationship was fostering a strong sense of inclusion in the Zionist cause astride a firm commitment to establishing enduring and patriotic Jewish communities in America. Analyzing American Hebrew music culture's evolution in the pre-1948 period allows for a greater understanding of American Jewish-Zionist engagement.

Chapter Summaries

The pages that follow offer readers four unique case studies and an epilogue that analyze and contextualize unique aspects of Zionism and Hebrew music culture's parallel evolutions in America. These studies, while focused on the first half of the twentieth century, illuminate central themes, patterns, and historic contexts crucial to informing discourse on the American Jewish-Israel relationship and its complex origins. Chapter I, "Stephen S. Wise, The Jewish Institute of Religion, Abraham Wolf Binder, and *New Palestinean Folk Songs* in America" explores how Reform Rabbi Stephen S. Wise—amongst numerous colleagues—sought to challenge mainstream Reform Jewish notions that Zionism was antithetical to Jews' success in America, a position publicly espoused by the majority of Reform leaders until the 1930s. Wise established the Jewish Institute of Religion (JIR) in 1922, a seminary that served as his institutional rebuttal to the mainstream Reform establishment, including their non- or anti-Zionist views. One early and important faculty hire at JIR was Abraham W. Binder (1895–1966), a young, New York-based Jewish musician and educator, already known as a rising star of Hebrew music in America. For Binder, this was the beginning of a career-long journey to integrate Hebrew national culture and music into Reform Rabbinic education and American Jewish life more broadly. The chapter also showcases the work of reform educator and musician Irma Cohon. Cohon, a strong supporter of Zionism and student of Hebrew music, published an important Jewish songbook in the 1920s intended for use in American Jewish education, helped launch Avraham Zvi Idelsohn's career in America through her contacts in the Reform world, and coauthored a songbook with Idelsohn in 1925. This chapter offers rich analyses of Hebrew music's place in the process that historian Jonathan Sarna refers to as "Reform Judaism's conversion to Zionism" in the pre-1948 period.

Chapter II, "Solomon Schechter, The Jewish Theological Seminary, the Goldfarbs, and Harry Coopersmith" explores how Solomon Schechter—the founder of the American conservative movement (United Synagogue of America, established in 1913) and then head of the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS) in New York—helped establish theological, social, and educational frameworks central to American Zionism's evolution and sustenance. He publicly extolled the virtues of Zionism in a 1906 pamphlet titled *Zionism: A Statement*, proclaiming that Zionism could serve as a "a tower of strength and of unity not only for the remnant [Jews] gathered within the borders of the Holy Land, but also for those [Jews] who shall, by choice or

necessity, prefer what now constitutes the Galut [Jewish diaspora]." These early conceptions of Zionism's ability to be compatible with—and even bolster the vitality of—American Judaism were significant in shaping American Jewish life, education, and Hebrew music culture. For example, the Conversative Movement's first comprehensive curricular guide (1922) for its education system, suggested that should an educator want to "create a pride in the great Jewish heritage and to cultivate an abiding interest in Jewish life and an attachment to the great body of the living Jewish people" they could do so, in part, by teaching "[Hebrew] folk-songs" for the purpose of "impart[ing] to the children such knowledge of Palestine as will give it a permanent place in their thoughts as well as in their affections." Such songs in the 1920s were taught and published by Conservative educators and musicians like Thelma Goldfarb, who published the Zionist songbook *Echoes of Palestine* in 1929. Her Hebrew musical works are referenced throughout numerous sources in the following, including *The Jewish Home Beautiful* (published by the Women's League of Conservative Judaism in 1941). This chapter shows the many unique ways in which Conservative Jewish leaders' educational endeavors and outlooks were integral to the spread of Zionism, Hebrew national culture, and Hebrew music in American Judaism throughout the pre-1948 period.

Chapter III, "Mordecai and Judith Kaplan, Avraham Zvi Idelsohn, and Moshe Nathanson—Voices of Palestine" analyzes the unique Hebrew cultural endeavors of JTS professor, rabbi, and Jewish thinker Mordecai Kaplan, his daughter Judith, and his longtime music director, Palestinian-born Cantor Moshe Nathanson. Mordecai Kaplan, Judith Kaplan Einstein, and Nathanson had long and prolific careers in America that spanned decades and were significant contributors to the process of integrating aspects of Zionism, Hebrew national culture, music, and the modern Hebrew language into Jewish education, religious life, and popular culture. In addition to his work as a cantor, composer, and educator, Nathanson was a pioneer of bringing Zionist songs and "Yemenite, Palestinian Hebrew" to American radio waves. Nathanson and Mordecai Kaplan—beyond their professional ties—shared a connection to renowned Jewish composer, educator, and musicologist Avraham Zvi Idelsohn, a figure important to the evolution of Hebrew music culture in Palestine and America. Idelsohn relocated to the United States in 1922 after nearly two decades in Palestine, and his contributions to American Zionism and Hebrew national culture reverberated far beyond his time teaching and mentoring a young Nathanson, then a child prodigy singer in Jerusalem. One of Idelsohn's most important contributions to American Zionism and Hebrew music culture

was the legitimacy he provided to Hebrew music in America's secular music world. Kaplan Eisenstein was likewise a prolific writer, musicologist, and educator who taught musical pedagogy at JTS from 1929–1950s, then went on to teach at the Reform seminary after receiving her PhD. She produced numerous important Hebrew musical publications and curricular pieces, in addition to her work as a performer. This chapter demonstrates how Mordecai Kaplan and Idelsohn's work helped establish the broader context in which Nathanson and Kaplan Eisenstein brought Hebrew songs to so many American Jews, pre-1948 and beyond.

Chapter IV, "The Jewish National Fund Land Purchases in Palestine, Fundraising in America, and Hebrew Music" demonstrates that the Jewish National Fund (JNF) was central in establishing frameworks for American Jewish engagement with Zionist institutions during the pre-1948 period—in part through activities like singing Hebrew songs and donating to Zionist land interests in Palestine administered by the JNF. In July 1942, for example, the JNF published the first of five separately themed Zionist songbooks produced for an American Jewish audience, under the title *Classified Palestine Songs*. The foreword to the first volume, Camp Issue, posits that "The spirit of a Zionist group may often be fairly reflected in the fervor with which its members sing Palestine melodies." As such, "The Overseas Youth Department of the Jewish National Fund has embarked upon a new scheme for the presentation of Palestine songs in a manner calculated to satisfy all the requirements of the teacher and youth instructor in the field [in America]." This series of songbooks was one important piece of a greater body of JNF propaganda, educational, and fundraising materials developed for American Jewry during the *Yishuv* period. This chapter explores the use of Hebrew music from Palestine in the JNF's greater efforts to build a robust donor base and spheres of support amongst American Jewish communities during the pre-1948 period, both of which were crucial to the success of the Zionist enterprise in the later years of the British Mandate. Further, the chapter explores ways that American Jewish women involved with the activities of the Hadassah Women's Zionist Organization of America, along with other women's groups that worked with the JNF, greatly contributed to the spread of Hebrew music, the Zionist fundraising agenda, women's access to a variety of activist and professional outlets, as well as the JNF's ultimate success in American Jewish philanthropic markets. By the conclusion of WWII—contrasting the decimation of Europe, European Jewry, and the associated fundraising markets—American Jewry donated to the JNF at higher rates than the rest of the Jewish diaspora combined. At the same time, the JNF

and Hadassah contributed significantly to the development and proliferation of Hebrew culture and transnational Zionist engagement in America.

The Epilogue offers concluding thoughts about the ways Hebrew music helped American Jewry define and maintain often complex diasporic connections to a homeland while establishing novel identities, as well as communal and religious institutions in their new home. Musicologist Su Zheng offers insightful comparative analysis, noting that Chinese American music culture is "a dynamic triangular motion involving the immigrant/ethnic society, the host country and the homeland" where "Chinese American music culture interacts with these forces at the same time it is shaped by them." In other words, Zheng is reminding her readers that Chinese American music culture, like many diasporic music cultures, was not at any period and is not now static or self-contained. Rather, it is constantly evolving out of a complex series of interactions between diverse Chinese Americans; evolutions in American political, social, and cultural trends outside the community; and evolutions in China's own social, religious, and cultural dynamics, as well as her political landscape (which, like the *Yishuv* and then Israel, often include complex relations with America). As shown in *Singing the Land*, Hebrew music culture in America was similarly shaped and informed by a variety of local circumstances and considerations amongst American Jews and their reactions to American culture, politics, and society, as well as foreign forces in Palestine, Europe, and other parts of the Jewish diaspora and world. And while shaped by all these evolutions and reactions, Hebrew music culture also interacted "with these forces" in a way that offered the American Jewish community a means to learn about Zionism and participate in it in different ways as it evolved pre-1948. Amidst quickly changing and grave circumstances for Jews in a variety of locations in the first half of the twentieth century, Hebrew songs evolved to become a bonding agent of American Jewish unity and diasporic identity.

One

Stephen S. Wise, The Jewish Institute of Religion, Abraham Wolf Binder, and *New Palestinean Folk Songs* in America

In November 1945, filling Madison Square Garden to capacity, "20,000 persons witnessed the twelfth annual 'Night of Stars,' a panorama of personalities from the entertainment world and raised $110,000 for . . . the settlement in Palestine of homeless Jews from war-destroyed Europe." "[New York] Mayor La Guardia, [American Zionist philanthropist and activist] Nathan Straus . . . [and Reform rabbi] Dr. Stephen S Wise were honorary chairmen." The stadium-style fundraiser featured performances of "songs from the hit Broadway shows" and "The highlight of the evening was a 'Salute to Valor,' staged by Ed Sullivan, newspaper columnist, in which a group of decorated heroes from the Army, Navy and Marine Corps was presented to the audience. More than 1,000 members of every branch of the armed services were guests." Among the performers were the "Music Hall Rockettes, the Roxyettes and [musical and radio icon] Fred Waring and his Glee Club, which sang the "Star-Spangled Banner" and "Ha'Tikva."[1]

The program at this massive, profitable, and star-studded fundraiser certainly evidences many American Jews' growing interest in actively supporting the Zionist cause while maintaining a firm sense of American patriotism, and duty to the US military in the mid-1940s. Similar to the 1947 protest, coupling the American anthem "The Star-Spangled Banner" and the Zionist anthem "Ha'Tikva," Jewish support for the Zionist cause and a firm commitment to being patriotic Americans were musically affirmed in tandem. Unlike the 1947 protest, this complex expression of national identity, choreographed by the events' organizers, was performed by Fred Waring, a national

pop music icon, showing just how mainstream "Ha'tikva" and the Zionist movement had become in America by WWII's conclusion in 1945.

The event was the fruits of a joint effort by many individuals and organizations, but a key player amongst them was Stephen S. Wise, a loudly pro-Zionist activist, Reform rabbi, and—amongst many other titles and career endeavors—the founding Director of the Jewish Institute of Religion, a (still extant) Reform seminary in Manhattan. His efforts to organize many such massive, impactful demonstrations in support of the Zionist cause in the pre-1948 period, including those where Zionist songs were sung, are indeed noteworthy, but not the focus of the following chapter. Rather, we will focus on Wise's contributions to American Reform rabbinic education and how they helped enable the evolution of Hebrew music culture in America. In the first decades of the twentieth century, Wise's pro-Zionist outlooks for American Reform Judaism set him apart from many of his colleagues, and the seminary he built in the 1920s became an important center of American Zionist activities, education, and Hebrew music.

Reform Judaism (known today as the "Union for Reform Judaism" in the United States) represents the largest denomination of American Jewry and is a current center of American Zionism, Israeli culture, and music. Of course, this was not always the case. From the dawn of Zionist immigration to Palestine in the early 1880s until the 1930s, many Reform Jews and their leaders in America argued that Zionism was antithetical to both Jews' successful integration into America as well as their theological outlooks. Many influential Reform leaders feared that if Zionism and Hebrew national culture became a part of American Judaism, it could catalyze accusations of Jews being dual loyalists and not patriotic Americans—in part a reflection of Reform Judaism's roots in the tumultuous emancipation of Western and Central European Jewry in the nineteenth century. Further, mainstream Reform theology of the time implored Jews to remain a diasporic people, integrating into the societies where they were—a theological outlook that was difficult to reconcile with a mass ingathering of exilic Jews in Palestine.[2] At least until the 1930s, disapproval of Zionism in the United States—with regard to theology and ideology—was a ubiquitous public position espoused by many of the highest ranking members of the Reform Movement, and some early Reform leaders remained opposed to Zionism until they died and new generations of clergy replaced them.

Isaac M. Wise was the founder of Hebrew Union College (HUC) in Cincinnati—the oldest still-operational seminary in the United States that ordains Reform rabbis in the US and Israel (HUC and JIR merged into

"HUC-JIR" in the late 1940s). He opposed Zionism and its inclusion in American Judaism from its advent until his death in 1900, and those who followed him at the seminary maintained this ambivalent public position toward Zionism until the 1930s. Historian Jonathan Sarna correctly asserts that "Any discussion of American Reform Judaism and Zionism properly begins with the Reform movement's well-known institutional opposition . . . both to the very idea that Jews are a nation and to the corollary that they should return to their ancestral home."[3] Indeed, Isaac M. Wise and other early Reformers maintained a position that Jews were not part of a global nation or people and that they had no claim to a land other than America. They understood Judaism to be a diasporic religion, one that should be practiced privately alongside their national identity as Americans, not dissimilar from other religious groups in America. Considering this context, Reform Judaism's conversion to Zionism, as Sarna argues, entailed "much more than simply an ideological commitment to the movement's mission; it also involved some degree of participation in its broader cult."[4] Bringing masses of Reform Jews and their leaders toward an embrace of global notions of Jewish nationhood or peoplehood and the *Yishuv* as the center of this nation required educational efforts to teach about the Zionist movement and offer ways to participate in it. Hebrew music was a unique tool utilized throughout the process.

In 1920, responding to the San Remo Conference (during which the British government endorsed Zionists' interests in Palestine while seeking to establish their colonial mandate there), the HUC Board of Governors issued a statement committing to the position of its late founder and many others that "no one land, Palestine or any other, can be called 'the national home for the Jews.'"[5] While this rebuke of British support for Zionists aligned with still prevalent non- or anti-Zionist Reform views of the time, it certainly didn't reflect the views of all Reform Jews in America by 1920. Indeed, there was an emerging movement amongst certain Reform clergy, community leaders, and educators to develop an alternative Reform framework—one that saw supporting aspects of Zionism and participating in Hebrew national culture through activities like singing Zionist songs as compatible with Jewish religious life and culture in America. Some hoped to have America become a diasporic center of Zionism, integrating aspects of Zionist thought and Hebrew national culture into the quickly growing Reform movement—an aspiration that of course came to fruition by the 1930s and 1940s.[6]

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise was one prominent leader of this pro-Zionist Reform camp, and he was actively involved in the Zionist movement since

its dawn in Europe.[7] According to his biographer, Melvin Urofsky, "Although Wise never left the Reform movement, he in effect left it far behind. Not until after World War II would the organized arms of American Reform Judaism finally catch up to the policies he had enunciated years earlier in respect to Zionism." Planning his departure from HUC following WWI, in pursuit of such policies mentioned by Urofsky, Wise worked to establish his own Reform seminary. And by 1922, he had secured adequate funds, faculty, and students to open the Jewish Institute of Religion (JIR), which would serve as an institutional rebuttal to the mainstream Reform establishment and their non- or anti-Zionist views.[8]

In 1920, as Wise searched for faculty, he needed a range of scholars and educators to develop a seminary that could rival HUC and train future Reform rabbis, scholars, and educators in a range of disciplines and religious perspectives. Wise's vision was to challenge the status quo of rabbinical training in America. To do so, he needed to create a seminary and team of faculty that comported with his wide-tent, pro-Zionist vision for American Reform Judaism's rapidly growing population. As Eastern European Jews flooded into the US through Ellis Island from the late nineteenth century until 1924, the immigrant filled Burroughs and suburbs of New York City quickly emerged as one of the largest Jewish population centers in the world. Being in such a bustling, growing center of Jewish life, thought, and music meant that Wise had many options in terms of finding diverse talent to help build his institution.[9]

One such faculty member was Abraham W. Binder (1895–1966), a young, New York-based Jewish musician and music educator, already a rising star of Hebrew music in America.[10] Setting a new precedent for American rabbinic education, and substantively contributing to the musical emphasis (Zionist and otherwise) in American Reform congregations and communal settings, Wise and Binder made JIR the first American institution in which studying Jewish music was a requirement for rabbinic ordination. For Wise, this was one facet of his vision of a new, "holistic" approach to rabbinical training.[11] For Binder, this was the beginning of a life-long journey to integrate aspects of Zionism and Hebrew national culture into Reform rabbinic education (as well as American Jewish life more broadly) through Hebrew music. Wise, the scholarly community and atmosphere at JIR, and the vibrant New York City Jewish community and music scenes all helped Binder find the resources and networks necessary to propel him toward becoming one of America's great Jewish composers and a leading musical messenger of Zionism in the pre-1948 period.[12] Binder's efforts to promote Hebrew music as a tool to

teach about and foster a sense of inclusion in Zionism and Hebrew culture amongst American Jews are often eclipsed by discussion of his work as a prolific composer and educator of liturgical music. The following offer a window into Binder's crucial role in Hebrew music's inclusion in Reform Judaism and American Jewish life more broadly in the pre-1948 period.

New Palestinean Folk Songs in America

In 1925, shortly after beginning his long tenure at JIR and Wise's New York City-based Free Synagogue, Binder took a personally and professionally formative trip to Palestine, one of relatively few American Jews to do so at the time. While there, he was deeply inspired by the Hebrew cultural and Zionist national developments he saw in the *Yishuv* and, more specifically, the Hebrew music that he heard and sang. During the trip, he collected many Hebrew songs common amongst Jews in Palestine and brought them back to New York, where he was well positioned to proliferate his musical findings, particularly amongst his circle of friends and colleagues; many of whom were well-regarded Jewish communal professionals, educators, and rabbis in New York's nationally significant Jewish institutions and educational networks.

As the following demonstrate, Binder was one early pioneer of Hebrew music's inclusion in American Jewish life and the activities of the Reform movement. His work built upon scaffolding laid by other clergy, educators, Jewish communal professionals, and activists, including prominent Women like Henrietta Szold. Another such figure was Irma Cohon, a musician, educator, and cultural commentator. Irma attended HUC, received her A.B. from the University of Cincinnati, and was married to a prominent Reform rabbi, HUC professor and administrator, Samuel Cohon. She had a deep interest in Jewish musical scholarship and education. In a 1924 address (five months after Johnson-Reed was passed) "to the Jewish women of America through the National Council of Jewish Women, Mrs. A. Irma Cohon, of Cincinnati, author of 'An Introduction to Jewish Music [Bloch Publishing, 1923],'" opened her speech by asking the audience, "Who is this modern American Jewess with whom our problem lies? She was born, in most instances, during the last quarter of the past century. If, by chance, her birthplace was across the ocean, she was brought here in early childhood . . . and insofar as she and her parents had spheres of association, their worlds were divorced." Further, she articulates her sense that her generation of American-Jewish women's "chief inheritances were an awkward, apologetic self-consciousness before the Gentile world, and an empty, hungry heart." And they were "harassed

with all the questions born of human doubts and of Jewish experience." After this grim assessment of Jewish life, and particularly the experience of Jewish women amidst the American congress's action to disallow the vast majority of Europe's remaining Jews from entering the United States, Cohon concluded by arguing that American Jewish women could draw "strength from her synagogue" as to help inspire her to maintain "a Jewish home; for in the end, she is the guardian of the future."[13] Cohon's recently published book on Jewish music offered what she saw as a musical path toward maintaining her vision of an American Jewish home, one which would foster amongst its members an enduring sense of Jewish identity, and connection to Jews worldwide, particularly amidst increasingly grim circumstances for those in Palestine and Europe.

Cohon viewed women's engagement with Reform synagogues, schools and other institutions as central to shaping the types of Jewish communities she sought for future generations of Americans; communities actively engaged in singing Jewish songs. In the introduction to her book, Cohon remarked that "many generations of devoted Jews have labored to create, preserve, and re-create the melodies that express the soul of the Jew in prayer and at play." Further, that Jews "strain our eyes into the far reaches of the dim past, seeking the origin of our song, for ours is the music of an ancient people." She goes on to argue that while world Jewry is indeed diverse, Jewish music unites them in a universal bond with the Hebrew Bible and its roots in Palestine. In part, as a function of survival, Jews wear "the costume of every country," as such, Jewish "music takes on the coloring of the skies beneath which it flowers." Significant to Cohon's understanding of Jewish music's uniting qualities is her view that "behind the variations of the Jewish song of every land, is the old music of [Hebraic, biblical] Israel, with a unique quality that marks it out from all other music of the world."[14] To Cohon, Jewish music vividly illustrated aspects of Jewish history, culture, religious life, and continuity in ways that other forms of Jewish art could not with the same success. Significant to note is that the majority of the musical examples she provides throughout her book of lectures are from Europe.

Cohon was dominantly focused on seeking ways to help American-born Jews gain a window into the lives and Jewish identities of their European-born relatives in America, Europe, and Palestine. And her chapter "The Jewish Folk Songs" deviates from the other Eurocentric patterns, demonstrating her early interest in using Jewish music culture to foster senses of global Jewish peoplehood and national continuity amongst her readers, which included Palestine and other Jewish communities in west Asia. "Down to our day,

in every land where Jews have lived for a number of generations, in large groups, we have folksongs: German in Germany, Yiddish in Russia and Polish, Ladino (a Spanish dialect) in Turkey, Hebrew in Palestine, Persian in Bokhara (in Asia), and Arabic in Yemen (in Arabia). It is not the language that makes these songs Jewish." Rather, "It is their reflection of Jewish life in the subjects of the song and in the music."[15] To Cohon, Palestine was just one unique aspect of global Jewish peoplehood she offered to her readers, and Zionism was sparsely discussed in her book. Likely a reflection of non-Zionist outlooks that dominated Reform institutional norms in 1923, Cohon did not include overly Zionist songs in her book. However, she did discuss the significance of "Hatikva" to Jews in America and discussed Hebrew music culture in Palestine throughout various sections of her book.

As Irma Cohon promoted her book and continued to work in the fields of music and Jewish education, Binder too was interested in music from Palestine.[16] Unlike Cohon, he did not face such constraints regarding the feature of Zionism and Hebrew national culture at Wise's JIR. In this context, Binder was well situated to soon publish *New Palestinean Folks Songs* that he collected on his 1925 trip (with the same Jewish publishing house as Cohon, Bloch Publishing). However, it would be more than a decade before his book's overtly Zionist content and message would be widely embraced in Cincinnati's Reform ranks. Initially, Binder arranged portions of his assemblage of Hebrew songs for use in choral performances, casual singing, and his many lectures and programs on Jewish music at JIR and elsewhere.[17] However, after receiving a warm reception of these songs in engagements with students and the Jewish community writ-large, Binder produced a songbook to offer a curated selection of Hebrew folk songs.

New Palestinean Folk Songs was published in 1926 with Bloch Publishing. It contained 22 Hebrew songs, complete with English translations and transliterations. Also in 1926, renowned Hebrew poet and cultural figure Chaim Nahman Bialik visited New York as part of a greater trip around the United States to rally support for the Zionist movement. Binder, applying his novel arrangements of Hebrew songs, wowed his audience (including the guest of honor, Bialik) as he conducted a full chorus at an event planned to welcome the Hebrew literary celebrity to the city. A resounding success, this performance and the subsequent recognition and legitimacy he received for it further bolstered his position as an authority on Hebrew music and the profile of *New Palestinean Folk Songs*.[18]

Binder commented on musical components of American Hebrew national culture's development in the foreword to *New Palestinean Folk Songs.* "We . . .

always take pleasure in going back to the scenes of our childhood, no matter how humble they be," he mused:

> It is, therefore, important to record the melodies associated with the early stages of the rebuilding of our old homeland, so that we, in the Diaspora, can feel something of the spirit which now animates the *Chalutzim and Chalutzoth* (pioneers), and that the generations to come may look back to these songs as those of the "growing" period.[19]

Binder's book attempts what he expresses in his forward: to convey that "spirit which now animates the *Chalutzim and Chalutzoth*" of Palestine to an American audience through a hand selected collection of popular Hebrew songs. Binder's success in recreating the "spirit" of Zionism so closely associated with the communal dancing and singing of the *Chalutzim* in the *Yishuv* amongst American Jews—a spirit he experienced first-hand during his trip to Palestine—is hard to quantify. Yet, Binder's book could have certainly enabled a variety of American Jewish readers, some for the first time,[20] to learn about and even participate in aspects of Zionism and Hebrew national culture at this early stage of their development—particularly with English translations and transliterations for all selections.

Offering comparative analysis, musicologist Su Zheng suggests that "A Full understanding of Chinese American music culture cannot be achieved if . . . our inquiry stops at national borders or treats the homeland (s) as a fading image from another place or time. No less Important than the diasporic circular movement . . . is a dynamic triangular motion involving the immigrant/ethnic society, the host country and the homeland."[21] Zheng's formulation provides significant context to the broader framework in which Hebrew music culture developed in America alongside her many immigrant groups. It shows how Binder's reference to the "growing period," while intended to speak of the formative stages of Zionist settlement in Palestine, likewise represents a growing period of American Judaism's own "dynamic triangular motion" or multi-directional motion. The resultant cultural "motion" between the *Yishuv,* American Jewry, Jews in Europe, and local developments and circumstances in America helped catalyze an active cultural pipeline between American Jews, Palestine, and other diaspora communities. And while still embryonic in its developmental progress during the mid-1920s, Binder is an early example of an American Jewish educator and musician who populated that pipeline with Hebrew musical sources that were accessible to American Jewry.

For years prior to the publication of *New Palestinean Folk Songs*, the *Young Judaean*, an American Zionist magazine, had been offering "a song a month from Palestine." Additionally, other Zionist organizations and Jewish musical figures were publishing small Zionist Hebrew songbooks for their meetings and events and Jewish songsters that contained Zionist songs alongside other Jewish music forms. However, Binder's "handsomely published collection of Palestinian folksongs" was an early example of Zionist songsters that would become increasingly popular in the coming decades. In fact, historian Arthur Goren remarked that one Jewish educator recalled "many youngsters made their first contact with Zionist ideas through the new Palestinian music [contained in *New Palestinean Folk Songs*]."[22] The prose in Binder's foreword, his choice of songs, and even the order in which they are placed, take the reader through a guided introduction to Zionism as Binder understood it in this seminal period of Zionist and American Jewish history in the 1920s. The book exposed American Jewish readers—some potentially for the first time—to numerous aspects of Zionism and Hebrew national culture, their geographic distance and even potential ideological and/or theological opposition to the Zionist national project in Palestine notwithstanding.

The first song in the book, "Yiboneh Hamikdosh" (May the Temple be Rebuilt), is (particularly in the Reform context) an audacious theological and institutionally political statement by Binder.[23] Providing the reader with a melodic reminder of biblical Jewish connections to the land of Israel, the song itself consists simply of the lyrics "Yiboneh Hamikdosh" repeated over a simple, slow, and "expressive" melody in a minor key. This downtempo mantra of "May the [Holy] Temple [in Jerusalem] be rebuilt" set over a melody typical of Reform liturgical music of the time was intended to foster American Jewish bonds with Jerusalem, her destroyed Holy Temples, and a past Jewish presence in the land of the Hebrew Bible. Considering that many in the Reform rabbinate were opposed to recognizing the religious grounds of a Jewish return to Palestine, Binder offered a firm and overt challenge to such Reform norms of the time through this simple musical vehicle. In pursuing his stated goal, "to record the melodies associated with the early stages of the rebuilding of our old homeland,"[24] he partially establishes what he sees being rebuilt, a revived spiritual and cultural center of Judaism in Palestine that Jews in America could musically tap into and participate in.

Binder used "May the Temple be Rebuilt" as a musical metaphor for the rebuilding of a Jewish home and cultural center in Palestine, and not necessarily a call to build a third Holy Temple in Jerusalem. While those singing this song likely did not feel compelled to move to Palestine and physi-

cally rebuild a third Temple in Jerusalem, internalizing some virtues of Jews returning to and rebuilding a national home in Palestine based on a universal Hebrew biblical past is certainly a plausible takeaway for this audience. To be sure, outside of Reform Judaism, with its non-Zionist public policies, Zionist songs of this nature were not out of the ordinary for a book containing Hebrew music in 1920s American Jewish communities. Other denominations and organizations, including the emerging Conservative Jewish movement, were producing songbooks that contained similar musical references to building a Jewish home and cultural center in Palestine, Zionist interpretations of Jewish theology, and the import of Zionism to American Jewish life's vitality. However, when placed into the Reform context, the song's content relating to rebuilding the Holy Temple (even if metaphorical) was a bold rebuke of the foundational ethos of mainstream Reform Judaism at the turn of the twentieth century.

Much like Zionists who reshaped Jewish theology and rituals to fit into their local *Yishuv* context, Reform Jews adapted many elements of Jewish thought and tradition to fit their own needs and circumstances. Traditional Jewish understandings of the Holy Temple and its relationship to Jewish history and ritual were restructured. Certain Reform rabbis and scholars even professed that the Jewish holiday of *Tisha b'Av*, the traditional day of mourning the destruction of the Holy Temples in Jerusalem, should be understood to represent a joyous occasion because it catalyzed the diasporic spread of Jews. Many declared that Jews in a modern age needed no separate homeland of their own, that the Hebrew Bible was not bound to any geographic location, and that the center of Judaism was the "universal kingdom of righteousness to be established on earth."[25] Thus, even singing metaphorically about Jews ingathering in Palestine to build a Jewish national home (and certainly any reference to rebuilding the Holy Temple) defied mainstream Reform theology and worldviews.

The placement of "Yiboneh Hamikdosh" as the first song in Binder's book is telling and just one very illustrative example of the many ways that early Zionists in America pushed the theological, social, and cultural boundaries of this growing segment of American Jewry. Binder, Wise, and the JIR as an institution began a process—earlier than most—that would ultimately help transform the ideological and theological trajectories of Reform Judaism regarding Zionism in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and music was Binder's tool of choice in achieving these ends. Sarna argues that "the effects of World War I, the [British] Balfour Declaration [supporting Zionist goals, included in the language of the 1920 San Remo

Conference proceedings], [1924] immigration restrictions, and Henry Ford's antisemitism added new converts to Reform Zionism's ranks."[26] His assertions quite accurately reflect that while support for the Zionist enterprise was not the dominant norm in the 1920s, there were numerous impetuses for bringing Reform Jews and their leadership closer to Zionism. And the conversion of American Reform Jews to Zionism gained quick momentum during this period, which necessitated synthesizing aspects of Hebrew culture as to create outlets for Jews to participate and feel included in the Zionist national movement in Reform spaces.

The pervasive ambivalence toward or opposition to Zionism in American Reform Judaism was indeed compounded by fears that Zionism could constitute a barrier to attaining a certain level of prosperity, acceptance, and social status in the US. America—widely viewed as a Reform Jewish "Promised Land" with its constitutional separation between Church and state, tolerance for religious minorities, and growing economy—was in many ways more significant than anything happening in Palestine. Contrary to these early concerns of certain American Reform Jews, aspects of Zionism and Hebrew national culture's inclusion in the movement, of course, did not impede on Reform Jewry's ability to become (and remain) economically successful and/or culturally included in American society. After all, by 1945, Wise helped to organize lucrative Zionist rallies at venues like Madison Square Garden featuring American soldiers and pro-Zionist endorsements from American pop icons like Ed Sullivan and Fred Waring. In the 1920s, however, this future reality was not self-evident.

Song number four in *New Palestinean Folk Songs*, "Na-aleh L'artsenu"[27] (On to Our Land), is an early example of how Binder's musical depictions of Hebrew national culture promoted interpretations of Zionist thought that later emerged as mainstream, part of the Reform conversion's greater negotiation between Zionism and life in America. "Following the issuance of the Balfour Declaration of 1917," Binder penned in a 1952 retrospective essay that "A wave of young men and women . . . from all parts of Europe and from Eastern Europe in particular, streamed into the land" and once there, they added "new energy to the growth and development of Palestine" but also a "tremendous capacity for song and dance, an expression of their joy in being a part of the generation that is rebuilding Israel . . . [they] did not sing of kings and princes, but of their land, their work, their hope, their destiny."[28] Binder's understanding of the virtues of Jews immigrating to Palestine, plainly expressed in his 1952 essay, were clearly communicated in "Na-aleh L'artsenu," decades prior. Still, while Binder is consistent over the course of

his career in articulating his feelings that Jews immigrating to Palestine and then Israel was important and virtuous, he did not necessarily want his readers to leave America for Palestine.

Binder was quite clearly inspired by the energy and activities of those Jews settling in Palestine; yet he remained in America as a firm supporter of Zionism and then the state of Israel. This phenomenon of feeling excited by activities in Palestine and having them possibly inspire one to be more invested in their Jewish identity in the American context became the norm for many American Jews. Zionist songs like "Na-aleh L'artsenu" were one part of a trend that was set whereby Jews could sing about or perform aspects of Zionism—like the virtue of Jews immigrating to Palestine—but not necessarily feel compelled to do those things themselves.[29]

Indeed, in the pre-1948 period, some American Jews did immigrate to Palestine. Author Joseph B. Glass remarks that between 1920–39 an average of about 400 American Jews immigrated annually to Palestine, and that for a period in "1932–35, immigration increased dramatically to an annual average of 1,258 (ranging between 864 and 1,826)." However, this short period was an aberration, as Glass notes that "from 1936 to the beginning of World War II, the number of immigrants steadily decreased from 357 to 29, for an annual average of 162."[30] The numbers of Jews that did immigrate to Palestine from America are of course minute compared to the millions of Jews that immigrated from Europe to the US at this time. Binder's musical approach to balancing reverence for Zionists moving to and settling Palestine while not actually doing so himself offered American Jews dabbling in Zionist thought an accessible framework to engage further with the movement. "Na-aleh L'artsenu" is certainly promoting the goodness and excitement of *Aliyah* to Palestine, "going up to our land rejoicing!" However, it was done in a way that provided American Jewish audiences an opportunity to feel exhilarated by and romanticize (while remaining physically and culturally grounded in America) events in the *Yishuv* by embodying *Chalutzim*, making the journey to Palestine through song.[31] "Let us go up to our land rejoicing! Let us go up to our land rejoicing! Rejoicing! Joyful Day! Gladsome Day! Peaceful Day! Holy Day! Sacred Day! Let us go up to our land rejoicing!"[32] A common song in Hebrew songsters produced in Zionist circles in the US after 1926, Binder's "Na-aleh L'artsenu" offered readers a means to perform one of the most important components of Zionist national development throughout this part of its history: Jewish movement to and settlement of Palestine.

While Binder suggests that the melody of the briskly-paced song is "Yemenite in origin," there is no particular indication that this is the case. The

tune is in a minor key, with an upbeat tempo, yet it is not distinctly Yemenite or Middle Eastern sounding. It is composed to sound palatable and relatable to an audience familiar with and interested in music composed in a Western style. Ultimately though, most of Binder's readers had little understanding of Middle Eastern musical traditions for comparison and would likely be more drawn to the song's Palestinian character than its purported Yemenite origins. One could sing or listen to "Yemenite" Hebrew songs in America so as to include those "Yemenite" aspects of Hebrew national culture into their Jewish communal activities and identities. Much like the ways in which Hebrew songs about immigration to Palestine helped segments of American Jewry find exhilaration in other Jews, even some from America "go[ing] up to our land" from afar, they offered an accessible avenue for American Jews to feel like active participants in the "Yemenite," Eastern cultural elements of Hebrew national culture, central to Zionist notions of a Hebraic Jewish past in Palestine. To Binder and Wise, supporting those Jews who were developing, settling, and defending land in Palestine was not only important but exciting, worthy of rejoicing and central to their own Jewish lives in America.

One only needs to look at Binder's own life to understand his intentions with adding songs like "Na-aleh L'artsenu" to his song collection. He loudly expressed his passion for the Zionist movement, travel to Palestine, and participation in Hebrew music culture—yet he never immigrated there. In fact, he used those trips (beyond personal enjoyment) to collect Hebrew songs for use as pedagogical tools, features in his performances, and commercial publications in America, his chosen home until his death in 1966. These songs certainly helped him build a successful career as a central figure in American Jewish music. It seems a logical conclusion then that Binder felt traveling to Palestine and participating in Hebrew music culture in America was a satisfying level of Zionist engagement for himself alongside his career goals and life in the US. It is reasonable to assume then that Binder felt the same could be the case for other American Jews. And, perhaps the songs' participatory, accessible nature were that much more important to American Jewry because many couldn't travel there like he had, and, like him, weren't necessarily interested in leaving America permanently.

Binder's publication and many performances of songs contained within held the potential to offer a variety of readers across the US easy access to Hebrew songs, and he worked hard to promote his book and its usefulness in Jewish religious, communal, social, or educational settings. For example, in 1927, the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* reported that "The Bloch Publishing company of New York has just issued a unique book of music, 'New Pal-

estinean Folk Songs,' noted, collected, edited and arranged by Abraham Wolf Binder." In an interview with the publication surrounding a Wisconsin performance and book promotion, Binder remarked that "While collecting the songs which Palestine is singing today, I was imbued with the importance which these songs play in expressing the spirit of the present day Palestinian . . . To hear 'Nigun Bialik' sung by a group of dancing Chalutzim [Zionist "pioneers" in pre-1948 Palestine] is the vigor and determination with which the Chalutzim are rebuilding Palestine." Perhaps signaling to Wisconsin's Jewish community that he will continue to help musically communicate "the spirit of the present day Palestinian" to American Jewish audiences, Binder proposed that readers could "look forward to the evolution of a new Jewish musical idiom, which will come out of the new life which will be evolved in Palestine."[33] To spread this idiom in America, Binder understood the import of adding music to his book that could fuse genres and musical forms relatable to a variety of American Jewish demographics; like in Wisconsin, for example, where many Reform Jews of German and other central European origins lived (amongst Eastern European Jewish immigrants).

Binder's second selection in *New Palestinean Folk Songs*, "Polka Chalutsith" (a Chalutz Polka), with no credited composer or lyricist, is set to a familiar, light, and swiftly paced Polka melody, and communicates that even in Palestine, "they feed us 'bursht' and 'borsht,' And for change again some 'bursht.'"[34] Maybe even in conflict with the ideologies or theologies of their Reform rabbi in the Midwest, German Reform Jews could musically embody *Chalutzim* eating a familiar food in Palestine—through a recognizable musical form that was not uniquely Jewish or Palestinian. Binder was, of course, pushing against the grain of Reform norms and was doing so to popularize Hebrew songs and Zionist engagement, as well as profit/build his profile from selling publications to readers nationally. As such, he wanted to appeal to as many markets as possible, including those swaths of central European Reform Jews in the midwestern US that might relate to or at least be entertained by a Polka song about *Chalutzim* eating borscht in Palestine. Significant though is that there is only one song in the book that blurs genre so explicitly. Further, its placement at the beginning of the book suggests it was intended to serve as a welcoming 'warmup' for the other, less-familiar sounding selections amongst diverse European Jewish readers.[35] It must be noted that Irma Cohon's 1923 publication focused heavily on German and other European Jewish songs.

Binder understood that singing Hebrew songs like "Nigun Bialik" or others in America—highlighting evolving notions of Zionist thought, activities,

and music culture—could facilitate active participation in Hebrew cultural activities popular in Palestine. He wanted Jews in the US to feel excited by Zionist activities like Jewish immigration to Palestine in the 1920s. He wanted American Jewry to support and find senses of pride and inclusion in many activities of those *Chalutzim* in Palestine. He assumed that Jews in America were able to feel a sense of perceived Zionist "authenticity" through communally singing Hebrew songs with other Zionists. As such, he sought to make these songs one important piece of American Jewry's ability to transnationally engage with Zionist activities in ways that were socially acceptable and could comport with Reform outlooks and approaches to life in America. Hebrew songs helped Binder reframe and communicate other components of Zionism—even socialist-leaning, Labor aspects—to American Jewry in ways that could attenuate their potential conflict with American Jewish efforts to integrate into America's capitalist economy and society. For Binder, to hear this music was "to hear the soul of the Jewish people yearn for the restoration of its homeland,"[36] even if certain Zionist political ideologies did not yet align with mainstream Reform norms.

Song number seven in *New Palestinean Folk Songs,* "Ein Dovor, Ein Dovor" (No Matter, No Matter), presents components of Zionism that might appear ill fitting to Jewish efforts toward integration into 1920s America, through a lively, briskly paced song in F major. "In the Galut [diaspora or exile] I found naught: To the land of Israel I Journeyed, No matter, no matter, no matter. A month or more I waited, Till I became worthy of work, no matter, no matter, no matter. In Hebrew they call it a 'Kvish'; As for shoes, clothes ma-fiche [Arabic for there isn't any]."[37] Beyond inklings of socialism, the song presents two other notions seemingly incompatible with Americanness: the emptiness of diasporic Jewish life and the insignificance of material possessions. Thus, the lyrics of the song seem quite counterintuitive knowing the priorities of many American Reform Jews at the time. However, much like the ways in which Binder's presentation of Jewish immigration to Palestine was not necessarily intended to make American Jews want to move to Palestine—rather, to feel inspired and excited by others doing it—"Ein Dovor, Ein Dovor" is not necessarily intended to make American Jews want to "live without" or find "naught" in their integration into American society and her capitalist economy as a minority religious group.

Binder is providing his reader a participatory, musical lesson about aspects of Zionist labor values and Hebrew national culture; one which does not require the often-harsh realities of life and work in Palestine or forgo financial or social success in America. The demanding physical labor of building

infrastructure in Palestine and the sacrifice of going without proper clothing, shoes, etc., were offered as hardships integral to Zionism's survival and the effort to build a Jewish homeland in Palestine, on behalf of Jews everywhere. Binder is suggesting that these songs allowed for readers to feel motivated by such Zionist hardships and efforts without having to adopt socialist ideologies, pave roads in the hot sun of Palestine, or do much other than continue to focus on building American Jewish life, just with Zionism and Hebrew national culture as parts of it.

It is important to note that certain members of the large Eastern European Jewish community, centered in New York—and quickly spreading throughout the US—sympathized with certain aspects of socialist-labor ideologies and Zionism. Many in the Reform establishment, often more fiscally and politically conservative, saw these new Jewish ideologies coming to America as an affront to their own established ideals of Jewish life. This sentiment was echoed by many influential figures at HUC[38] and elsewhere within the movement. Binder, by virtue of his location, was surrounded by the Eastern European Jewish community in a way that his Reform colleagues in Cincinnati were not. As such, his publications and performances of songs promoting Zionist labor values might also reflect different norms and attitudes toward Zionism and its associated labor values in the heavily Eastern European-dominated New York Jewish community. Although, even in Cincinnati, like Milwaukee and Chicago, there existed strong circles of Zionist support and Hebrew music culture in the 1920s that only grew.

New Palestinean Folk Songs is an early, pioneering example of the type of Hebrew Reform pedagogical and cultural tools that would become ubiquitous across America during the second half of the twentieth century. Middle-class American Jews would be grounded in American life yet participate in Zionist activities in Jewish communal settings that might conflict with American norms. Singing Hebrew songs that celebrated the virtues of socialist-leaning labor values in Palestine without wanting socialist-leaning labor values to be central to American Jewish life, politics, or ideologies is just one illustrative example of how Hebrew music was utilized in America to proliferate and educate about a variety of themes and issues central to the Zionist movement.

Defense of land in Palestine is another element of Zionism reflected in Binder's songster. Although the mid-1920s were a calm interregnum of sorts between outbreaks of Jewish-Arab violence in the early years of the decade and the far more destructive outbreak of 1929, there was nevertheless intercommunal tension and brewing violence in Palestine. An ethos of Jewish strength, defense, and valor, important tropes since Zionism's earliest days,

was becoming an increasingly common theme in Hebrew national culture and even the daily lives of Jews in Palestine. Song number 20 in *New Palestinean Folk Songs*, "Al Mos Trumpeldor" (Upon the Death of Trumpeldor), invokes the pride in heroism and the value of Jewish military bravery associated with Zionism, which had recently gained a new symbol of valor in Joseph Trumpeldor. The song emphasized the efforts of those in the *Yishuv* to protect Jewish settlements. Uniquely, it was Binder's own rendition of a Hebrew song "Midan Ve'ad Be'er Sheva" (From the Dan to Be'er Sheba), written by revisionist leader, Ze'ev Jabotinsky while he was imprisoned at a British facility in the fortress of Acco, north of Haifa.

Jabotinsky's lyrics (although he is not credited by Binder) were set to music by a Palestine-based, Jewish musician and music educator, Yosef Milet.[39] The upbeat, but somber and militaristic "funeral march" introduced certain American Jews to the storied 1920 battle of Tel Hai, in which eight Jewish militiamen, including their one-armed commander Trumpeldor [who lost his arm in the 1904/5 Russo-Japanese war], died while protecting the Jewish settlement of Tel Chai against Arab militiamen in northern Palestine. Jabotinsky's lyrics

> From Dan to Beersheba, from Gilead to the Sea, there is no span not atoned for in blood; Hebrew blood has flowed in plenty, furrowed field, mountain and valley; for generations, blood has not been shed, purer than that of Tel Hai.
>
> Twixt Ayeleth and Metullah [North Israeli villages that sandwich Tel Chai], stands a solitary grave; a silent watchman, at the border of our land, a sentry, strong, and one-armed; our heart has been taken captive, at Tel Hai in the North; ours, only ours—art thou, Crown of the Hermon.[40]

To American readers, possibly learning about Russian-born Zionist and slain war hero Joseph Trumpeldor for the first time, the song served as an introduction to the more violent sides of building a Jewish national entity in Palestine.

Tel Chai Day was an early and important Zionist national holiday, but one that did not take root in America.[41] Regardless, this song presented a Jewish student in New York, Wisconsin, or elsewhere in the United States a sense that aspects of intercommunal violence, Zionist notions of military valor, and land interests in Palestine constituted part of their own Jewish life and concerns in America. The song delivered the mythical glory associated with Trumpeldor and his fighters' sacrifice in Hebrew national culture.[42]

Communal singing of this song stresses the inclusion of American Jews in mourning at Trumpeldor's "solitary grave . . . at the border of our land . . . ours, only ours." Binder hoped his readers would feel the emotions that this song likely elicited in the *Yishuv* amidst the evolution of intercommunal violence. Like the importance of Jewish immigration to Palestine and Zionist labor values, reverence for those Jews who sacrificed their lives defending land in Palestine was central to the elements of Zionism that Binder wanted his readers to know about and find important to their diasporic understanding of Judaism, Jewish bravery, muscularity, and music in America.[43]

Binder wanted American Jews to find self-confidence and pride in these depictions of Jewish heroism and military valor, much like Jews in the *Yishuv* or elsewhere in the world were. For an American Jewish student, learning about the Hebrew military hero Joseph Trumpeldor through an emotive, Hebrew funeral March could have impacted his view of Judaism and global Jewish communities in a myriad of ways. Considering Jews were widely discriminated against in America—sometimes thought to be weak or physically incapable—the story of a Jewish military hero like Trumpeldor could have helped a Jew find pride in being Jewish through seeing examples of modern, "strong" and brave Jewish fighters in Palestine, risking—and sometimes sacrificing—their lives for Jewish causes. Furthermore, the reader might see Trumpeldor as a part of a greater lineage of Jewish military heroes throughout history, fighting against enemy combatants threatening Jewish existence in far-off lands—a reaction to persecution unfortunately familiar to Jewish communities that left Europe.

By the late 1920s, beyond his work with Hebrew music, Binder's fame as a performer of Jewish liturgical music in New York's internationally significant music scene grew and genre blending was a feature of many of his performances, which he often injected with elements of his Hebraic music. It is quite plausible that attendees at a 1928 "concert of original works by Binder . . . devoted [to] . . . liturgical music and Jewish folk music . . . with themes found in Palestine"[44] or those who came to Carnegie Hall in November 1929 to hear his rendition of "Joshua . . . a Cantata . . . based on a Hebrew theme"[45] felt compelled to bring some of his Hebrew songs into their homes and communities by purchasing *New Palestinean Folk Songs*. His importance as a liturgical composer and performer only helped his ability to inject Hebrew culture into the Jewish musical lexicons of his many audiences. Binder's interest in performing and publishing Hebrew songs would only continue to gain relevance amongst American Jewry in the coming decade—

and his successes in the 1920s positioned him to use Hebrew music to help foster the rapid growth of Zionism that occurred around him in the 1930s—in the Reform world and American Jewish life more broadly.

New Palestinean Folk Songs: Book II

In 1935, marking broader attitudinal shifts toward Zionism, the Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR), the Reform Rabbinic professional association, passed a resolution, controversial at the time, stating, "the Central Conference of American Rabbis takes no official stand on the subject of Zionism."[46] While this resolution represents only a public stance of neutrality toward Zionism in 1935 amongst the Reform establishment, the position shows a strong shifting of the tides compared with the firm non- or anti-Zionism that had dominated the public stances of many Reform institutions just years before. Amidst the buildup toward this greater softening of Reform views on Zionism, Binder published a second iteration of *New Palestinean Folk Songs* in 1933. The new book was inspired by a 1931 trip he took to Palestine and included an entirely new foreword and lineup of songs, representing changes in American Jewish life and evolutions in Hebrew culture in Palestine since Binder's last trip there in the mid-1920s.

In the foreword to *New Palestinean Folk Songs: Book II,* Binder apprises readers of his understanding of such evolutions in the *Yishuv* and their import to American Jewry:

> . . . it took half a century for our people to begin to repossess the land through tilling its soil and soul. It was only then that these toilers began to feel what the song of Palestine ought to be. When I returned to the Land again in 1931, I found that Palestine had begun to develop a new folk song . . . The new tunes were characterized as having a distinctive "eastern" flavor. Palestine was singing a new song composed, not by the professional composers, but by the folk, the peasant folk. . . . I found that these songs drew from three sources: one, the Jewish liturgical song; two, the Yemenite song; three, the song of the Arab . . . they express the Jew's longing for his home, as well as the enthusiasm which he feels for its rehabilitation.[47]

The exhilaration of Zionist national progress, connections between Jewish liturgy, Hebrew national culture, and music (the book contains three songs

that are credited simply as "Liturgical" instead of crediting an author, but are still categorized as folk melodies), stewardship of the land of Israel, immigration to Palestine as a virtuous act, and the heroism associated with defending land in Palestine from Arab combatants (not discussed in the foreword, but present amongst songs in the book) remained consistent themes with the 1926 iteration. There is, however, a more pronounced emphasis on what is presented as Eastern and Arabic music in *New Palestinean Folk Songs: Book II* than in the first. *Book II* offered readers a notion that Zionists had newly begun "to feel what the song of Palestine ought to be." The prose highlighted Binder's feeling that Hebrew music culture in Palestine increasingly drew inspiration from "Yemenite song" and "the song of the Arab."[48] The foreword included examples of numerous songs that he felt embodied such evolving Hebraic conceptions of musical aesthetics. Binder posited that these musical evolutions were organic in nature and birthed "a new folk song."

Central to Binder's conception of the "new folk song" in Palestine is what he saw as its "organic" nature, the result of Jews having spent more time working and settling land in Palestine. Further, he understood this evolutionary process to evidence Hebrew national culture's growth toward legitimizing Zionist claims to a Jewish national past and rights to land in Palestine. In this presentation, Binder suggested a certain "authenticity" or legitimacy had evolved within the national culture of the *Yishuv* that did not exist prior. Indeed, he wanted readers to share his emphatic view that Hebrew music and Hebrew national culture belonged in Palestine. And in the context of growing American support for and interest in Zionism, Binder proposed to his readers that singing Hebrew songs offered an accessible, communal affirmation of Zionists' evolving claims to Jewish national rights in Palestine. And since tilling Palestine's "soil and soul" was very unlikely to be an option for those readers, Binder wanted them to feel the presence of Zionists' toil through the new songs and modes of musical participation he brought back from his travels.

In a 1931 interview with the *Burlington Free Press,* Binder quipped that Hebrew musicians in Palestine "have tried to combine the musical elements found in the liturgical song of our people together with the musical characteristics found in the Yemenite and Arabic song." Yet, despite his great emphasis on Middle Eastern music's significance to Hebrew music culture's recent evolutions, Binder opined that "One notices with great interest as one studies the various musical activities in the land . . . the development of a definite musical consciousness" and "broad musical life which, if steadily developed, will undoubtedly take its place side by side with that of the great

musical centres of Europe."[49] Binder's exhibition of what he called "Yemenite and Arabic" influenced Hebrew music was certainly informed by Binder's own cultural context and Western musical education, focused on the great European musical centers. Of course, his readers came from similar cultural contexts and dominantly listened to music forms which originated in Europe and America.

One way Binder worked to further integrate his conceptions of Hebraic, Eastern musical aesthetics, a "characteristic native trend" in Hebrew music culture, into American Jewish life and music was to offer new stylistic instructions. Such methodological offerings could foster what he hoped to be more participatory, vibrant, and evocative communal experiences through "harmonizations" intended to "give a characteristic setting for the songs as they are sung and felt in Palestine."[50] While observing the changing influences of Hebrew music culture in the *Yishuv*, Binder attempted to refine his approach to publishing and selling collections of Zionist songs, as well as curating their use. We see an emphasis on methodology and more precise synthesis of the experience of singing the songs from Palestine not contained in Binder's first edition. One explanation for this phenomenon is that Binder felt that he took part in higher-quality, more evocative musical experiences, which he thought resulted from a more developed style and better musicianship he experienced in his later, 1931 trip to Palestine. This likely elicited a stronger reaction from him and produced a more exciting feeling of a Hebrew cultural experience. Using harmonizations, an often well-coordinated, multi-tonal approach to group-singing, Binder could attempt to reproduce a style of group singing that captivated him in Palestine more dynamically.

His hope was that these stylistic, methodological instructions could help American Jews in the 1930s feel more personally and communally engaged with the songs and their national significance. Song eight, "Rachel al ha-Ayn" (Rachel at the Well)—listed as a "Yemenite song"—is one example. According to Binder's English synopsis, the song recounts the biblical story of the Jewish matriarch Rachel as she "stands at the well, trying to draw water into her pitcher." The song has no apparent Yemenite origins despite this designation, not an uncommon phenomenon in Hebrew music culture or Binder's own work. Yet, with the intention of the song being clear through the translation and English text, the coordinated singing of the song and its haunting, and evocative melodic ("Yemenite") features with multiple parts could leave one feeling the emotion of the song and its message that much more powerfully.

Similarly, song four, "Gamal Gamali" (Camel Song) is listed as being "Arabic Style." "Camel, my dear camel, you are my friend in this task of trans-

porting this gravel."[51] The song was written in Palestine by Yedidyah Admon (Gorochov), a Ukrainian born composer and former student of Avraham Zvi Idelsohn. While the song has a cadence and minor key with modal flares that certainly convey elements of Middle Eastern musical aesthetics, it was quite clearly written by a Western composer for an audience with Western musical tastes and abilities to sing, particularly in groups singing harmonies. It is Binder's mix of Middle Eastern imagery, biblical figures like Rachel, and vague inclusions of "Arabic" or "Yemenite" themes, which musically articulate Zionist notions of a Jewish past in Palestine and the Middle East. Through these types of European interpretations of eastern melodies, lyrical content relating to universal Jewish and/or biblical ties to Palestine and the Middle East, and stylistic instruction for group singing, a decade into his career, Binder sustained his efforts to make new types of Zionist songs he learned in Palestine more dynamic, participatory, and natural feeling in the American Jewish setting.

The twentieth selection in *New Palestinean Folk Songs: Book II,* "Emathay?" (When?), offers perspective to American readers about other important factors in Hebrew cultural evolution in the 1930s. As the short English synopsis reads, it is "A song which the young men and women sing while preparing in the diaspora for Chalutz life in Palestine . . . It is in three languages. 1) Hebrew—"If not now, when?" 2) Yiddish—"Quickly Chalutz! Get together your baggage for the train is about to start. 3) Russian—"Good-bye, cow, good-bye, horse, for I am off to the land of Israel."[52] The song presents the European character of the immigrants moving to Palestine (a European Jewish character most of his readers shared) through language and the stately, European march style of the music. Simultaneously, it presents the urgent need to move away from European states toward Palestine—a message with exponentially growing relevance amidst Hitler's election to power in 1933. As immigration to Palestine rapidly increased against the backdrop of the Nazis' rise to power and growing Jewish insecurity in Europe, Binder too hoped that synthesizing the personally transformative musical experiences he had in Palestine amongst the American readers of his book in the early 1930s could help motivate them to aid these Jews in need, in any way possible. While it is hard to quantify how impactful Binder's songster was to this end in the 1930s, or if he provoked the exact responses he wanted, his methods and intentions alone are significant and reverberated throughout subsequent decades of American Reform Jewish life.

In the 1930s, a broad group of leaders in the Reform movement helped push it in new, pro-Zionist theological, political, cultural, and social directions.

This new generation of clergy, educators, and leaders at the helm aided in changing Reform Judaism's mainstream non-Zionist stance[53] and assisted in establishing the groundwork for the expanded inclusion of aspects of Zionist national sentiment and Hebrew culture in the communal and religious lives of many American Jews. While the 1935 CCAR statement expressed neutrality toward Zionism, a 1937 CCAR statement known as the "Columbus Platform" articulated a near (and rapidly occurring) about-face on the subject

> In the rehabilitation of Palestine, the land hallowed by memories and hopes, we behold the promise of renewed life for many of our brethren. We affirm the obligation of all Jewry to aid in its upbuilding as a Jewish homeland by endeavoring to make it not only a haven of refuge for the oppressed but also a center of Jewish culture and spiritual life.[54]

Placing this initially controversial platform into the wider trajectory of Reform Judaism's movement toward Zionist embrace, Sarna argues that "Whereas classical Reform stressed that Judaism was a religion" the 1937 Platform "spoke repeatedly of the 'Jewish people,' as if to stress that Judaism embraced both ethnicity and faith." In other words, the Reform movement shifted from its focus on diasporic Judaism being purely a religious practice. Like many other Jews in America in 1937, the Reform leadership publicly embraced the notion that Judaism was not just a religion. Further, that Jews comprised a global Hebraic nation or peoplehood with a common national center in Palestine. Sarna continues his analysis of this period by correctly asserting that the movement's adoption of Zionism only increased and that "By World War II, Reform Judaism had successfully reinvented itself, accommodating Zionism, a commitment to Jewish peoplehood, and many traditional customs and ceremonies as well."[55] Within the broader context of American Reform Leaders' embrace of Zionism and notions of global Jewish peoplehood, Binder's and others' Hebrew music could take on entirely new applicability in a range of Reform religious, communal, and educational settings.

Amidst these shifts within the Reform movement in the mid-late 1930s, Irma Cohon found continued exposure and interest in her work amongst Jewish women across North America.[56] One such woman was Ottawa-based musician, social organizer and community leader, Anna Wolfe Margosches. In January 1938, inspired by Cohon's work, Margosches wrote a paper based on excerpts from *An Introduction to Jewish Music* which she presented to the Canadian College of Organists in the Capital city. The *Ottawa Citizen*'s cov-

erage of the lecture included a 1k word excerpt of the paper and an effusive note from the newspaper's music editor Isabel C. Armstrong introducing Margosches's "very informing article on Music of the Synagogue." The excerpts chosen of Margosches's essay printed in the *Ottawa Citizen* indeed demonstrate ways in which Zionist notions of a Jewish past in Palestine were articulated to Jews and other general readers through aspects of Hebrew music culture, in this case, inspired by Cohon's work. Quoting *An Introduction to Jewish Music,* Margosches made a case to readers of the *Ottawa Citizen* (a vast majority of which were not Jewish) that Jewish liturgical songs share a universally "Palestinian origin" and were "carried to the four corners of the world when the Jews were forced to leave their land" during the Roman occupation of Jerusalem. Seeking to evidence her claims, Margosches argued that Jews in the global diaspora "still have chants in common," despite obvious local influences over time; something she articulated could only result from Jews sharing a common national, religious, and cultural linkage to Palestine, typified and preserved by diasporic Jewish music.[57] At the time of this lecture, with growing antisemitic belligerency and war on the horizon in Europe, Jewish immigration to America not being an option, and tensions at a high point in Palestine, these types of Hebraic framings of Judaism's past in/and claims to Palestine would only become more commonplace. Jews all over the globe, including Reform Jews attending the Isaac M. Wise Synagogue in Cincinnati and others in the midwestern United States, increasingly saw Jewish immigration to Palestine as a central cause in saving Europe's millions of destitute Jews.

Binder's Music in a New Context

New Palestinean Folk Songs: Book II was reprinted in 1946. In the years that passed since its first printing in 1933, events like the CCAR Columbus Platform (amongst others after 1937), the shocking revelations of European Jewry's genocide during the Holocaust and increasing political violence in Palestine intensified the American Jewish focus on the *Yishuv* and issues like intercommunal violence and British immigration policy in Palestine. As a result, Zionism and Hebrew music only continued to grow in relevance amongst American Reform communities and their institutions. In 1946, Binder's second printing of *New Palestinean Folk Songs: Book II* existed in an entirely new American Jewish setting than its precursor.[58] As a result, Binder's work increased in its visibility in Jewish education and even commercial music markets. The trajectory and context of his publications over

these years can help frame many elements of the greater transformation of Zionism in America, including the presence of many aspects of Zionism, Hebrew national culture, and songs in Reform Jewish life—a reality difficult to imagine just a decade prior (although in retrospect, the writing was on the wall).

Reform Judaism's Zionist conversion was given explicit voice by Reform Rabbi James G. Heller, a long-standing supporter of Zionism and figure in American Jewish music. In a 1944 speech at the Isaac M. Wise synagogue in Cincinnati, titled "Reform Judaism and Zionism," Heller pointed to the "tremendous accretion in membership in all Zionist groups," further explaining that

> Many things have changed during the past quarter of a century. There was a time, as I remember vividly, when anti-Zionists were opposed to any settlement in Palestine, when they opposed the Balfour Declaration; when they termed all Zionists hopeless visionaries, when they thought that it was both impractical and unwise to take a single Jew into Palestine. Now it is part of their platform that more Jews should be permitted to migrate to Palestine, that the Macdonald White Paper [1939 British policy document that limited Jewish immigration to Palestine] should be abrogated . . .[59]

That such a speech was made in the Isaac M. Wise Synagogue in Cincinnati alone shows the transformation that Reform Judaism was going through regarding support for Zionist national aspirations and fostering transnational linkages between American Jewry and the *Yishuv*. Amidst this sea change alongside events in world history, songs such as Binder's fifth selection in *New Palestinean Folk Songs: Book II* "Sisu V'Simchu," (Rejoice and be Glad) carried entirely new weight within Jewish audiences—"Rejoice and be glad for Israel lives. From all ends of the globe, they march to redemption. Though broken, they have faith and love this chosen people." This musical depiction of Palestine as a home and source of recovery for the "broken" Jews of the world, and suggestion that American Jews—themselves part of this "chosen people"—should rejoice in the existence of the Zionist national movement and its actions was placed in the book in 1933, well before the holocaust and events surrounding WWII. However, after the allied liberation of Nazi death camps in 1945 and the increasing thrust of Zionists' efforts to open Palestine to the surviving and traumatized Jews of Europe, *New Palestinean Folk Songs* existed within a different Zionist framework and understanding. Binder's

songs offered a communal mechanism to "Rejoice and be glad for Israel" amongst the growing number of American Zionists. But, rejoicing alone was not enough to help the *Yishuv* achieve statehood.

By 1948, the American Jewish community, including its Reform segment, was raising tens of millions of dollars annually to help sustain the newborn Jewish state as another communal mechanism of engagement with Zionism and support for Jews in need. And even if certain American Jews didn't have much or any money to donate, they more frequently expressed their solidarity with and sense of inclusion in the Zionist national movement through activities like singing Zionist songs. "Throughout the day . . ." on May 15, 1948, for example, parallel to Israel's declaration of statehood in Tel Aviv, ". . . there were spontaneous and joyous demonstrations in most Jewish neighborhoods in the five boroughs . . ." of New York City. Amidst these celebrations, "Hayim Greenberg, a member of the American section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, recited a short [Hebrew] prayer . . . 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord, King of the Universe, that Thou hast maintained and preserved us to witness this day' . . . A moment later, a group of young men and women linked arms in the street, formed a ring, and then danced the hora, a Palestinian folk dance, singing as they whirled. Indoors and outdoors, the 'Ha'Tikva,' the Zionist anthem, was sung."[60] This vignette of Jewish reactions in New York to Israel's establishment is just one piece of evidence that Binder's music had grown in its ability to resound with American Jewry by mid–late-1940s. Many of the Jews singing Zionist songs and dancing in New York that day were Reform (including members of The Free Synagogue) and indeed represent part of Reform Judaism's conversion to Zionism and Hebrew song's place in it. Noting what occurred in American Reform educational institutions in the 1930s and '40s, an important catalyst to many musical Zionist phenomena across America, is of particular importance to understanding Binder's Zionist musical publications of the period and Hebrew music's significance to American Jewish life by the 1940s.

Beyond the rabbinate, the 1930s and 1940s saw Reform communities across the US shift toward a near unanimous support for Jewish life, political causes, national goals and culture in Palestine. Amongst the many ways in which aspects of Zionism were brought into Reform synagogues, by the mid-1930s, women's groups like Hadassah and many others were central to supporting Zionist causes and organizing a variety of Zionist events in Reform communities, often featuring music. For example, amidst ballooning violence in Palestine, in December 1936, "the Senior and Junior groups of the local [Milwaukee, WI] Pioneer Women's organization" hosted "Beba Idelsohn,

secretary of the Women Workers' Council of Palestine" to give a "first-hand account of the recent Jewish-Arab difficulties in Palestine" at the "home of Mrs. Samuel Kamesar." The local group also scheduled Idelsohn to speak and "be the guest of honor at a mass meeting" at Milwaukee's Jewish Community Center that was broadcast on local Radio station WISN. During the broadcast event, music was performed by local Soprano "[Anna] Mrs. Paul Zitron"[61] a Latvian-born singer, radio-performer, and member of Milwaukee Reform Congregation Emanu-El B'ne Jeshurun.[62]

Historian Barry Chazan argues that shifts in Reform Judaism toward Zionism, like those which normalized Reform Jewish women planning programs like Beba Idelsohn's Milwaukee engagement in the 1930s, were part of Reform Judaism's transition toward being "people-oriented" in the 1930s.[63] And as we will explore in other American Jewish denominational contexts, being "people-oriented"—a conception of Jewish identity based on the notion that Jews everywhere comprise a connected, global Jewish people that were rooted in a shared past—is central to the interests of Zionists in the US to help build American Jewish bonds with Palestine and the Jewish community there at a distance, through music and other means. The Jews singing Zionist songs as they danced the Hora in the streets of New York in May 1948 certainly saw themselves as having a Jewish peoplehood connection to Israel, one expressed that day through participation in Hebrew prayer, Zionist dances and songs. So too did those Jews who "filled Madison Square Garden to capacity" in November 1945 to provide "overseas relief and the settlement in Palestine of homeless Jews from war-destroyed Europe."[64] In fact, we can see that these two phenomena, Hebrew music culture and American Zionist donor culture, were catalyzed in part by educational materials that communicated evolutions in Reform Zionist outlooks to new generations of American Jews.

In 1935, Rabbi Abraham Franzblau, a psychiatrist, Reform Jewish educator, and HUC faculty member (1923–1958),[65] produced *A Curriculum for Jewish Education,* published by Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati in conjunction with The Commission for Jewish Education. This "Experimental Project"[66] signified these momentous shifts in American Reform Judaism away from presenting Zionism and successful Jewish life in America as being mutually exclusive. Despite the Great Depression of the 1930s, certain Jews were indeed climbing the socioeconomic ladder in America and Franzblau directly asserted that becoming financially successful in America could serve Zionist national causes and would in fact allow Jews to be active participants in the Jewish national project. "Nathan went to business school in New York

and when he graduated, he joined his father in the crockery business," Franzblau penned in one of the curriculum's lessons. "He was so good at it" that, in a short time he became "a partner in the department store, then owner of it." Franzblau then offered students a caveat to Nathan Straus's (Wise and Mayor La Guardia's co-chair at the 1945 event at Madison Square Garden) financial successes in America, one they should consider if they one day became wealthy—"Unlike many rich men . . . [Straus] sold his expensive yacht to provide funds for war orphans in Palestine" and his wife "sold her jewels too to help him in his work."[67] Franzblau is not saying that American Jews shouldn't be successful in the capitalist economy, quite to the contrary, they should do so in part to help Zionists, even if it is a hardship or an inconvenience.

Much like Zionist songs, financial donations were (and remain) one important piece of American Jews' ability to participate in Zionism from afar, but not everyone had wealth like Straus. If an American Jew couldn't afford to sell a yacht or jewelry (or any assets) to help the Zionist national effort while still pursuing wealth and upward mobility in the US, Zionist songs could help them feel included in the movement as they worked toward one day maybe having more to contribute. Particularly amongst young Jews, singing Zionist songs could help foster a sense that donating money later in life—should they have it—would be a priority; and if they didn't, they could continue to sing Zionist songs or participate in other less expensive ways to engage with the cause and Hebrew culture as part of their American Jewish lives.

As increasing numbers of Reform students were exposed to aspects of Zionism in Jewish educational settings in the mid-late 1930s, numerous administrators and teachers in Reform educational institutions sought to develop curricula which encouraged engagement with Hebrew national culture, Jewish life, and current events in the *Yishuv*. Further, as the following demonstrate, many such curricular materials overtly expressed to students the notion that American Jewish wealth could help American Jewry both participate in the Zionist cause and actively help global Jews in a time of need. Hebrew songs helped weave the Zionist ethos and pantheon into the Jewish identities of American Jewish students—identities they would take with them into adulthood in the 1940s. And songs from Binder's second Zionist songster like "Anu Banu Artsah" (We Have Come to the Land) and "Bar Kochva," "a children's song which describes one of the adventures of the Mighty [Simon] Bar Kochva [leader of 132 CE Jewish revolt against

the Roman occupation of Jerusalem, and often highlighted martyr in Zionist mythology]"[68] could continue to be used in Hebrew schools to supplement other new curricular materials about Zionism, Jewish peoplehood, and Hebrew national culture.

In 1942, Emanuel Gamoran (educated at the non-Reform Jewish Theological Seminary in New York), then Director of the Commission on Jewish Education of Reform Judaism, published *A Curriculum for the Jewish Religious School.* Hebrew music is recommended for use in the classroom in multiple locations, and many Zionist political issues are woven throughout. In these lessons, students would read about Jewish happenings, often tragedies in Palestine and/or Europe, through articles taken out of major US newspapers. Following the reading of these pieces, the students would have structured discussions about the significance of events in Palestine and Europe, relating them to events in Jewish life and history more broadly that were already familiar to them. References to Binder's songs can be found throughout the curricular piece, amongst numerous other published Zionist songs.[69] Could some of the high school-aged protestors in 1947 have been Reform Jews that sang Binder's (or others' referenced in the piece) Zionist songs with their class after a religious school lesson about a political event in Palestine or Europe? Could some of their parents have donated money at the 1945 fundraiser at Madison Square Garden (in part organized by Stephen S. Wise)—maybe even encouraged by their kids? Those sorts of activities and outcomes are certainly what Gamoran, Binder, and many other Zionists hoped to achieve through these types of endeavors.

In his 1944 address, Heller explicitly highlighted this Reform shift toward embracing Zionist engagement and activism when referring to a 1943 CCAR platform. The platform, which did not pass without opposition, offered a clear understanding of Reform leaders' increasingly supportive positions toward Zionism in general; as well as their vocal support for Zionists in Palestine amidst the rapid succession of political events and growing intercommunal tensions there, particularly after 1942 revelations about the horrors of the Holocaust. "We request the speedy abrogation of the [1939] White Paper," the CCAR decries, "we ask the State Department to use its good offices to open the doors of Palestine and to secure havens of refuge for those Jews of Europe threatened with extinction." This was a bold, public departure from past attempts to avoid what could be interpreted as Jewish loyalties to a non-American national interest. They call for the 1939 White Paper to "be repudiated," and "plead with the Allied nations to give the uprooted and unwanted

European Jew . . . a chance to reclaim . . . Palestine as an expression of elemental justice."[70] By the mid-1940s, phenomena like the attitudinal shift of Reform leadership toward Zionism in America combined with widely accessible Zionist songs published by Binder and others served as a quite logical background to explain musical happenings like the 1947 protest of the British Admiralty and Zionist songs in New York in May 1948.

Elements of the national contests occurring between Zionists in the *Yishuv* and the British, as well as the Arab population of Palestine, were actively integrated into the mission of the American Jewish world, in part through the activities of Jewish women's groups. For example, in 1942, The Jewish Women's Pioneer Club of Wilmington Delaware hosted an event at the local, nondenominational Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Association Building. Attendees were presented "an account of women's role in wartime Palestine told by Mrs. Yehudith Simchonit, a delegate of the Palestine Working Women's Council [in Palestine] to the Pioneer Women's Organization [in America]." According to local coverage of the event in *The News Journal*, Simchonit was of few such delegates "to arrive here from Palestine since the beginning of the war." Indeed, Simchonit was a unique speaker for this small Jewish community, particularly since she could offer "a first-hand report on conditions in Palestine during the war" to attendees of this small event to raise funds for Palestine. The article was also careful to point out that beyond the Zionist fundraising activities of the Pioneer Women's Organization, the group promoted "the defense of the American Democratic principles" and encouraged "constructive social legislation" as it sought "to give children a Jewish education" and further "Jewish economic, social and cultural life" in Wilmington.[71] This example of a more broad normalization of Zionism in America, well beyond New York, furthered the potential for Binder and others' Hebrew music publications to be better understood and to become even more powerful or popular symbols of Zionism to American markets—seeking a variety of ways to engage with the Zionist cause during socioeconomic growth and ideological shifts in the American Jewish community. Maybe while planning their spring event calendar, the Wilmington Pioneer Women, after a talk from a guest speaker and "Reports on the recent Purim ball held by the club,"[72] would want to bring Binder or Cohon to Wilmington for a performance? Perhaps they would want to find a local singer and accompanist to perform some of their published Hebrew songs? Indeed, such Hebrew musical engagements were commonplace amongst Jewish women's groups and Zionist organizations across 1940s America, where Hebrew music was widely accessible, often produced by some of the biggest commercial publishing houses.

Tin Pan Alley and New Commercial Markets for Binder's Zionist Works

With Zionist national sentiment and interest in participating in aspects of Hebrew culture multiplying across American Jewish communities in the 1940s, Binder and his contemporaries continued to produce musical collections which featured accessible aspects of Hebrew national culture, music, and life in the *Yishuv.* By the 1940s, Binder's Zionist publications were available to a much broader market and through commercial publishing houses, not just Jewish ones like Bloch Publishing, who produced both editions of *New Palestinean Folk Songs* as well as Cohon's *An Introduction to Jewish Music*. Working with "Tin Pan Alley" publishing houses (the colloquialism used to describe the printed popular sheet music industry centered in the New York City neighborhood known as "Tin Pan Alley"),[73] Binder produced scores of Hebrew songs for markets that didn't need to be connected to a synagogue or religious institutions. For example, in 1942, *"Pioneer Songs of Palestine* . . . a collection compiled, edited and arranged by A.W. Binder, with the original Hebrew texts accompanied by English translations" was published "by the Edward B. Marks Music Corporation of . . . [New York] City." The reviewer of the publication remarked that "The examples chosen display a constant striving toward a purer style. . . . harmonization of ancient Jewish music as well as that of contemporary Palestinian folk songs, which has occupied the attention of serious Jewish composers during the past decade," and, further, that Binder's song choices, "reflect many phases of musical expressions in Palestine" through "national songs, watchmen's songs, shepherd songs, dance songs, love songs and many others." [74]

Binder was one of many Jewish songwriters and composers producing music for the Tin Pan Alley industry. Many Jewish liturgical musicians found great commercial success in this segment of the popular music industry (dominated by men),[75] allowing liturgical and popular Jewish songs to be more easily accessed throughout Jewish communities across America.[76]At the same time, American Reform synagogues in the 1940s were growing and vying for members. American Reform clergy understood that they had to create interesting, engaging, and even enjoyable services, programs, and educational approaches if they wanted to attract and engage members who would pay dues and attend prayer services, in addition to other communal events and activities.[77]

With Zionism becoming ubiquitous (even bolstering American Jewish pride in their religious identity, despite the often lachrymose atmosphere of the 1940s), synagogues could use Hebrew music to enhance prayer and social

programming as to align with American Jewry's increasingly mainstream interest in supporting the Zionist cause and looking to the *Chalutzim* even for senses of Jewish hope and "elemental justice." Amidst such circumstance, *Pioneer songs of Palestine* offered its selection of Zionist, Hebrew "national songs, watchmen's songs, shepherd songs, dance songs, love songs and many others" [78] to national audiences, including Reform communities that may not have had interest in such music before the 1940s. For Jews already purchasing and/ or collecting Hebrew music, commercial publications like this could add new material to their pools. Teachers, camp counselors, rabbis, youth groups, community leaders, and Jewish families alike could more easily obtain Hebrew songs which were appropriate for a variety of Jewish communal gatherings they might plan.

Following previous themes seen in Books I and II of *New Palestinean Folk Songs, Pioneer Songs of Palestine (Shire' Chalutzim)* was comprised of new songs highlighting elements of Jewish life in Palestine including "Kacha, Kach!" (This Way!), "Ayn Charod" (A kibbutz with pre-state military history), "Ba-ah m'nucha" (Quiet and peace have come), and "Laylah Feleh" (night of glory).[79] The Edward B. Marks Music Corporation likewise published these four songs of the greater 17-song collection in 1942 as individual, less costly music scores, with lyrics and notation under a series titled *Four Palestinian Folk Songs.*[80] This way, a rabbi, Jewish family, individual or other type of group could more easily purchase (even with limited resources) these pieces of Zionist sheet music to sing around a piano, other instrument, or a cappella. The scalability of the collection's purchase options is important, too. Knowing that Hebrew music and donations to Zionist causes were important means of engaging American Jewry in the Zionist national project, both had to be scalable to become popular. Jews occupied a wide spectrum of the American socioeconomic spectrum in the 1940s, and, much like some Jews could only afford a small donation (or none), some Jews could only afford to buy one piece of sheet music at a time.

Considering the successes of Binder, Wise, and many other Zionist stalwarts in fostering the integration of Hebrew culture and Zionism into Reform Jewish life and religious practices in America, *Pioneer Songs of Palestine*—with its scalable purchase options and English translations—seems natural to produce with a major publishing house for more widespread, national consumption. Tin Pan Alley sheet music already served as a chief means of proliferating popular music of all types, and his association with the mainstream arm of the music industry inevitably expanded Binder's potential markets. He was an in-demand performer, packing concerts by the 1940s,

including a celebrated and well-reviewed 1947 performance of his Cantata (1943), "Amos on Times Square," at Carnegie Hall.[81]

Surrounding Israel's declaration of independence in 1948, Binder published a work more in line with his interests in spreading "Yemenite" Jewish music, reflected too by certain selections published in *New Palestinean Folk Songs (I & II).* Produced with another important, trendsetting New York Publishing house, Leeds Music Corporation, *Variations on a Yemenite Theme*[82] served as a different type of window into Binder's understandings of Hebrew culture. Through this publication, he offered his interpretations of "Yemenite" Jewish sounds to American audiences, a continuation of his efforts to promote the cultural trends of eastern-oriented musical forms that he observed growing in 1931 Palestine. While his 1942 publication of more easily accessible Zionist folk songs with English translations of lyrics might have been more in line with popular musical trends of the time for communal singing, *Variations on a Yemenite Theme* is in part indicative of the American Jewish setting on the eve of Israel's declaration of independence—as a publishing house thought that this sort of publication could be profitable enough to print. Elements of Zionism and Hebrew culture, even those more obscure to American Jewry like Yemenite Jewish heritage's import to Zionist notions of a Jewish past in the Middle East, were more ubiquitous, seemingly well received and maybe even financially profitable, with each copy selling for $1.

In the publication's introductory notes, Binder reminds his readers that Jews have lived in Yemen "since the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem in 70 A.D." and that "in their synagogue and folk music, we find many melodic elements which are of great originality and antiquity . . . [and] there are many Yemenites living in Palestine today . . . Hashiveni Al Kani [Return Me to My Ancient State]." Further, Binder posits that "The ideas within these ["Yemenite"] variations deal with modern Palestine."[83] *Variations on a Yemenite Theme* is a technical musical score that would require an individual to be quite proficient at reading music and playing the piano—not your average Jewish student in America. Although these new interpretations were less communally interactive and accessible than his other Hebrew music publications and required a high skill level, they still offered (through modal and rhythmic hints at Middle Eastern music and prose about Yemenite music's place in Palestine) a familiar presentation by Binder as to what he saw as the work's Hebrew cultural "authenticity," present in his many Hebrew works. And, because physical participation is so central to Zionist musical activities in America, even this difficult to play score, intended for skilled players, concludes with "a Hora . . . The Palestinian National Dance." By 1948, as a

sign of the times, Binder and many other Jewish musical colleagues were able to find new sources of income, broader markets, creative-freedom, and more recognition for a decades-old pursuit to promote Zionist participation through Hebrew song in America. Much like Urofsky argued that it was not until after WWII's conclusion that the "organized arms of American Reform finally [caught] up to the policies [Wise] had enunciated years earlier in respect to Zionism," so too was the case with Binder and his understandings of the role of music (Zionist and other) in Reform Jewish life.

A 1949 summary of JIR faculty activities noted of Binder that even with "'Variations on a Yemenite Theme' only recently off the Leeds Music Co. presses," the "Professor of Jewish Liturgical Music at the Institute, has completed a Choral Poem entitled 'Israel Reborn' for the Seventy-fifth Anniversary Celebration of the Ninety-Second Street YMHA in New York." Further, the synopsis of his year's professional activities highlighted that "Professor Binder, who was recently re-elected Vice-President of the National Jewish Music Council of the Jewish Welfare Board, spoke before the Hillel Foundation of Rutgers" where he participated in a Symposium on "Israel and the Future of Jewish Music." And, speaking to his growing presence as a central voice in American Jewish liturgical music markets, the summary concluded with a laudatory note that the RCA Victor record label recently "released a new album of recordings, 'Jewish Holidays in Song,' recorded by the Free Synagogue Choir under the direction of Professor Binder." And following Israel's establishment, Binder only grew as an American authority of both Hebrew and Jewish liturgical music. His body of work, however, is just one unique piece of the ways in which Wise's seminary and approach to American Judaism were integrated into those of the Reform center in the midwestern United States.

Conclusion

In October 1948, as Hebrew Union College and Wise's Jewish Institute of Religion were in the process of merging into one (creating HUC-JIR), which included the establishment of the School of Sacred Music, the first Reform school dedicated to training and ordaining cantors. At its opening ceremony, Nelson Glueck, President of the Hebrew Union College, remarked that "With the disappearance of the Jewish centers in Europe, the survival of Judaism and its musical tradition rests upon Jewish institutions in the United States and Israel."[84] Nineteen students made up the inaugural class, headed by Abraham Franzblau, the school's first Dean. Today, in an homage to the

many women now ordained to serve as Jewish musical professionals in the Reform community and those who were active before such paths were possible, like Irma Cohon, the School of Scared Music is named after prolific American Jewish cantor, Debbie Friedman. It must be noted that HUC-JIR was the first Jewish seminary to ordain a woman cantor. Indeed, Cantor Barbara Ostfeld was immediately placed into a Reform pulpit position following her historic ordination.[85] She is still active in American Jewish life and promoting Zionist causes through music in Reform synagogues, like her 2020 book talk and free synagogue concert sponsored by both the Greater Atlanta Hadassah and Israel Bonds chapters.[86]

HUC-JIR is now the only Reform seminary in the US and Israel that ordains rabbis and cantors (with campuses in Los Angeles, New York, Cincinnati and Jerusalem), and has been the driving force behind the production of an evolving body of music fundamental to Reform Jewish life, American Zionism, and American Jewish identity. In a sense, the merging of HUC and JIR between 1947 and 1950 is a metaphor for what Wise and Binder accomplished together before 1948: they helped foster the integration of aspects of Zionism and Hebrew national culture, including a variety of Hebrew songs, into American Reform identity, institutions, religious practices, and education in a way that strengthened them and even made them more appealing to American Jewry. Binder's work with Stephen S. Wise and his four decades-long, prolific, and storied career helped shape the trajectory of Hebrew music's inclusion in the Reform musical lexicon, and Israeli music still holds a central place in American Reform Jewish life and education.

Well beyond Hebrew music, Zionism continued to evolve within Reform Judaism in America, becoming more central to Reform identity, religious traditions, and community activities over the following decades. We can see many roots of such elements of Hebrew national culture and Zionism within Binder's many Zionist musical publications, beginning with *New Palestinean Folk Songs* in 1926. Binder laid a musical path for what would become the Reform movement's cultural, educational, and theological approaches to Zionism and its place in American Reform Jewish rituals, identity, and institutions going into the twenty-first century. By fighting against the grain of non- or anti-Zionist norms in America in the early twentieth century and pushing Zionism toward the mainstream in the 1930s and '40s, Binder was one very important piece of American Zionism's Hebrew musical roots in the first half of the twentieth century.

Singing Hebrew songs in religious and communal settings as a means of expressing support for Israel and what is happening there is still common

across Reform Jewish communities today. This is even the case for concepts culturally distant from American Jewry, including tense political struggles and violence. One contemporary example of this is the song "Sa'alam" (peace in Arabic), written by Israeli pop artist Mosh Ben-Ari (of Yemenite-Iraqi descent) and the band Sheva. This iconic tune was part of the Israeli peace movement in the late 1990s and 2000s and continues to be a musical staple in Reform communal settings, even during times of prayer. Unique to note about this contemporary example is that the song is often sung in contexts relating to a wish for peace in Israel's national struggles with its neighbors, but also in more general contexts, such as wishing for peace amongst communities in the US and around the world. In this capacity, we can see Binder as an early pioneer of bringing popular Hebrew music to the US and integrating it into Reform synagogues and Jewish communal experiences well beyond his songsters and years as a performer and educator.

Two

Solomon Schechter, The Jewish Theological Seminary, the Goldfarbs, and Harry Coopersmith

During a December 1917 meeting of the 21st annual "Convention of the Federated Zionist Societies of the Middle West [states]"—which aggregated over 5,000 attendees at Chicago's Hebrew Institute and Temple Anshei Knesset Israel—"Chairman Max Shulman . . . asked in a burst of passion 'do we want Palestine?' and 'do we want it now?' The audience arose . . . [with] an almost frantic enthusiasm in every face, and spontaneously burst into the Hebrew national song 'Hatikveh.'" According to its coverage in the *Chicago Tribune,* the event was host to a "rare audience" of religiously diverse Zionists where "Pious, Orthodox graybeards, wearing their hats because to them, the occasion partook of the sanctity of a religious service, comingled with young Jews who conformed to more modern customs."[1] The November 1917 British Balfour Declaration, despite being a short letter of roughly 100 words, was a major political milestone for the *Yishuv* and Zionists worldwide. The recently published Zionist endorsement combined with Britain's nearing victory in the battle against the Ottomans for Jerusalem in December 1917 indeed provided cause to energize American Zionists' enthusiasm and optimism for the national cause writ large, even in the days surrounding this event.

This American Zionist group had been holding annual meetings since 1896 and certainly felt the Zionist political victory offered novel cause to celebrate. And significant to this study, at an emotional peak in the plenary—comprised of intergenerational and interdenominational Jews—the audience innately burst into singing "Ha'Tikva." The anthem clearly served as an expression of support for the Zionist national cause and a sense of inclusion

in some aspects of Hebrew national culture to this diverse group of American Jews. In an instinctive outpouring of passion, the well-known anthem allowed the diverse group to share in an emotive, communal Hebrew national cultural experience in celebration of Zionists' political achievements on the world stage and in Palestine, together, as Jews in America.

Indeed, the singing of "Ha'Tikva" evolved into a common practice in many American Jewish communities during the pre-1948 period, and the 1917 rally is just one unique and early example of this expression of Zionist support. Yet, throughout the pre-1948 period, "Ha'Tikva" was often sung along with the "The Star-Spangled Banner." Samuel Koenig—chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology at Brooklyn College, 1948–1965—wrote about the musical phenomenon shortly after he completed his doctoral studies at Yale in 1935.[2] His 1939 article, "The Social Aspects of the Jewish Mutual Benefit Societies," analyzed the ways in which participation in religious and civic societies benefitted American Jewish integration into their new home, its culture, society, economies and politics. Koenig described how Jewish fraternal meetings were often held in special halls, which were "decorated with Jewish as well as American national colors." In chapter meetings and social events, "the [pre-1948, Zionist] Jewish flag is saluted together with the American flag." Significant to the following is Koenig's observation that "the singing of the Hatikvah, the Jewish national anthem, usually follows that of the Star Spangled Banner" at the meetings he studied during the mid-late 1930s. Like the ways these Jewish groups celebrated "Purim and Hanukkah with appropriate food and entertainment in addition to American holidays like Thanksgiving or Washington's Birthday" they would sing Jewish songs, including Zionist songs like "Hatikva" and even "tell Jewish jokes as added attractions to the common American amusement fare."[3] Indeed, Hebrew song was just one way these American Jews, like many others in the late 1930s, expressed Zionist support alongside a commitment to America by melding rituals and practices from Hebrew culture, Jewish religious traditions, and American national culture during communal activities. However, Koenig's observation about "Ha'Tikva" begs further analysis as it alludes to a significant pattern.

"Ha'tikva" is an important and ubiquitous (until today) cultural symbol whereby American Jewry, and those in other areas of the diaspora, express their support for and sense of inclusion in the Zionist cause. Seroussi argues that analyzing "Ha'Tikva" as a global symbol of Zionism in fact "shows how a distinct Zionist music culture emerged in Palestine and spread throughout the Jewish world with remarkable speed. It also shows how its practice at cer-

emonies of Jewish institutions, synagogues, schools and youth movements, as well as its commercial distribution in sheet-music and commercial recordings throughout the European, Middle Eastern and American Jewish diasporas, was a crucial component in the nourishing of the modern Jewish national sentiment in the first two decades of the twentieth century."[4] Indeed, Serousi's assessment is evidenced by Koenig's accounts of Jewish fraternal groups' activities, the 1917 rally in support of the Balfour Declaration, and numerous sources analyzed in this chapter.

The following demonstrate that the Conversative movement's clergy and educators were central to developing and integrating Hebrew musical approaches to Zionist participation into American Judaism well beyond Conservative Jewish communities, including the practices of singing the "Star-Spangled Banner" and "Ha'Tikva" in tandem. By 1917, in contradistinction to Reform norms, many leaders of the early Conservative Jewish movement in America already saw elements of Zionist thought, Hebrew national culture, Jewish peoplehood, as well as a more observant approach to Jewish religiosity in America as significant to their visions of a more-observant, or "Conservative" approach to Judaism in America, and they sought to fill a perceived lacuna in American Judaism.

The fraternal society members studied by Koenig almost always ate kosher food and "cooked in the customary Jewish manner" and sang Zionist songs as part of their approach to Jewish communal life.[5] Reform Jews would be very unlikely to serve kosher food at communal gatherings, even if Zionist songs were part of the agenda. As such, Koenig expectedly notes that his research subjects and the associated fraternal groups were "conservative and orthodox" Jews; like those more observant, Zionist Jews at the Chicago rally and many others interested in a more observant and pro-Zionist approach to Jewish religious practice. Many visionaries of Conservative Judaism endeavored to balance American patriotism, Zionist thought, and national engagement with elements of traditional Jewish observance in the early twentieth century. In fact, Zionism, Hebrew national culture, and notions of Jewish peoplehood amongst them were understood to help concretize a needed sense of Jewish relevance in America. In this context, numerous leaders of the Conservative movement utilized Hebrew songs like "Ha'Tikva" as an important means to ritualize expressions of Hebraic commonality between the growing numbers of diverse Jews in America and those in Europe, Palestine, and other global Jewish communities.

The American Conservative movement's founder Solomon Schechter (1847–1915) did not see Jewish theology as contradicting a viable global-

Hebraic national culture.[6] As such, Schechter and many of his associates saw mainstream Reform ambivalence toward embracing Zionism and notions of a global Jewish peoplehood or nation as a miscalculation in their approach to building vibrant American Jewish communities. Furthermore, their religious outlooks were more traditional—in part, envisioned to align with the interests of the growing eastern European Jewish community in America. This population was largely more observant than those early central European American Reformers[7] and often more sympathetic to Zionism. With that said, many Eastern European Jews joined the Reform ranks and rabbinate.

The Conservative movement evolved as a Jewish denomination that could serve as a religious middle ground between those Orthodox Jews, more secular or Reform Jews, or otherwise affiliated "modern" younger Jews in America (like those at the 1917 rally). Many Reform congregations, for example, feature amplified musical instruments during Friday night prayer services, a practice viewed to be a component of modernizing Jewish ritual in American cultural contexts. Conservative Jews, on the other hand, would be far less likely to have amplified instruments, if instruments at all, included in their Sabbath evening services, part of a generally more traditional observance of the Jewish Sabbath[8]—one that is, however, adapted to accommodate the modern realities of American life. Likewise, Reform Jews are unlikely to observe kosher dietary restrictions. Many conservative Jews, like those members of fraternal groups studied by Koenig, and certainly their clergy, would observe at least certain kosher dietary restrictions. Conservative Jews do not wear religious garb like the "greybeards" at the rally, but they do emphasize the importance of men wearing yarmulkes, particularly inside synagogues. The dominant majority of Reform Jews do not wear yarmulkes daily and many do not inside synagogues. These divergences of religiosity—amongst many others established during the period—remain between the two largest denominations of Judaism in America. Yet, since the late 1930s (and certainly by the 1940s), Zionism was not a dividing line between them.

The movement prematurely lost Schechter in 1915, yet continued to evolve as an early, important center of Zionist thought and Hebrew national culture in America throughout the pre-1948 period and beyond. The many notable contributions Conservative Jews have made to the development of American Zionism and Hebrew music culture of this time were born out of their successful efforts to integrate Zionist education and engagement as components of Jewish education and religious life in America. Zionist songs were regularly included in Conservative Jewish educational curricula, programs, and community songsters for the purpose of fostering Zionist engagement in America—years before many others in American Judaism followed the

trend. And these pioneering efforts continued throughout the pre-1948 period and beyond.

In the early 1900s, the growing movement for Conservative Judaism in the United States, with the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS) in New York as its center of scholarship and rabbinic training, indeed challenged the Reform movement and its seminary, Hebrew Union College (HUC) in Cincinnati. And the United Synagogue of America, established in 1913, emerged as the Conservative institutional alternative to the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. The early founders intended to fill a lacuna they saw in American Jewish life with a more traditional, pro-Zionist, "modern" and non-orthodox religious movement. One which could potentially appeal to many across a spectrum of Jewish religiosity in America. Indeed, some of the most influential American Jewish leaders and early figures of Zionism, Jewish education, and Hebrew music emerged from within the young Conservative Movement and JTS, both heavily influenced by Schechter and his work in America during the early twentieth century.

Schechter was a well-respected biblical scholar, educated in German and English and was brought by JTS's leadership to the US from Europe to head the seminary (established in 1886) in 1902.[9] Shortly after, in 1906, Schechter publicly extolled the virtues of Zionism in a pamphlet titled *Zionism: A Statement.* Its publication caused swirls of debate and set an important and early precedent for Conservative outlooks toward Zionist thought and Hebrew national culture.[10] Schechter had his reservations about supporting a diasporic embrace of Zionism. Yet, he notes that by 1906

> To me personally, after long hesitation and careful watching, Zionism recommended itself as the great bulwark against assimilation. Zionism declares boldly to the world that Judaism means to preserve its life . . . proving a tower of strength and of unity not only for the remnant gathered within the borders of the Holy Land, but also for those who shall, by choice or necessity, prefer what now constitutes the Galut.[11]

Rather than seeing life in the diaspora and Zionism as mutually exclusive, Schechter was one important forerunner of the notion that supporting and feeling included in national activities in the *Yishuv* served to help Judaism flourish in America. As he indicated, after toiling with Zionist thought and its potential place in diasporic Jewish life, he arrived at the conclusion that it could in fact provide a "tower of strength and of unity" for its sustenance and resistance to assimilation. To Schechter and others in the young move-

ment, Zionism helped instill in American Jews a sense of linkage between themselves, Jewish history, continuity, and communities around the globe. In contradistinction to the Reformers of the time, Schechter understood this type of connection to Jewish peoplehood could allow Judaism to thrive as a minority religion in America without having to maintain more overtly-othering traditional or religious practices—like donning the European Jewish religious garb of past generations (despite many conservative Jews wearing yarmulkes)—that might negatively impact Jews' acceptance into America's often xenophobic and intolerant society.

By the start of the 1910s, Schechter, along with certain colleagues and students, felt the palpable need to establish their own more traditional and pro-Zionist congregational union. They had built enough support and consensus within the institution to forge such a path through JTS, and these circumstances led to the genesis of the United Synagogue of America in 1913.[12] When Schechter passed away at the age of 68 in November 1915, he left behind an enduring legacy of Zionism's centrality to Jewish scholarship and curricula produced in the Conservative movement's educational institutions. JTS became an early bastion of Zionism in the context of training American Jewish educators, clergy, and musicians. JTS as an educational institution also made a marked impact on the proliferation of Zionist thought and Hebrew national culture in America, and Zionist songs emerged as a noteworthy and early component of this evolutionary process in the pre-1948 period. Schechter's understandings of Zionism and its place in America reverberated posthumously throughout many Hebrew musical endeavors carried out by JTS graduates in the eventful decades following his passing. Zionist songs' inclusion in the first Conservative curriculum for religious schools in America is just one early and illustrative piece of the broader musical story.[13]

In 1922, a young rabbi named Alter Landesman completed his studies at JTS. Interested in education, his first professional appointment after leaving the seminary was as superintendent of the Hebrew Education Society of Brooklyn, an organization originally established to acculturate Jewish immigrants to life in New York's bustling immigrant neighborhoods.[14] In the same year, Landesman completed *Curriculum for Jewish Religious Schools,* the United Synagogue's first curricular guide for use in their emergent educational system. Landesman's curriculum was designed to be a destination-guide for teachers, administrators, and religious school principals. The publication offered educators (some of whom were not professionals) curricular pieces and pedagogical tools for teaching religious and biblical studies, Jewish history, Hebrew language, Jewish peoplehood, and

music, amongst other subjects. The guide also included directions about school organization and administration. And, at a time when Zionism was still a polemical, unsettled subject in the American Jewish community, the 1922 curriculum presented numerous references and specific pedagogical approaches to teaching children about the growing Jewish community in Palestine—partially through music.

On the first page of his introduction, Landesman wasted no time in defining how notions of Jewish peoplehood and the Zionist national project in Palestine should be approached in American classrooms implementing his curriculum. Two of the leading goals of his curriculum, he states, are

> To acquaint the children with the Jewish present through information concerning the life of the Jews in various lands with special emphasis on the development of Jewish life in modern Palestine . . . [and] To make the children aware that the ideals and the distinctive character of the Jewish people are compatible with and promotive of American ideals and life.[15]

Landesman plainly articulated to readers his understanding that Zionist national developments should be considered an integral component of Jewish life in America. To achieve such integration of Zionism into American Jewish life, he wanted students to internalize a sense of inclusion in a global Jewish community, with Palestine as a major center—and not to become culturally cloistered in America. Zionism was thus offered to help students contextualize their Judaism beyond American life, and not just in Palestine. Notably though, Landesman stressed that students should simultaneously internalize the notion that America, her ideals, and Jewish life there were in no way mutually exclusive to his presentation of Jews comprising a global community or sharing a universal, global Hebraic national association with the Zionist enterprise.

In the curriculum's "Sunday School" lessons, Landesman continued to reinforce the importance of this notion of peoplehood and suggested that Zionist songs could be utilized as a pedagogical tool suitable for teaching about it. He argues that should an educator want to "create a pride in the great Jewish heritage, and to cultivate an abiding interest in Jewish life and an attachment to the great body of the living Jewish people" they should instill an "understanding of and a love for the elements of the Jewish religion and its customs and practices" and "To create in the children a desire to continue their responsibilities as Jews"; educators could do so, in part, by

teaching "liturgical responses and . . . [Zionist] folk-songs" for the purpose of "impart[ing] to the children such knowledge of Palestine as will give it a permanent place in their thoughts as well as in their affections."[16] Numerous other references to Zionist songs are present in the curriculum, including "Ha'Tikva" being placed as a part of the regular "song-study period."[17]

Contained within the curriculum is another unique illustration of the emphasis Landesman placed on musical curricular tools as instruments to teach students about their diasporic ties to a global Jewish peoplehood, well-beyond their immediate geographical context. Samuel Goldfarb, a celebrated Jewish musician, composer, and contributor to the "Course in Music for Congregational Schools" in the curriculum, opens his introduction to that chapter by positing that music in the Hebrew school could

> give the American Jewish child a knowledge and sympathetic appreciation of Jewish music; to prepare him to take a more active part in the Synagogue service by teaching him the music of the various responses, to help bridge the gap between parent and child by teaching the Jewish boy some of the Jewish folk songs which will bring him in closer sympathy with the little understood soul of the "European" Jew, and his mode of living.[18]

While this statement did not reference Zionism, it provides a window into the value Goldfarb (who was indeed a Zionist) and Landesman placed on music as a pedagogical instrument for teaching American Jewish students about diverse, global Jewish cultures, particularly amongst immigrant children whose parents and grandparents left Europe.

The notion that bringing students toward a "closer sympathy with the little understood soul of the 'European' Jew, and his mode of living" to bridge gaps between generations of Jewish immigrants in America is significant. At the time, many Jewish students learning through this curriculum, especially in Landesman's community of Brownsville, Brooklyn, were likely first or second-generation Americans integrating into a society far different from that familiar to their parents and older relatives from Eastern Europe. During what historian Herbert Parzan refers to as an active "struggle on the part of the east-European immigrants . . . to take root" in America and "to contend with the old [central European, Reform] settlers for influence and control of the Jewish community"[19] these musical teaching tools offered Jewish educators, many of whom were women without formal training as teachers, an accessible means to help their students feel a sense of belonging to America

and the *Yishuv,* as well as to the dominantly eastern European Jewish culture of older generations that surrounded them.

In an address "before a large gathering of women interested in educational problems, Mrs. Alexander Wolf of Washington, D.C., National Chairman of the Committee on Education, of the Council on Jewish Women" argued that an "enormous percentage" of educators responsible for teaching Jewish children "are under grade, undeveloped, most often underpaid." Further, that "As women, as mothers, as descendants of that people to whom education has always been a sacred trust, let us look to our children and to our own responsibility in this matter." With a sense of urgency, Wolf implored the audience of women to "each devote herself to the betterment of the city" she hailed home. "Introduce investigation. Follow up with demands that the enfranchisement of women can now so adequately re-enforce. Insist that our teachers be the best, and let us give our best, our boys and girls, to devote themselves to the ancient and noble profession of pedagogy."[20] Alongside the 1920 ratification of American Women's Right to Vote, organizations like the Council on Jewish Women were instrumental in American political activism, which included the women's suffrage movement and aiding a variety of communities across the US and their rapidly growing Jewish immigrant populations in the early 1920s. In her book, *Gone to Another Meeting: The National Council of Jewish Women, 1893–1993,* author Faith Rogow notes that "many Council members certainly hoped to coax immigrants away from traditional Jewish practices that they viewed as embarrassing [like donning traditional religious garb]"; yet "the Jewish education they offered was no more monolithically Reform than was Council's membership." In fact, Rogow argues that the "Council's commitment to uniting Jewish women from all denominations kept them from trying to 'convert' immigrants to Reform Judaism. Instead, as with their own membership, Council fought to preserve Jewish identity without defining what that meant." Their work was not just centered in cities. They also served rural communities, where they "provided for their ongoing religious, health, and educational needs." The Councils "hired itinerant Hebrew teachers, nurses, and lecturers assigned to specific rural districts to share information on everything from Jewish history to sex hygiene." Landesman's curriculum and its many accessible lessons were the very type of materials a Jewish educator working on behalf of the Jewish Women's Council in a rural or urban Jewish community could utilize to help "to preserve Jewish identity," in a variety of religiously and demographically diverse communities working to integrate into American Jewish life. Landesman and Goldfarb both recommend throughout the curriculum—for numerous

applications of globally influenced Jewish music in the classroom—*The Jewish Songster* as a resource for use amongst such communities in cities, towns, and rural areas across America. Zionist songs contained in the *Songster* are referenced throughout the curriculum's many lessons. Without a doubt, Landesman hoped his curricular guide and its Zionist musical lessons could serve a variety of schools and teachers across the US.

Samuel, Israel, and Thelma Goldfarb: Early Pioneers of Hebrew Song in the US

Samuel Goldfarb, along with his brother Israel, produced the first edition of *The Jewish Songster* in 1918.[21] The book was an early collection of secular and liturgical Jewish songs in English, Hebrew, and Yiddish. The Goldfarb brothers, who both had long and successful careers as clergy and Jewish educators in America, intended for this book to fill a gap within the world of Jewish education that would "be hailed as a welcome guest in every Jewish Religious School in the country, and will, in each school prove to be a stimulus and an aid in developing an 'esprit de corps'" amongst its readers.[22] With the inclusion of many Zionist songs, we can see that Zionism and Hebrew national culture were indeed integral components of this "esprit de corps," or pride in Jewish peoplehood. Further, the *Songster* is an example of Seroussi's discussion of the publication of "Ha'tikva" in Jewish communities around the world. Of course, communally singing Hebrew national songs was already an established means of expressing Zionist sentiment in America before the songster was published, and, building on these musical trends and their ability to unite diverse groups of Jews through song under such an "esprit de corps," the Goldfarbs were amongst the first to offer an easily accessible collection of Zionist songs for American Jewish educators, clergy, communal professionals, and public—nearly a decade before Binder's book. Both Goldfarbs were closely tied to JTS and its associated professional networks, although Samuel went on to become a cantor at a Reform synagogue for much of his later career after Israel's establishment in Seattle, WA.[23]

The book is an early illustration of Hebrew music and its emerging place in American Jewish education and culture, even as part of commercial publications.[24] Further, the *Songster* shows very early usage of Hebrew music as a pedagogical mechanism utilized to educate American Jews about ways to engage with and feel included in the Zionist national movement from afar. The second edition of *The Jewish Songster* (1920) contains more Hebrew songs from Palestine than the first (1918) and offers an entire section of "Hebrew

(Secular) [or Zionist songs]." The publication echoes the growing sense of optimism many Zionists felt as the British established their Mandate in Palestine.

One of the selections "Palestine Spring Song," written in English without any Hebrew, appears in the "Chamisho Osor" (*Tu b'Shvat*)[25] section of the *Songster*. The fact that there is even a section for the Jewish holiday of *Tu b'Shvat*—an often-controversial holiday at the time (to be discussed in more detail below), associated closely with Zionist development of Palestine—is alone substantial evidence of Landesman and the Goldfarb brothers' ideological and theological perspectives.[26] Recommended in the curriculum for incorporation as part of the broader "Course in Music," the lyrics of "Palestine Spring Song," a lively, inviting and upbeat tune, read

> Through the wide and verdant meadow, lads are bearing plough and hoe;
> "Aleph-bes," the master teaches, while they saunter to and fro
> tree, an "alef" tree, a "bes" and the "gimel" is a tree;
> trees the symbols, writ on green, far as any eye can see!
> Here's the Torah, dearest children; learn its words and hold it dear;
> plant and sow your merry striplings—look about you—Spring is here!
> Study in the Book of Nature, and in all that's written there;
> in this land, who plants a sapling, furls the flag his comrades bare.[27]

Joining the modern Hebrew Language, stewardship of the land of Israel, *Torah* (Hebrew Bible), as well as terminology and imagery central to the increasingly important ideals of Labor-Zionism, this song is a strong indication of the Goldfarbs' intentions to teach and proliferate many elements of Zionist culture in Palestine throughout American Jewish cultural and religious life through music education (earlier than many of their contemporaries).

At this early stage of American Jewish development, we can see that many Conservative Jewish educational leaders looked to Palestine for inspiration and content. With *Torah* being sung about next to popular conceptions of Zionist labor values and the virtue of working the land of Israel, students were presented with an understanding that the labor of building a Jewish homeland in Palestine preserved *Torah* and Jewish religious continuity around the globe, no less important in America. American Jews, in this conception, are not excluded from taking pride or even feeling included in these Zionist accomplishments. They are told to in fact see such a pride or

"esprit de corps" as important to being a devout Jew in America. In emphasizing the importance of *Tu b'Shvat*, and the many Zionist connotations and Hebrew songs associated with its presentation in the curriculum, we see just how important elements of Hebrew culture were in shaping Conservative American Judaism (even at this early stage) and how Zionist songs were utilized from the beginning.[28]

The "Hebrew (Secular)" section of the *Songster* begins with "Ha'Tikva," an obvious selection.[29] It is a clear and familiar setup for the subsequent Hebrew songs they offer, likely novel to many readers. "Shir Avodah," for example, the second selection, juxtaposes the Zionist values of communal stewardship of the land of Israel and the nationalist components contained in "Ha'Tikva"'s expressed yearning to redeem a Jewish biblical claim to Palestine:

> Awake, brothers, do not sleep; get up for your work!
> This is my life, this is my work!
> The world stands on work; relax, sing with thankfulness!
> This is my life, this is my work!
> Work is our lives; and will save us from our troubles.
> This is my life, this is my work! Here in the Land of our forefathers![30]

Concentrating on Zionist notions of Jewish renewal in Palestine through communal labor, "Shir Avodah," a simple tune, intended to allow for easy group singing, is an illuminating selection as the second. Even for certain non-Zionist oriented educators or readers, this song could offer an intriguing message. Many non-Zionists (even those in the conservative movement, most notable to this study, Rabbi Cyrus Adler) opposed numerous aspects of Political Zionism that called for Jewish control of Palestine. Yet, they did not necessarily object to mere Jewish settlement of lands in Palestine without calls for Jewish sovereignty of the area.[31] As such, celebrating the efforts of those working to settle land in Palestine (presented as biblically bestowed to Jews) through song could potentially open one to finding new meanings in "Ha'Tikva"'s nationalist message. Jews returning to "the Land of our forefathers" in Palestine or the biblical land of Israel after 2000 years of exile to build a home that would serve as a center of Jewish life for diaspora communities worldwide was a relatively palatable message to many American (and other diaspora) Jews at this time. Singing a novel, easy-to-learn song in a communal setting about these concepts would very likely make them even more palatable and likely to integrate into activities already taking place in Jewish spaces like musical instruction in religious schools.

In this context, it is important to note the significance of the secularization of the notion that "the world stands on labor" presented in "Shir Avodah." Part of a traditional liturgical Jewish principle, this concept sits in a trio of biblical tenets believed to make a Jew spiritually whole. However, the other two legs are omitted. Coming from the text *Pirkei Avot* (Ethics of the Fathers), it is stated that "On three things the world stands: Torah, labor (service to God), and acts of loving kindness." While "labor" in the traditional context means service and devotion to God, this song shows a Zionist reinterpretation of the notion. Here we see that communally working the land of Israel is presented using the same language as divine service and devotion.[32] The secular, labor-focused reinterpretation of Jewish thought represented in the song is another example of American Jews' early exposure to elements of Zionism as part of an effort to have them feel included in a global Jewish religion and nation that supports the *Yishuv*. Hebrew schoolteachers like Thelma Goldfarb, Israel's eldest daughter who taught music at New York City Public School PS29 and at a local Hebrew school, could provide students copies of Zionist songs to sing during lessons. Thelma, Israel, and Samuel in fact founded a publishing-company, which produced a variety of works by the three, many of which were music collections intended for curricular use in religious schools or liturgical use in synagogues. The Jewish Songster Publishing Company was located at the Goldfarb residence on Clinton Street in Brooklyn, where Samuel had a flat as well.[33]

Significant to note is that the content in the *Jewish Songster*, while originally curated for educational settings, was not reserved for younger Conservative Jews like students learning from Landesman's curriculum. For example, in December 1924, when Dr. Mordecai Soltes—chairman of the Arverne, Queens, NY Zionist District and noted Jewish educator—arranged a novel program to be held at the Arverne Community Center, the feature of this monthly meeting consisted of "a lecture on Jewish Music in Palestine to be given by Samuel E. Goldfarb, Director of Music of the Bureau of Jewish Education of New York." Following his remarks, Goldfarb taught "the audience a half a dozen of the most popular Palestinian songs in Hebrew and English" from the *Jewish Songster* and all attendees were provided "copies of a special book containing twenty songs donated to the district by one of the members."[34] Jews across generations and denominations in New York—dominantly eastern European immigrants—were exposed to Zionist songs and the Goldfarbs were one important piece of the networks that enabled the process, particularly in the early 1920s when few others were operating in the American Hebrew musical space.

Years before Binder, the Goldfarbs supplied the American-Jewish community with an inexpensive collection of songs to help engage with Zionist thought and national culture in already extant Jewish communal settings—without detracting from Jews' focus on and ability to attain educations and social capital as avenues of integrating into the American economy and middle class. We can infer that, like Binder, the Goldfarbs were not promoting immigration to Palestine as a pursuit for largely urban or suburban American Jews, but rather a Jewish context in which they could view the virtues of hard work, Jewish perseverance, and how the *Chalutzim* in Palestine represented Jewish success in times of hardship. Thus, achievements of Zionists in the *Yishuv* were offered as evidence that Jews were capable—within a communal Jewish framework—of achieving greatness, even in the face of seeming impossibility. If students and other Jews, like attendees of Soltes's program could internalize a sense that through grit, hard work, and commitment to a biblical mandate Zionists were able to reconstitute an ancient Jewish claim to land in Palestine and build a mythical society there to serve as a "tower of strength" for diaspora Jewry, they could certainly see their own pursuits to attain financial and social success and remain committed to Judaism and Zionism along the way in America as less onerous in comparison. Furthermore, the Goldfarbs' work serves as an early example of ways in which American approaches to participation in Hebrew national culture were bent toward aspects of Zionism that were relatable and helpful to Jewish life in America—things like motivation to work hard and/or be more active participants in Jewish communal life.

Another song presented by the Goldfarbs, "Po Ba'Aretz" (Here in the land of Israel, at https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=150), digs deeper into Zionist notions of links between the Jewish biblical past and contemporary activities taking place in Palestine

> Here in the land of our loving forefathers; all the hopes will come true
> Here we will live and here we will create; lives of glamor, lives of freedom
> Here the *Shechina* (Divine presence) will dwell; here will blossom the language of the Torah; Graze the meadow, sing a song, rejoice in the joy; the sprouts will sprout, Graze the meadow; sing a song, rejoice in the joy, the seeds will grow.[35]

This song, a commanding march, drives the notion to readers, across generations that Zionists' joining of biblical concepts, modern Hebrew national cul-

ture, and labor values in the *Yishuv* could and should be seen as an important part of their own Judaism. In other words, theological connections between Jewish people and the biblical land of Israel evidenced that modern Zionist developments in their ancestral land was just as much a part of their Judaism as the *Chalutzim*. The pride in Zionists' efforts offered in these songs is contextualized through claims that Zionism emerged as a natural extension of all Jews' biblical ties to Palestine, and they are in fact carrying out divine Jewish destiny on behalf of Jews everywhere.

Hebrew national culture and music were not just an inspiration to American Jewry or a mechanism to participate in Zionism—they communicated novel Zionist notions of Jewish history, culture, religious evolution, and national character. We find, for example, these types of musical mechanisms utilized by the Goldfarbs to proliferate a broadly framed conception of the Jewish past and its import to informing American understandings of Zionism, Jewish peoplehood, and Hebrew culture present in a 1925 Philadelphia performance where "Scenes of Jewish life in Temple days were depicted in a pageant presented by the pupils of the Hebrew high schools of the Association Talmud Torah in the Simon B. Fleisher auditorium of the Young Men's-Young Women's Hebrew Association." The roughly 3,000 audience members were treated to a cantata for which Samuel Goldfarb arranged the music, that "included the [modern, presented as] old folk songs of Israel."[36] These types of performances and programs at Jewish communal institutions during the period complemented published examples of Hebrew music. They served to help normalize notions in American Jewish life that aspects of modern Zionism, Hebrew national culture, and music found their roots in scenes from the bible, were important to Jews everywhere, and in no way contradicted Judaism or the ways it should be practiced in America.

In the first quarter of the twentieth century though, as new Jewish immigrants were eager to be accepted into American society, and older, more established Jewish communities were already themselves more integrated into American life, economies, and culture, overt Zionist expressions, musical and otherwise, were not necessarily warmly welcomed in both Jewish and non-Jewish communities. As we saw at the 1917 rally in Chicago, Zionism's popularity indeed saw a boost in America after the Balfour Declaration, and, unique to this story, singing "Ha'Tikva" was attendees' default expression of excitement and pride in Zionists' national achievements in Palestine. However, this did not mean that leaders in Jewish communities that supported Zionism (in the Reform and Conservative worlds) weren't wary of Zionism's implications in American Jewish life and what was perceived as its potential to obstruct American Jews' ability to integrate into the US as "full Ameri-

cans."[37] This worry, however, was not unique to the American Jewish community. In the 1917 Balfour Declaration, where it is written that "nothing shall be done which may prejudice . . . the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country," we see a reference to British Jewish communities feeling similar anxieties about Zionism during these years—American Jewry were not alone.[38] European Jews' traumas associated with life and persecution in European societies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries left scar tissue amongst Jewish communities in Europe, America, and Palestine. Fears of Zionism constituting an impediment to successfully becoming American—after attempts to become German, Russian, Polish, Czech, etc., proved either difficult or impossible—were pervasive and not just amongst Reform Jews. The Goldfarb brothers' vision of American-Zionist music was grounded in blending American life, patriotism, and Hebrew national culture in a way that seemed natural. And they subtly confronted questions of dual-loyalty in America in a very simple, musical capacity—foreshadowing of a musical phenomenon that ripples throughout this study.

We know that the first song in the "Hebrew (Secular)" section is "Ha-Tikvah." And, representing an early iteration of an American Zionist musical trend, the first two songs in the "English" section are "America" and "The Star-Spangled Banner," which until today represent the essence of American patriotism and pride. We can see "Ha'Tikva" as a well-suited anthem to place at the beginning of the sub-section for Zionist songs. It conveys that Jews in the US can yearn for Palestine, gazing toward Zion with Jewish communities worldwide. That they could support the efforts of the *Yishuv* to build a Jewish home in Palestine based on a biblical Jewish claim to land there, and still pursue a place in American society—all while growing a Jewishly engaged and patriotic community in America. The idea that "Ha'Tikva" was even in the same published songbook as the "The Star-Spangled Banner" in 1920 serves as metaphor for Conservative Jews and JTS graduates' early efforts to espouse notions that Zionism, Judaism, and Americanness could all be balanced successfully in ways that would become the norm just decades ahead.

A 1925 reception held at Israel Goldfarb's Brooklyn synagogue offers another unique window into how the brothers presented this musical, national formulation outside of their publications, and how others in the community viewed them. "Congregation Beith Israel Anshei Emes, the oldest Jewish congregation in the boro" honored its rabbi the "Rev Dr Israel Goldfarb." More than 700 attendees "rose to applaud when Philip Lille president of the congregation presented a purse containing $1000 in gold pieces for Rabbi Goldfarb in the name of the members of Baith Israel [to help maintain the

aging building]. The program, which consisted of addresses by associates and friends of Rabbi Goldfarb and musical selections, opened with the singing of "The Star-Spangled Banner" and closed with the singing of "Hatik-voh . . ." New York State Supreme Court Justice Edward Lazansky gave a speech during the event in which he remarked of Israel Goldfarb that "There is no danger of the dollar gaining the ascendancy over our people if we have such leaders as your rabbi. We in America may see the inspirational light flashing forth from Palestine but we want to have right here a light which will send forth the spiritual Influence of Israel."[39]

Lazansky's formulation about "the dollar [*not*] gaining the ascendancy" is a clear call to these congregants not to allow integration into American culture and capitalism to whitewash their Jewish religious and cultural heritage. In other words, for Judaism to survive capitalism and the American social experiment, it needed to be framed as something much bigger than America—Jews needed to feel like they were part of a national culture that was common to Jews worldwide and rooted in the bible to keep the drive for remaining Jewish alive as a religious minority in America. Likewise, they needed to be able to grow in the economy as dedicated Jews as to provide money to Jewish institutions and their leadership, like the $1k for restoring Israel Goldfarb's synagogue. Figures like the Goldfarbs were successful, early on, in using Zionism, Hebrew national culture and music as means to broaden the global context, appeal, and contemporaneous relevance of Judaism in this growing portion of the diaspora, offering what they saw as a Hebrew musical "light" in the bustling, diverse boroughs of New York.

Conservative rabbis and educators associated with JTS were early devotees in building a broader modern Hebraism in America, particularly in the 1920s,[40] and the Goldfarbs were important figures in the musical side of this story. Samuel, like his brother, brought his published Zionist songs to life through performances throughout his active career as a cantor, performer, and educator. For example, in 1927, at an Asbury Park, NJ "lecture and recital of Jewish music," Samuel B. Goldfarb, "Instructor of music at the Teachers' Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America" was the featured guest. During his performance, he sang "modern synagogue music, Palestine music and Jewish theater and Jewish folk music." The journalist covering the event made sure to note Goldfarb's other titles and accomplishments as "the head of the music department of the Bureau of Jewish Education, New York; chairman of the committee on music, in the Young People's League and the United Synagogue of America; and composer of 'Hear the Voice of Israel's Elders,' 'Palestine, My Palestine' and other songs in both Hebrew and English."[41]

Thelma Goldfarb, too, by the late 1920s was actively working on a variety of Zionist song publications through The Jewish Songster Publishing Company and other outlets. Her 1929 book, *Echoes of Palestine* (at https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=150) was one such example. "A collection of fifty choice and stirring Palestinian songs arranged for Voice and Piano," the publication's sections included "Chalutsim [pioneer] songs" "Love songs," "Folk songs," "Sacred songs" and "Songs without words."[42] *Echoes of Palestine* and its assortment of popular Hebrew songs, beyond its use as a pedagogical tool or songster for Jewish communal gatherings, helped Thelma's career as a performer of Hebrew songs. Songs contained in the book like "Simi Yadech" (Give me Your Hand), a lively, and upbeat, iconic Hebrew folk anthem made for great entertainment at a variety of Zionist events and fundraisers. The 1929 "annual Joint conference of the Brooklyn Junior Hadassah" chapter, for example, had more than 600 attendees who collectively "pleaded for more activity on the part of intelligent men and women who are directly concerned with Palestine problems, yet who seem to Ignore their importance." Following the Hadassah rally for American Zionist support, the group hosted a social gathering where "Thelma Goldfarb entertained with selections from her original composition, recently published and entitled *Echoes of Palestine*."[43] Indeed, New York was a growing center of Zionist support during this period, opening a variety of opportunities for musicians like Thelma Goldfarb to perform Hebrew music and produce Hebrew song publications for emergent commercial markets. Like her father and uncle, Thelma was a rising star in the worlds of New York Jewish education and music.

While he worked with his brother in the coming years to produce numerous editions of the *Songster*, as noted in the Asbury, NJ news coverage of his performance, Samuel served as Music Director of the New York Bureau of Jewish Education between 1925–1938. During this period, he, along with the Bureau's Director Samson Benderly, buttressed many aspects of Zionism, Hebrew national culture, and the modern Hebrew language as pillars of Jewish education, and they gained a profile as innovators because of their efforts, outside of the city. The New York-based Bureau of Jewish Education (BJE) was a major, early influence in shaping American Jewish education and had many ties to JTS, its faculty, and its graduates. The BJE was established in the early twentieth century to set a series of national standards for Jewish education in America. Its head in New York, Samson Benderly was a prominent Jewish educator who became a visionary and leader in shaping Zionism, Hebrew national culture and music's places in American Jewish life and educational practices. In 1929, when the Goldfarb brothers released

the fifth edition of *The Jewish Songster,* we can see a great increase in the number of Hebrew songs contained within it. The fact that in eleven years, the brothers released five editions of the *Songster* is alone telling of its warm reception and commercial value.[44] In their 1929 foreword, they reflect that the prior decade saw "strides . . . [in] Jewish education in America" and that "a new awakening . . . has swept over the Jewry of the world since the close of the great war [WWI]." A global awaking that has turned Jews' "attention to the inestimable educational, social, and spiritual values of Jewish school and folk music."[45] The New York BJE was central to the developments correctly noted by the Goldfarbs in the 1929 foreword—and it served as an institutional home or partner for numerous other figures important to promoting Hebrew national culture through Zionist songs,[46] one of whom was Harry Coopersmith. A colleague of Benderly and the Goldfarb brothers, Coopersmith was a noteworthy figure in American Hebrew and liturgical music, as well as Jewish musical education. Throughout his long and prolific career in the US, he used Hebrew music to successfully blossom his visions of Zionism, Jewish peoplehood and education—and did so on a larger scale than most of his contemporaries or predecessors.

Harry Coopersmith: Early Contributions to Hebrew Music Culture in America

Harry Coopersmith (1902–1975) graduated from the JTS Teacher's Institute in 1921 leading him on a path to become one of the great conduits of Zionist music to American Jewry in the pre-1948 period. An eastern European immigrant to the US, Coopersmith began his career at Benderly's Jewish Bureau of Education in New York following his studies at JTS. Reflecting on JTS and Benderly's BJE of the period and offering background to Coopersmith's experience, Israel Chipkin, then Executive Director of the American Association of Jewish Education, correctly remarked in 1949 that a major component of Dr. Benderly's plans for American Jewish education centered around "the creation of a Jewish education profession and the development of a community program for Jewish education in America." Indeed, Landesman's curriculum and the Goldfarbs' songster (as well as their work as professional Jewish educators for periods of their careers) were part of this evolutionary process unfolding in New York and other centers of Jewish life in America. Coopersmith, too, was educated in the heart of these evolutions at JTS and then worked for Benderly's BJE. A foundational period in his career as a professional Jewish educator and musician, Coopersmith took his JTS

education and experiences at the BJE as he went on to help establish the Music Department of the Board of Jewish Education of Chicago, serving as its director from 1926–1930.

Not just an educational administrator, Coopersmith composed, performed, and published Hebrew and liturgical music collections throughout the numerous stages of his career. Part of his greater efforts to contribute to the development of a standardized "community program for Jewish education in America," Coopersmith helped to incorporate components of Hebrew national culture and music as pedagogical tools to proliferate and strengthen Zionist engagement outside of New York. For example, during Chicago's fourth annual Jewish Music Festival in 1930, "A children's chorus of 500 and the adult Halevy coral society appeared under the direction of Harry Coopersmith." An early devotee of Hebrew musical study and an already skilled performer of Jewish liturgical music, Coopersmith presented to the festival attendees "various types of [Zionist] folk music, prayer songs, ancient Hebrew songs" as well as "Anglo-Jewish music." The correspondent covering the event for the *Chicago Tribune* understood the performance's blending of styles to be the work of a musician who has labored to pursue "a personal study thereof"[47] of all of these unique, and sometimes novel music forms. Throughout the 1920–1948 period, Coopersmith—inspired by the general progress of the Zionist national project, as well as his own understanding of Zionism and Hebrew national culture's importance to and compatibility with Jewish life in America—indeed pursued a personal study of Hebrew music. And in the years leading to 1948, as Coopersmith grew to become an increasingly high-profile Jewish educator, administrator, and liturgical musician in America, his ability to proliferate Zionist songs and their national messages across different sectors of American Jewry swelled.

Coopersmith often worked for or in conjunction with Conversative Jewish institutions in America following his studies at JTS. As such, he (not surprisingly) espoused a vision of Zionism and Hebrew national culture's place in American Jewish life—and Hebrew music's ability to help spread them—which shared a great deal with the outlooks of Landesman and the Goldfarbs. Coopersmith, like Landesman and the Goldfarbs, used Hebrew music as a tool to enmesh emergent Hebrew national culture into American Jewish religious education and ritual practice during the pre-1948 period. He too sought to avoid impediments to (and in fact loudly encouraged) American Jews' integration into Americanness. Geared toward American Jews "who shall, by choice . . . prefer what now constitutes the Galut,"[48] Coopersmith's many Hebrew musical publications and perfor-

mances before Israel's founding fused Jewish liturgical music from America and Europe with Zionist songs. Like others, he sought to create a Jewish community and educational system in which Jews could support and participate in the Zionist national project alongside other Jewish practices and not feel un-American for doing so.

Coopersmith had a great deal of agency in achieving these ends through American Jewish music education, which he was central to forming as a field. Speaking of this influence, musicologist Irene Heskes argues that in fact, under Coppersmith's "leadership, credentials were set for the guidance and selection of music teachers serving religious schools" across the US, which "adopted those [Coopersmith's] training guidelines and certification criteria."[49] Indeed, Coopersmith's impacts on standardizing and professionalizing American Jewish music and education are far reaching. His extensive use of Hebrew songs to promote Hebrew national culture and Zionist engagement in America alongside those endeavors pre-1948 are an important and underinvestigated aspect of his prolific career.

Chamisho Osor Bishvat—Palestine Arbor Day was amongst Coopersmith's first publications of Zionist songs (part of a series produced under the title, *Little Book of Jewish Songs*). Released in 1928, the songster serves as an illustrative starting point in framing Coopersmith's early career trajectory, outlooks, institutional context, and approaches to integrating aspects of Zionism into American Judaism through song. Palestine Arbor Day, or the Jewish Holiday of *Tu b'Shvat*—as mentioned above—was indeed a point of contention in mainstream American Judaism at the time. Presenting such tensions over *Tu b'Shvat*, historian Jonathan Krasner offers a demonstrative 1930 debate between prominent Reform Rabbi Louis Wolsey, an HUC graduate and Emanuel Gamoran (introduced in the last chapter). "[Gamoran] did not shy away from conflict with other foes . . . including . . . rabbi Louis Wolsey of Philadelphia's Congregation Rodeph Shalom." Krasner notes that Gamoran in fact instigated "One of Wolsey's more dramatic tirades . . . occasioned by the inclusion of a Tu b'Shvat (Jewish Arbor Day) program, focusing in part on Theodor Herzl and the modern-day up building of Palestine . . . 'It seems to me that you have gone one step too far in your very obvious attempt to propagandize the Reform Synagogue with your Zionistic nationalism,' an irritated Wolsey wrote to Gamoran in 1930."[50] In 1930, even though change was on the horizon, Wolsey's dissent toward political Zionism, Herzl as a symbol of it, and Tu' B'Shvat as a celebration of both was not necessarily uncommon amongst those in the Reform movement, still in the midst of their "conversion to Zionism." Their squabble though offers important his-

toric context to the broader implications of Coopersmith's musical Zionist overtures to American Jewry two years prior.

Gamoran, discussed in the previous chapter for his work to incorporate Zionism into Reform Jewish education in the 1930s, was not only a JTS graduate but also a former employee of Benderly's BJE. And like Coopersmith, his time at these two New York institutions informed his outwardly Zionist views of American Jewish life, despite his Reform affiliation as a professional Jewish educator. Gamoran was the director of the Reform Commission of Jewish Education, and considering the influence of his position, it is not a stretch to understand why Wolsey would consider Gamoran to be so brazen, particularly since Gamoran's work was often national in scale.[51] Wolsey, an HUC educated, non-Zionist Reform Rabbi indeed punctuates those stark differences between the Reform establishment (even by 1930), dominated by graduates of HUC, and those educators and clergy who studied and embraced the brand of Zionism disseminated at JTS and the BJE—this included certain figures like Gamoran and Samuel Goldfarb who were affiliated with JTS and worked at the BJE but went on to work in Reform Jewish institutions.[52]

In the Conservative movement, Gamoran and Coopersmith's Zionist outlooks and approaches to spreading them through Jewish education were status quo. Yet, Gamoran was constrained by figures like Wolsey. Many others in the Reform movement were constrained in their Zionist activism—guided by certain institutional tolerances, at least until the mid-1930s. Coopersmith was of course a graduate of JTS and alum of Benderly's BJE and it is not an ideological surprise that he would publish an entire book of Zionist songs dedicated to "Palestine Arbor Day" in the late 1920s.[53] Coopersmith was not constrained like Gamoran while working within Conservative Jewish institutions. Like Binder at JIR, Coopersmith's interest in Hebrew music was just another facet of his broader professional profile and portfolio as a Jewish musical and educational professional—one with institutional support to musically integrate components of Hebrew culture into American Judaism in the pre-1948 period, particularly relevant in the climate of the 1920s.

Little Book of Jewish Songs: Chamisho Osor Bishvat—Palestine Arbor Day helps tell part of the greater story of *Tu b'Shvat*'s development in American Jewish ritual practices and relationships to Zionist settlement and cultivation of land in Palestine and then Israel. Coopersmith was focused on musically framing *Tu b'Shvat* in ways that were palatable and relatable to Americans. He did not want the holiday to be polemical. In fact, he saw *Tu b'Shvat* as a holiday celebration that was uniquely compatible with and relat-

able to aspects of American national culture. As such, his songster contains many conceptions of the Zionist reimagined holiday that fused elements of Hebrew national culture, Jewish theology, and American national and popular culture through song. He used the holiday and Zionist songs as pedagogical tools to educate readers (most likely students in Jewish religious schools) about Jewish settlement and cultivation of land in Palestine at a time when these notions were indeed polemical, still viewed as dangerous in some way to Jewish life in America by many, and were not known about in great detail in the US—even less so outside of New York. Considering this broader context, Coopersmith utilized imagery associated with America's westward expansion to help frame the holiday in a way that was relatable to his readers. Capturing many of the same images of developing the untamed wilderness of the western United States, Palestine Arbor Day shared in the spirit of American Arbor Day; however, within Palestine-centric, Jewish religious, and Zionist national contexts.[54] Referring to *Tu b'Shvat* as Palestine Arbor Day alone can be interpreted as being a way to show students or other readers of the book that the *Chalutzim* of Palestine shared attributes with those Americans moving westward to settle the vast expanse of the United States.[55] Yet, the songster contains a great deal more evidence of this phenomenon than the name of the holiday alone.

As a collection, Coopersmith's Palestine Arbor Day songster is quite short, and like others in the *Little Book of Jewish Songs* series, it was geared toward use in Jewish educational and other settings. It contained thirteen selections, complete with transliterated lyrics of the songs. The songs likewise communicate a range of Zionist themes through editorialized translations that accompany the music and Hebrew lyrics on the pages of the slim book. Noteworthy is that the songs were largely taken from other American Zionist song sources and do not necessarily mention the holiday of *Tu b'Shvat*.[56] Rather, the selections offer a curation of themes and ideas that Coopersmith wants his readers to understand about the holiday, and more importantly, his perceptions of its significance as a Zionist ritual that celebrated Jewish cultivation of land in Palestine, and could be inclusive of and communicable to American Jewry.

Coopersmith begins the book with "Na'aleh L'artzenu" (We shall immigrate to or ascend to our land), a selection which was, of course, included in Binder's 1926 *New Palestinean Folk Songs*, as well as numerous other American Hebrew song collections. Significant to note is that the book was dedicated to a Jewish holiday celebrated in Palestine, yet it was referred to by an English name, "Palestine Arbor Day," and began with a song about immigration to Palestine—illustrative of the holiday's broader Zionist context in 1928 Amer-

ica. The virtue of immigrating to Palestine and settling that land was musically presented in a way quite like how Binder approached the same pillar of Zionism, with the same song two years prior. Like Binder and the Goldfarbs in New York, Coopersmith did not necessarily intend for his readers or students to leave Chicago (or elsewhere in America) for Palestine. Rather, his intention for this song was to educate readers about the novel Jewish holiday celebration in the *Yishuv*. He hoped to elicit a feeling of inclusion in and excitement about the pioneering of Jewish settlements and agricultural work in various areas of Mandatory Palestine, central to *Tu b'Shvat's* meaning in Hebrew national culture. And much like in Binder's 1926 publication, evolutions in intercommunal violence in the *Yishuv*—actively shifting in the late-1920s—were musically communicated to Coopersmith's readers while they sang for "Palestine Arbor Day," without the intention of motivating them to move to Palestine to build and defend Jewish settlements. Rather, they were being asked to revere those Zionists doing it in Palestine in the name of building a national center for global Jewish peoples worldwide, inclusive of Americans.

"Gilu Hagolilim" (Song of the Watchmen) is Coopersmith's third selection (following "Palestine Spring song," from the Goldfarb songster). The editorialized translation attached to the song offers insight into Coopersmith's framing of Zionism in the American pop culture zeitgeist

> Glee reigns in galilee, the Galil rejoices, The Day and the night round, Lift up your voices. Thru night's softly sounding, The Watchmen of Galilee, His Watch song Resounding. Sing ho, my Galilee. O, sing on my heart strings. With gun and my noble steed, I fear not what fate brings. Who am I, what have I, without thee, my Galil? Glorious Galilee; I love thee, my Galil.[57]

With Trumpeldor's death in the Galilee in 1920 and an increasing sense that those watchmen of the *Yishuv* were important upholders of the Zionist ethos of strength and defense of the land, this song, analogous to the name "Palestine Arbor Day," endeavors to present elements of life in the *Yishuv* and intercommunal violence to American students in a way that is relatable, even though popular imagery from Hollywood.

Coopersmith's translation shows his intention to offer readers a sense that those *Chalutzim* in the rural Galilee region of northern Palestine have something in common with even popular depictions of "Cowboys" fighting against native Americans as part of America's push west and the associated,

ongoing wars and negotiations with her indigenous peoples. The song is in a minor key, with a moderately paced tempo, "to be played with vigor." It is an engaging song and is intentioned to musically present the violent aspects of Jewish life in Palestine in a way readers could visualize and relate to—even through terminology which evoked imagery and themes associated with the western US, much of which shared aesthetic characteristics with areas of Palestine. And like westward expansion in the US, Jewish settlement in Palestine entailed more than just migration and settlement—indeed, there was intercommunal and political violence. Both processes of settlement were subjects important in American and Hebrew national culture, respectively; yet, readers in the late-1920s likely did not know much about Hebrew national culture. As such, Coopersmith looked toward utilizing familiar popular cultural codes in his translations of Hebrew lyrics. In the 1918 silent film, for example, "Western Blood," the protagonist Tex "rides over the Rio Grande" to rescue a captured woman and "beat off the raiders . . . riding back on the same noble steed." Coopersmith is positing that those Jews in Palestine "With gun and . . . noble steed," are fighting against unfamiliar "raiders" for unfamiliar land that is theirs by national right—like those "Cowboys" fighting against "Indians" in popular Western films of the time. In the Hebrew lyrics included for "Gilu Hagolilim," the "Noble Steed" is simply "my horse."

Again, popular imagery of settling the American west is echoed in,[58] "Shir ha'Chalutzim" [Song of the Pioneers], translated in the songster as "we will be amongst the vanguard." The song, set to a commanding "march rhythm," provided English lyrics which implored readers in the final stanza to "Build! And blaze the trail unending, thy wandering people, ever guided in their way . . ." Seemingly a reference to "blazing" the Oregon Trail, the translation does align with the Hebrew lyrics; however, intentional editorial liberties were indeed taken using the formulation "blaze the trail" as a translation for what could simply be worded as "clear the path" in the Hebrew lyrics.[59] Perhaps Coopersmith's focus on imagery from American national, popular culture and westward expansion was related to the fact that he had never been to Palestine before and maybe just did not have the first-hand experience of seeing Palestine or singing Hebrew songs there to draw from? However, these subtle and not so subtle analogies between Zionists and American cowboys fighting for land are noteworthy. *Tu b'Shvat* was considered "overtly Herzlian," supportive of Political Zionism, and antithetical to life in America by important figures in the Reform mainstream. Coopersmith was arguing quite to the contrary but making his case largely to Jewish students through imagery that was part of their cultural worlds as young, English-speaking Americans.

Coopersmith utilized the selections and editorialized translations to articulate that the circumstances in the *Yishuv* being celebrated during *Tu b'Shvat* shared something with America's story. Much like "Ha'Tikva" and the "Star-Spangled Banner" were joined as a musical expression of both Zionist support and American Jewish patriotism, Coopersmith melded imagery of (likely distant) American pioneers as they blazed trails and settled the American West with those distant *Chalutzim* settling Palestine to achieve a similar national end.[60] Further, he felt that communal, musical expressions of these conceptions could indeed help American Jews, particularly students, see Zionism as something that could organically dovetail with their understandings of Judaism, American life, culture, national identity, and even popular culture. Thus, *Little Book of Jewish Songs: Chamisho Osor Bishvat—Palestine Arbor Day* served as one unique pedagogical counterpoint to those in 1920s America who saw overtly Zionist Jewish holiday celebrations as problematic and even potentially harmful to American Jews successful in their new home, particularly in the years following the 1924 immigration bill. Yet, these 1920s musical counterpoints helped shepherd a monumental and sustained shift away from Wolsey and his generation's Zionist outlooks.

Coopersmith's long history of acting as a conduit and interpreter of Hebrew culture and songs to an American audience in many ways grew in the 1920s, leading to the publication of *Little Book of Jewish Songs: Chamisho Osor Bishvat—Palestine Arbor Day*. And while the songs contained in the publication were largely adopted from other sources already available in the US, as he had not yet traveled to Palestine to collect his own material and find his own inspiration, two years after releasing the songster, Coopersmith finally made his maiden voyage to Palestine (1930). The trip deepened his understanding of events taking place in the *Yishuv,* certainly inspired his work, and provided him with new musical material, cultural and political context, as well as firsthand knowledge of Palestine's sights, sounds, and scenes. This experience, the materials he collected, and his still-growing profile in the worlds of American Jewish music and education would lead him along a path of success, growing influence, and a mounting catalog of liturgical, educational, and Zionist musical publications into the 1930s and '40s. Throughout the years following Coopersmith's publication of *Little Book of Jewish Songs: Chamisho Osor Bishvat,* the American Jewish community grew in its interest in religious engagement writ-large and[61] as a market for Coopersmith's brand of Zionist musical performances and publications. Many sought spiritual grounding amidst increasing global Jewish instability during these years. Holidays like *Tu b'Shvat* became widely celebrated as American

Jews' support for Zionism ballooned in popularity, well beyond the then-diminutive conservative movement.

JTS-educated Jewish musical figures like the Goldfarbs and Coopersmith, as well as other early pioneers of Hebrew culture in America, had broader forums to bring their visions of Hebrew music and culture into the everyday lives and even religious practices of American Jews by the 1930s, who were more interested than ever in various conceptions of American Zionism and their place in their identity as American Jews.[62] In a 1930 article, "The Teaching of Jewish Music," Coopersmith remarked that in the Jewish past, music "was in the air, and its influence could not be escaped. [But,] Because of its newness as an educational process [in American Jewish life], we have not worked out proper methods, we have done very little with the creation of materials, and have hardly had the chance to develop special musical teachers to cope with the problem."[63] The coming decades would see Coopersmith work to rectify the circumstances and deficiencies he proposed in his article as he vigorously worked to shape the trajectory of Jewish musical education in America during this important period of American Zionist and educational development.

From 1933 to 1940, Coopersmith served as music director of *Anshe Emet* in Chicago, a still-active, historically large and influential Conservative synagogue. During this time, he performed, published, and remained deeply involved in Jewish educational discourse and activities, as well as Zionist activism.[64] And, in 1940, Coopersmith was appointed music director to the nationally signific Jewish Education Committee (JEC) of New York—a position which took him back to his former home, and for which he held until the end of his career in the 1970s. In his new role, he was emboldened to build upon existing cultural, political, and educational scaffolding in American Judaism to musically promote Zionism amongst American Jews of all ages and demographics. And, two years after starting his new position, Coopersmith would publish one of his most significant contributions to Hebrew music culture in America—alongside his work at the JEC administering the development of "those training guidelines and certification criteria"[65] for musical instruction at American Jewish religious schools as well as his active career as a musical performer, lecturer, composer, and editor of musical collections.

Songs of Zion

The Jewish Education Committee of New York was founded in 1939. It served to absorb and consolidate multiple Jewish educational administra-

tive entities (including Benderly's New York BJE) into one central body—a move catalyzed by a significant philanthropic donation.[66] Coopersmith, with his new position at this major center of Jewish educational administration, which oversaw the educational needs of New York's Jewish communities—immediately re-immersed himself in New York's vibrant Jewish musical and Zionist activist scenes. With WWII escalating and a growing American Jewish sense of the Zionist national project's import to saving Europe's destitute Jewish populations by bringing them to Palestine, Coopersmith found abundant venues for Zionist musical performances and engagements.

In December 1940, for example, "A capacity audience of Jewish young men and women representing" a variety of American Zionist student groups gathered at the Hunter College Auditorium "to affirm their enthusiastic faith in democracy and their determination to carry on in behalf of Zion rebuilt." The evening's program featured "community singing [of Zionist songs] led by Harry Coopersmith, director of the Music department of the Jewish Education Committee and by effective dramatic presentation of the heroic struggles and triumphs of the pioneers of Palestine presented by the participating youth groups." And following Coopersmith's orchestration of communally sung Zionist songs, the program ended with "a statement of affirmation" recited by the entire audience. "Despite the sorrows and tribulations that have come to our people in Nazi-dominated lands, we the Jewish youth of America, in spirit of the Chalutzim in Palestine, pledge to carry on for Zion rebuilt, Israel reconstructed, and mankind redeemed."[67] These Jewish students saw themselves as belonging to the same peoplehood as those doomed Jews of Europe and the *Chalutzim* in Palestine. Further, in answering a divine call to settle and fight for Palestine, those *Chalutzim* were toiling on behalf of powerless Jews everywhere toward redeeming mankind (or in the least create a refuge for Jews) amidst the cataclysmic unfolding of WWII—significant, too, as the US had not yet entered the War at the time of the rally.

With many such enthusiastic, engaged Zionist audiences for live performances of Hebrew music in the New York metro area, a still growing list of publications (of a variety of Jewish music forms), and a new, important leadership position in Jewish musical education, the circumstances could not have been riper for Coopersmith to soon release his most extensive Hebrew musical publication yet in 1942. *Songs of Zion* was a handsome, hardbound book of 241 pages. It served as a comprehensive collection of Hebrew songs, appropriate for pedagogical use, which combined Coopersmith's many broad efforts to collect Hebrew songs and musically promote Zionism in America up until this point—as a professional Jewish musician and educator. Perfor-

mances like the one at Hunter College could only reach so many people, and shorter publications or sections of Hebrew songs in greater works were less comprehensive and usable for a Jewish educator, clergy, communal leader, or individual Zionists interested in finding a song or songs appropriate to inoculate any number of occasions, holidays, or programs throughout the entire year with Hebrew song.

Hebrew song was widely viewed as integral to Jewish life in America by Conservative Jewish leaders in the early-1940s, and the types of songs that Coopersmith included in *Songs of Zion* and Goldfarb in *Echoes of Palestine* can be found in a variety of Conversative Jewish publications and programs from the time. In 1941, for example, The National Women's League of the United Synagogue of America published *The Jewish Home Beautiful,* which was reprinted more than a dozen times between 1941 and the 1970s. Authors Betty D. Greenberg and Althea O. Silverman argue in their foreword that "It has been the responsibility-and the joy-of the Jewish woman throughout the ages to make of her home a place of beauty, of harmony and inspiration" and "she has sought to enhance family life through education, synagogue attendance, and home observance." As such, Greenberg and Silverman's book "offers guidance, especially, in the loving preparation for the celebration of the cycle of holidays which mark the Jewish year" and includes chapters like "Directions for Setting the Holiday Table," "Special Holiday Foods and Delicacies," a "Ten Year Calendar of Jewish Holidays," and "Music in the [Jewish] Home."[68] In the introduction to the chapter "Music in the [Jewish] Home," the authors instructively posit that "Many elements combine to make a Jewish home. Ceremonies, art objects and prayers—all have their place and each one its own purpose to fulfill. Foremost among these factors is music . . . Music creates the important atmosphere of the home and helps to make it truly beautiful."[69] And quite significant to this study, in addition to their extensive discussion of holiday songs and prayers, they argue that "Now Jewish mothers have new folk-songs to sing. Out of the land of Israel, out of the land of their fathers, have come new Jewish folk-songs, songs of planting and repairing, of harvesting and cutting, of building and creating." Furthermore, "in the Jewish home, mothers will" express their ties to Jewish traditions, heritage and global Jewish communities by singing "old folk-songs and new folk-songs" as well as prayers and other Jewish melodies as to "*keep* their Jewish homes Beautiful" to set the example for future generations of Jews raised in those homes steeped in Jewish activities, song, and religious practice. Indeed, Zionist songs published in Coopersmith, and the Goldfarbs' *Songsters* are referenced throughout the book's curated selection of songs, with an

additional note to readers that other "Palestinian Folk songs may be found in Thelma Goldfarb's *Echoes of Palestine*," as well as in Binder's publications of Palestinian songs.[70]

Songs of Zion represented an extensive catalog of Coopersmith's ideological and theological understandings of Zionism in America through a carefully curated songster—clearly organized and structured for easy use as a pedagogical tool in American Jewish education. Yet, the songster had the potential for broad market-appeal in a way that would have been difficult to imagine a decade prior; particularly with publications like *A Jewish Home Beautiful* imploring readers to sing Zionist songs, with Coopersmith as a centrally referenced source.[71] In his 1930 article, "The Teaching of Jewish Music," Coopersmith mused that "Wherever a Jewish group maintained a Jewish spiritual culture, there Jewish song was cultivated; wherever a group upheld its historic integrity, there Jewish song flourished . . . Since our dispersion, we have clung to the book [Hebrew Bible] as a source of life . . . music was always a spontaneous, emotional echo of the spirit of the Jewish people."[72] Coopersmith had long sought to use Hebrew music and a variety of Jewish musical forms in Jewish education to help strengthen the resolve of Jewish students in America to remain Jewish and in fact find strength in the Jewish community. And amidst Jewish devastation in Europe and political tensions that stifled immigration in Palestine, the Zionist components of his work only grew in marketability to educators and American Jews throughout the 1940s.

Making a case for the relevance of *Songs of Zion*, Coopersmith suggested in the foreword that "For some time now, there has been a deep-felt need for an all-inclusive Zionist song book which could be used by Zionist and other Jewish organizations," noting that "in response to their urgent appeal" he decided to pursue the assembly and publication of *Songs of Zion.* The book offered a collection that included "the traditional Jewish and Zionist songs, a large number of new Palestinian songs which echo the yearnings and sufferings, the joys of creation, the hopes and aspirations of the modern Jewish pioneer." Showing his confidence in Hebrew song's ability to help foster his vision of a vibrant Jewish community in America, Coopersmith posited that *Songs of Zion*—rooted in the teachings of Schechter and many others that Coopersmith worked with—could even help "quicken the ardor of Jewish brotherhood," inspire Jewish youth, and "strengthen the spirit of all our people."[73]

Songs of Zion was published as Reform Jews were in the end stages of shedding those non- or anti-Zionist elements of the denomination's national platform. With Reform Jews and their leaders largely embracing notions of

Jewish peoplehood and Zionism's centrality to American Judaism life in 1942, Coopersmith's book was intended to be useful amongst many diverse Jewish communities in America. A conservative Jewish educator using his book in a classroom in the 1940s would almost certainly have worn a yarmulke while teaching those songs, whereas a Reform teacher would likely have not. Many other issues and outlooks of religiosity would also be different between the two, as was the case in the 1910s upon the movement's founding and is still the case today. However, support of Zionism was rapidly disappearing as a dividing line between the two largest streams of non-Orthodox Judaism in America.[74] And, as a result of Coopersmith's profile as the head administrator of Jewish music education in New York, *Songs of Zion* could offer a "trustworthy" pedagogical tool for interdenominational Jewish educators, clergy, or communal professionals, some of whom had little to no experience teaching music (Hebrew or otherwise).

The contents of the songster are divided into two main sections: "Part One: Zionist Songs" and "Part Two: Songs of the Festivals and Holidays." Wherein his first book, the holiday of *Tu b'Shvat* was his singular context for presenting Zionism and its significance to American Jewry, *Songs of Zion* allowed him a wide scope to present many more components of Zionism and Hebrew national culture to readers and/or educators to use during music instruction at religious schools or a variety of other Jewish communal and/or religious events and settings. *Songs of Zion* is filled with illustrations of biblical imagery and modern life in the *Yishuv*, which Coopersmith notes were "selected not so much for their literal or purely illustrative values, but rather for their interpretive strength and decorative color" as well as English transliterations and English summaries of the lyrical content for each song—even more editorialized and far briefer than those found in *Chamisho Osor BiShvat—Palestine Arbor Day*. Coopersmith in fact provided a disclaimer of sorts informing readers that the short "English summaries . . . which have been especially written to convey the meaning of the songs . . . [are] not literal translations, but rather free, poetic renditions of the original Hebrew."[75] These summaries typically diverge from the actual songs' lyrics, and tell their own highly editorialized and concise English story about Coopersmith's visions of each song's meaning—particularly significant since for most readers of the book, English text would be the majority of what they understood of its contents. Of course, all songs included Hebrew lyrics and could easily be used by a teacher during Hebrew language instruction or a camp counselor that learned Hebrew in Palestine leading American campers in reading the Hebrew songs, for example.

Songs of Zion begins with a sub-section (amongst 18 in total) confidently titled, "Of Our Land and Our People." The section contains two dozen songs written by some of the most popular names in Palestinian Hebrew music at the time. Iconic poets Rachel Bluwstein and Avigdor Hameiri and musical figures Mordechai Zeira and Avraham Tzvi Idelsohn are just a few members of this elite group of songwriters, composers, and literary figures from Palestine[76] whose works are featured in the first section. The first song in the book, "Ashrei Ha'Ish" (Blessed is the Man, at https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=442) was composed by Mordechai Zeira, one of the great composers of the *Yishuv* and an iconic symbol of modern Hebrew culture. The dramatic, commanding song evolved to become a Hebrew folk anthem and background for countless coordinated Hebrew folk dances, performed across the Jewish diaspora and in Israel. The somber melody seems lightened by the song's engaging rhythmic pulse.[77]

> Happy is the man who may bear his sheaves unto the hills of Zion,
> make way for the redeemed who come streaming into the Land!
> Oh, would that I had the wings of a dove to fly to Zion and settle in its hills.[78]

The English summary of "Ashrei Ha'Ish" in many regards serves as an analogy for Coopersmith's broader intentions in his work as an educator: instilling within American Jewry a base sense that remaining in the diaspora is wholly acceptable whether "by choice or necessity" as long as one simultaneously internalizes the yearning to "fly to Zion and settle in its hills"—even without the ability to do so. Further, that one could easily participate in (or facilitate) a simulation of the flight and express this yearning through singing Hebrew songs.

The notion that American Jewry should yearn for Palestine and its successful development while contently remaining at a geographical distance is a well-articulated theme throughout *Songs of Zion*'s liturgical and modern Palestinian selections. The Hebrew lyrics of the selection "Kirya Y'fefiya" (Beautiful Town), for example, are taken from a poem written by the twelfth-century Hebrew poet and philosopher Yehuda Halevi.[79] The music, credited simply as "Yemenite," offers an Eastern sounding modal melody as a musical back drop to the song's lyrical focus on Jerusalem, its holiness to the Jewish people, and a yearning to adventure to Palestine to see it. Jewish poet and adventurer to Palestine, Yehuda Halevi—who posthumously emerged as a cultural symbol for Zionists journeying to settle the *Yishuv*—could indeed

have elicited a sense of excitement, and a sort of escape through a musical, performative adventure to Palestine and the east. "O beautiful and faithful Jerusalem, joy of the land, well do I remember your past glory. How I long to dwell in your courtyards. If I were a dove, I would fly to you, I would kiss your stones, your very soul."[80] Coopersmith utilizes imagery of a dove to elicit the yearning to fly east, to adventure to Palestine, and see Jerusalem. Coopersmith wanted students to assume biblical notions of Jerusalem as a foundational element in their identity as Jews—and one day, like Yehuda Halevi and Coopersmith before them, maybe even see Palestine or the future state of Israel. And like Coopersmith, return to America after the adventure.

Like in his 1928 songster for *Tu b'Shvat*, Coopersmith utilizes Hebrew songs written about Jewish holidays in *Songs of Zion* to help build a musical curriculum about the Zionist national project applicable in a variety of Jewish communal contexts. A great deal of Coopersmith's intentions with the book centered around helping a growing segment of professional practitioners of Jewish musical education and communal activities. Often looking to Coopersmith for musical guidance and content, Jewish professionals and lay leaders alike could easily create Hebrew music lessons and/or community performances. Unlike his 1928 book, his comprehensive 1942 collection provided songs for most major Jewish holidays.

In the US, the singing of Hebrew songs—like those contained in *Songs of Zion*—ultimately served to help integrate aspects of Hebrew culture and Zionism into Jewish religious, social, and ritual practices amongst students and their parents. Coopersmith saw Zionist songs from Palestine as a source of Jewish "light" that he could shine on American Jewry to inspire them—like in New York State Supreme Court Justice and Edward Lazansky's aforementioned formulation about Goldfarb. Coopersmith wanted readers to feel a sense of global Jewish, Hebraic collectivism as to make Jewish life and ritual in America something bigger than their immediate context. And music educators—those comprising the ranks of a professional field he was endeavoring to help create in America—were his troops in spreading this "light" amidst the gravest of Jewish devastations happening in Europe. Devastations that many felt by this point could be attenuated (even in small ways) by the efforts of Zionists (who they were embodying through music) to bring more Jews to Palestine.

Samuel Blumenfield, a prominent Jewish educator, classmate of Coopersmith's at JTS,[81] and then Director of the Department of Youth and Education of the Zionist Organization of America (he will be discussed in the next chapter) wrote two sentences that were placed in the liner notes of the

book—"To paraphrase the words of [modern Hebrew language pioneer] Eliezer be Yehuda, we may well say, 'A people who sings—lives; a people who lives—sings.' It is our earnest hope that the Jews throughout America will avail themselves of this unique and valuable anthology of Jewish music."[82] The books' vast collection of Hebrew songs added a new Hebrew layer to the anthology of Jewish religious music in America at that time. Like Coopersmith's body of work, American Jewish music was comprised of a variety of Jewish musical forms and traditions which included modern Hebrew music by the 1940s, seamlessly blending genres, notions of Zionism, and Jewish religious traditions together.

"Open the gates of righteousness. I shall enter and give thanks to God. This is the gateway to the Lord. The righteous shall enter it."[83] "Pitchu Li" (Open for me)—a "Dance—Hora" song, set to a "lively" pace—is summarized by this short poetic English translation of the song, which is not editorialized. Rather, it was taken directly from the Book of Psalms in the *Torah* (the translation and the Hebrew). Yet, there was an added contemporaneous national message behind the song's inclusion. Much like we have seen in other cases where aspects of Jewish religious text were readopted by Zionists to represent contemporary political struggles or outlooks in Palestine and Europe, "Pitchu Li" comprises a contemporaneous Hebrew musical rallying cry to open the Gates of Palestine to Jewish immigration. In this case, most likely to be sung by students in any number of Jewish communal spaces, prayer services, or performances.

In a 1944 edition of the *American Jewish Yearbook,* it was noted that "There are children's choirs in many of the Jewish schools under the direction of Mr. Harry Coopersmith of the Jewish Education Committee" and that these choirs regularly performed Zionist songs, sometimes jointly in massive concerts. "The Jewish Education Committee," for example, sponsored "a third annual inter-school 'Children's Festival of Jewish Arts'" at the auditorium of Hunter College in New York City "in which thirty children's choirs appeared separately and together."[84] Student performances of pieces from *Songs of Zion* in these settings certainly held power in spreading Hebrew culture in the New York metro area. Yet, as an educator working to set national standards, Coopersmith sought to offer educators evocative Hebrew musical experiences to utilize as pedagogical tools across diverse Jewish communities around the country, even those with few resources.

In a 1948 article, "Jewish Music Education in the Hebrew Schools of New York," Coopersmith articulated that "One of our [JEC] major aims in music instruction is to give our children a positive and pleasurable experience with

Jewish song as such—an experience in which they can find emotional release and a happy identification with Jewish life, in part to counteract the depressing situations about which they hear so much, and which rob them of poise and security . . . For this purpose, liturgic, Chassidic, Yiddish, and Palestinian" Jewish music should be taught. Coopersmith further articulated that the need was that much stronger in a Jewish religious school where "music instruction has not been feasible because of small enrolment, remoteness from the center of town and financial difficulties."[85] His inclusion in *Songs of Zion* of a subsection for "Rounds" (songs composed to be sung in multiple, layered parts in a group setting) offered compositions (within the accessible format) that could more dramatically synthesize the excitement of communal singing of Hebrew songs so closely associated with Hebrew music culture in the *Yishuv and Shira B'Tzibur* (communal public singing of Hebrew folk songs).[86] With stylistic instructions and musical compositions arranged to engage a group with differing harmonies and parts that form a unique sound, Coopersmith's selections in "Rounds" could help a Jewish educator with few resources, like those working on behalf of the Jewish Women's Council in rural areas to synthesize elements of public singing in Palestine through this one-stop musical guide. Bringing multiple tones together to form an outcome rich with variation, nuance, and feeling, these types of songs could foster more evocative musical experiences, even if there were only a few Jewish voices to join together, they could "avail themselves of this unique and valuable anthology of Jewish music."

The final sub-section of the book, "Ha'Tikva, Patriotic Anthems" punctuates a point of great import to Coopersmith, his intensions for the songster, as well as the analyses of this chapter. Like in the 1920 Goldfarb *Jewish Songster, Songs of Zion* included "Ha'Tikva," "America," and "The Star-Spangled Banner." Yet, "Ha'Tikva, Patriotic Anthems" included these three songs in a single section, with "Ha'Tikva" placed first. Within the context of Zionism not in fact being as risky or controversial in America by 1942 as it was perceived to be in 1920, Coopersmith could be bolder in publishing these national anthems. The songs (and their order) in "Ha'Tikva, Patriotic Anthems," immediately following "L'nishmat Herzl" (In Memory of Theodor Herzl) concludes *Songs of Zion* with a decisive message: Jewish readers could/should sing these Zionist songs as patriotic Americans who are also part of a proud, ancient, global and Hebraic Jewish people. Further, that Zionism and Hebrew song could help foster a deep and unique sense of unity in perilous times amongst America's diverse Jewish communities, regardless of denomination or resources.

Coopersmith likewise sought to spread his musical Zionist, American Patriotic national message amongst the many American Jews serving as GIs in WWII. In 1943, the publication of *Selected Jewish Songs for Members of the Armed Forces* (edited by Coopersmith) served as a major marker in the trajectory of Coopersmith's endeavors to musically promote his notions of American Zionism—in and beyond educational spheres during the pre-1948 period. The songster contained many Zionist Hebrew songs (amongst numerous Jewish musical forms) and was seemingly designed to fit into the coat pocket of a US military uniform. A joint effort between the American Association for Jewish Education and The National Jewish Welfare Board, the songster contained the endorsement of the United Service Organization of America and is further evidence of how mainstream Zionism, "Ha'Tikva" and Hebrew music more broadly had become in America by 1943. Coopersmith just being able to produce such a songster for the American military with Zionist songs is alone a remarkable feat considering the climate of mainstream Judaism and American Zionism just a decade before. "Ha'Tikva" is included in the book, and, like *Songs for Zion,* the Zionist anthem sits before the American national anthem, however, as the last song of the section dedicated to Zionist songs, placed just above "Patriot Anthems," which begins, of course with the "Star-Spangled Banner." To have these two songs next to each other in this capacity and context shows how far Zionism came in its popularity and acceptability in American life between Schechter's start at JTS in 1902 and America's entry into WWII, and how significant Coopersmith was in stewarding this process.

In a 1946–47 *American Jewish Yearbook* entry it was noted that "before the Department of Music was organized under the leadership of Harry Coopersmith, only 12 weekday afternoon schools in the entire city of New York had professional music teachers. This year the number of such schools has grown to 65. In addition, many Sunday schools and 25 released time classes have professional music instructors"[87] all of whom almost certainly used *Songs of Zion* as one pedagogical tool to teach young American Jews about their history, place in global Jewish peoplehood, religion, Hebrew national culture, Zionism, as well as the compatibility of these complex elements of Judaism with their lives and identities as Americans. Coopersmith, while helping to develop Jewish musical education as a professional field in New York and America more broadly, continued to spread his notions of Zionism and Hebrew music in America through performances and publications—parallel to his storied career as a nationally significant Jewish educational administrator and liturgical musician—into the 1970s.

Conclusion

Solomon Schechter's worldview and outlooks for American Judaism and Zionism—publicly expressed in his 1906 pamphlet—helped set important and early precedents for Zionist thought and Hebrew national culture's inclusion in American Jewish life and education. These foundational attitudes helped establish JTS and United Synagogue of America as bastions for American Zionist thought decades before the Reform establishment in Cincinnati followed suit. Guided by the ideological footsteps of Schechter, figures like Alter Landesman, Israel Goldfarb, Samuel Goldfarb, Thelma Goldfarb, Gamoran, and Harry Coopersmith—amongst others associated with JTS, many of whom also worked at Benderly's BJE for periods—played noteworthy roles in publishing Zionist songs, performing Hebrew music, and/or building educational infrastructure that helped foster the development and spread of frameworks for Zionism and Judaism in America throughout the pre-1948 period.

As we saw, Landesman posited that one of the "General aims of religious school" in 1922 America was to "try to impart to the children such knowledge of Palestine as it will give it permanent place in their thoughts as well as their affections" and to " make the children aware that the ideals and distinctive character of the Jewish people are compatible with and promotive of American ideals and life." Similar to how the curriculum instructed that maps of Palestine should be utilized to teach students about "restored Jewish communities in Palestine and the Maccabean Kingdom," Hebrew songs were to be used as accessible pedagogical tools to help shape a similar, enduring sense of American Jewish national, religious, and historic connection to Palestine (and then Israel)—important to many that came out of JTS at the time. Landesman and his colleagues' efforts in defining Zionist education and how it would be implemented in American Jewish institutions can still be felt today.

Songs like the "The Star-Spangled Banner" and "Ha'Tikva" joining in the above publications and performances, as well as Coopersmith's presentations of *Tu b'Shvat* in 1928 through popular imagery of settling the western US (amongst the many other examples) offer windows into the complicated balancing act that was defining Zionism's place in American Judaism, while at the same time keeping Jews grounded in their American national identities, commitments, and a growing sense of (and claim to) Americanness. And the figures analyzed above were part of a cohort of individuals in the first half of the twentieth century that helped shape American Jewish education,

approaches to Zionism, and communal life as we know it, across denominations. By the 1940s, Coopersmith and the Goldfarbs had broad markets to appeal to in promoting Hebrew music, not dissimilar from today—markets that their prior work in Zionist music and education helped build.

In the foreword to *Song of Zion,* Coopersmith noted that the book's publication, beyond its intended appeal to educators, was a response to calls for a Zionist songster of this kind "particularly stressed by the Zionist youth groups, represented by Avukah, Habonim, Hapoel Hamizrachi, Hashomer Hatzair, Junior Hadassah, Masada and Young Judaea."[88] As Coopersmith set credentials "for the guidance and selection of music teachers serving religious schools"[89] he also offered a variety of educators, lay leaders, and the general public access to Zionist songs for use in nearly every conceivable type of Jewish religious or communal lesson or program. Coopersmith's impacts on standardizing and professionalizing American Jewish music and education are far reaching and a feature of his career for which he is known. Yet, his extensive use of Hebrew songs to promote Hebrew national culture and Zionist engagement in American Judaism alongside those endeavors pre-1948 are an important aspect of his prolific career as well as American Hebrew musical and Zionist development, which will hopefully become more widely recognized. This cohort of United Synagogue, JTS, and BJE affiliated Jewish musical and educational figures is just one example from the pre-1948 period of the unique ways in which Conservative Jewish educational endeavors and outlooks were integral to the process which brought aspects of Zionist thought from a polemical marginality at the turn of the twentieth century in American Jewish life to its mainstream by 1948.

Three

Mordecai and Judith Kaplan, Avraham Zvi Idelsohn, and Moshe Nathanson—Voices of Palestine

In 1924, during a lecture at a Wilmington, Delaware synagogue, Avraham Tzvi Idelsohn remarked that Jewish folksong "embodies pure and high Ideals. It is the soul of a people . . . a calm, rural and pastoral sentiment." Idelsohn argued that Hebrew music inimitably "stands out as the unique expression of a unique [Jewish] people." Idelsohn then "illustrated his lecture by singing several songs, performing examples" of "Jewish [liturgical and modern Hebrew] music." Conservative Rabbi Moses Abels, the host of the event, introduced Idelsohn by noting that Jews "have concentrated and focused their [artistic] expression in music." And, if music is indeed "the expression of the soul, then Jewish music is complex because the soul of the Jews is complex." Idelsohn had recently moved to the US after a period in Palestine, and was giving many lectures and concerts of this kind, often promoting his musical compositions, "research . . . [and] ten volumes . . . [Thesaurus on] Jewish and Hebrew music" from around the world.[1] A central figure in the evolution of Hebrew music in Palestine, Idelsohn found a new, permanent professional home in America after relocating there in the early 1920s. Irma Cohon took an early interest in Idelsohn's work when he arrived in America and helped him organize numerous speaking engagements, like the one in Wilmington. She likewise utilized her contacts at HUC to eventually help Idelsohn find a permanent faculty position at the Cincinnati seminary.

As a scholar and composer, Idelsohn internationally-proliferated his musical compositions, collections, and conceptions of Hebrew music as a "unique expression of" historic and religious Jewish complexities and national char-

acteristics. America offered him abundant opportunities to use his Hebrew musical works to make a case for Hebrew national culture's legitimacy and roots in the Hebrew Bible—to Jewish and non-Jewish audiences. After more than a decade researching, teaching, and composing music in Palestine, Idelsohn's 1922 move to Cincinnati marked an important turning point in his career and the ways in which he contributed to Hebrew music culture's evolution. After arriving, his prior focus on establishing Hebrew music culture in the *Yishuv* largely wanned as his attention turned toward his new career endeavors and life in America, in part enabled by Cohon's support. However, his enduring contributions to Jewish music's evolution and Hebrew music culture did not cease, they were just carried out in the entirely new context of working within American Jewish institutions (Idelsohn's work in the US and collaborations with Irma Cohon will be more deeply analyzed later in the chapter).

Upon arriving in America—before finding a permanent position at HUC in Cincinnati—Idelsohn served for a brief stint as a *cantor* at Rabbi Mordecai Kaplan's iconic, newly established Free Synagogue in Manhattan. That same position under Kaplan would be subsequently filled by another central figure of this chapter (to be introduced and discussed in detail below) and former student of Idelsohn's, Palestinian-born Jewish musician Moshe Nathanson. Idelsohn, Nathanson, and Kaplan all led very different careers; however, all three emerged as central figures in proliferating Zionism, Hebrew national culture, and music in the US through divergent yet overlapping professional endeavors in Jewish religious life, education, and music. Indeed, these three individuals helped Hebrew music become a "unique [and ubiquitous] expression of" both Judaism and Zionism in America. Amongst the three, Kaplan, a significant historic character in American Jewish education and religious life, is unquestionably the best-known. However, not necessarily for his contributions to Hebrew music culture's evolution in America, which were indeed significant and stretched far past his involvement in Idelsohn and Moshe Nathanson's respective Jewish musical careers in America.[2]

Rabbi Mordecai Kaplan was born in Lithuania in 1881. And like many European Jews of the time, Kaplan immigrated to America with his family in the late nineteenth century. He was raised in a traditional Jewish household in New York, and even before his seminary training, Kaplan, the son of a rabbi, grappled with reconciling his orthodox upbringing with the vast cultural landscape of New York City and its Jewish community. As was common amongst his peers, partly to attain upward mobility in American society, Kaplan pursued a secular undergraduate education. Attending Colum-

bia University, he studied social sciences and philosophy in addition to his seminary studies at JTS, which began in 1893. Partly catalyzed by his study of these secular fields, Kaplan became fascinated with the many dilemmas Jewish peoples faced throughout history, deepening his resolve to complete his rabbinic education at JTS and take an active role in shaping the evolution of Jewish life in America. He was ordained as a rabbi in 1902—the same year that Solomon Schechter took the reins of the young seminary.[3] [4] In 1909, Kaplan accepted a faculty position offered to him by Schechter, the service for which included administering JTS's recently established Teacher's Institute.[5] Likewise in 1909, Kaplan's daughter Judith was born. Uniquely, Judith Kaplan Eisenstein was the first young woman to have a public bat mitzvah ceremony in America (held at the Free Synagogue in 1922) and she went on to become a prolific author, musicologist, educator composer, and producer of commercial Hebrew music publications.

Mordecai Kaplan, like others, feared that in the vast cultural expanse of the US, a sense of need to remain committed to Judaism could wane amongst America's rapidly growing Jewish population. The utilization of Hebrew language and music as pedagogical tools to teach about Zionism was one piece of a multi-decade effort to tether American Jewry to a greater sense of inherent purpose for being Jewish through Zionist education. Even in the 1910s, early in his years at JTS, Kaplan believed that Zionist engagement and Hebrew national culture were crucial to Judaism's survival in the American social experiment.[6] This notion was central to the development of Kaplan's framework for American Zionism, which, like others', struggled to balance on the tightrope of becoming American yet retaining a strong Jewish identity—part of which included supporting the *Yishuv* (then Israel after 1948) and participation in Hebrew national culture. Kaplan viewed the role of Zionism and notions of Jewish peoplehood in American Judaism in many ways similar to Schechter. And by virtue of Kaplan being alive and professionally active throughout the duration of the pre-1948 period (and then into the 1970s), he was able to, along with many other "disciples of Schechter," continue aspects of Schechter's Zionist educational endeavors at JTS and in American Judaism writ large—despite numerous, well-documented theological and other tensions with colleagues in the cohort.[7]

In addition to his work as an educator and clergy, Kaplan was a prolific writer. In his 1948 book *The Future of the American Jew,* Kaplan reflected on his vision for Jewish life in the United States and plainly expressed that he saw Hebrew music from Palestine as an important, even under-utilized pedagogical tool in American Jewish education: "The development, for example,

of [Hebrew] Jewish music in Palestine is proceeding apace," Kaplan noted. Yet, he articulated that there was still "occasion to complain that so little of this flowering of Jewish music is known in America" Kaplan, however, suggested that by 1948 "It is heartening . . . that a change for the better is beginning to be noted in the field of Jewish music" and that "Under the impact of the tragic world events [of the 1940s], creative artists who were formerly indifferent to their ethnic roots have revealed a more positive acceptance of their Jewishness." Kaplan was likely referencing numerous works that included those of his former students. He saw Hebrew music growing in popularity, accessibility, and import as a catalyst to widespread acceptance of his visions of American Judaism, which included expanded opportunities for women in Jewish life, Jewish education and other communal professions, as well as Jewish music.

According to Judith Kaplan Eisenstein's February 15, 1996 obituary in the *New York Times,* her father's encouragement and support for her to be a pioneer in opening "to women the bar mitzvah rite that had long marked the passage of Jewish males into religious adulthood proved to be the first of many changes broadening the role of women in Judaism, including in recent years their ordination as rabbis."[8] Indeed, her fame as America's first bat mitzvah often eclipses her prolific contributions to the field of Jewish music, as well as her work to create opportunities for women in the field. From 1929 to 1954, Kaplan Eisenstein taught music education and the history of Jewish music at JTS's Teacher's Institute. "In 1959, at the age of 50, Dr. Eisenstein, who had earned a master's degree in music education at Columbia University's Teachers College, began work for her Ph.D. at the School of Sacred Music of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in New York. After receiving her degree, she taught there from 1966 to 1979, teaching as well at the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College in Philadelphia." Kaplan Eisenstein's groundbreaking work in Jewish musical research, education, and composition helped propel her to become an icon in American Judaism and feminist movements. For example, when Kaplan Eisenstein had a second bat mitzvah at the age of 82, she was "honored by feminist and Jewish leaders, including Betty Friedan, Letty Cottin Pogrebin, Ruth W. Messinger, Elizabeth Holtzman" and numerous rabbis.[9] Growing up around her encouraging father's synagogue, JTS, and the many circles of Jewish educators, scholars, clergy, and musicians he was associated with, undoubtedly shaped her interest in and aptitude for activism, scholarship, and music.

Mordecai Kaplan, like Idelsohn, saw Hebrew music as "a unique [and useful] expression of a unique [global, Jewish] people"—and he was respon-

sible for mentoring and educating some of the most prolific creators of American Zionist songsters, musical publications, curricular materials, and performances during this period of study, including his daughter. At a 1948 conference, "Reorienting Zionist Education Today," Kaplan articulated his enduring understanding that Hebrew music should be considered an important pedagogical piece of American Jewish and Zionist curricular content and even held the potential to "be absorbed with minimum effort." Kaplan noted that "the artistic expression of Jewish values, emotions, and experiences" including music, were invaluable to utilize in "Zionist education . . . [and] should be carried on by all Jewish educational institutions" in America.[10] Kaplan (like many others) saw that Hebrew music had the potential to uniquely facilitate American Jewish participation in Zionism and Hebrew national culture (including the Hebrew language) in America, and as an educator, his greatest contribution to that end could be to help musicians use their craft to teach other Jews. In 1937, Kaplan noted that

> Some people imagine that the religious experience of God is invalidated by the fact that it is demonstrably a psychological effect of the presence of the multitude. This is like saying that our emotional response to the music produced by a violin is not a real experience of music, because it is after all but the effect of the scraping of horsehair on catgut. The implication of such disparagement is that our awareness of God in worship is really only an awareness of the worshiping crowd. But this is a falsehood analogous to our identifying our awareness of the music with our awareness of the instrument, whereas we know that it is possible for us to enjoy music while quite unmindful of the instrument that produces it.[11]

Much like his above analogy, Kaplan understood Hebrew music held the power to provide an emotional Zionist experience that was greater than the sum of its parts in the US. Like how the sound of a violin is produced by the basic "effect of the scraping of horsehair on catgut" the emotion that effect can elicit genuinely moves the hearts and minds of millions in intangible ways, not dissimilar (as he argues) to one comprehending the intangible nature of God's presence around us. Similarly, he saw that Hebrew music, if utilized properly, could cause an intangible emotional effect to move American Jews toward an embrace of and sense of inclusion in Hebrew culture and the Zionist national project. Maybe even "absorbed with minimum [or at least less] effort." As head of the JTS Teacher's Institute and a professor in

the Seminary, Kaplan, for decades, played an integral role in the education of rabbis and Jewish educators, including Coopersmith, Goldfarb, Gamoran, and other Jewish musical and educational figures discussed throughout this study and beyond.

In addition to his work at JTS, and many other pursuits, Kaplan was active in Zionist undertakings connected to Samson Benderly and his influential New York Bureau of Jewish education, further contributing to the overlap between Benderly's BJE and JTS.[12] Kaplan uniquely impacted and connected many in this influential cohort of New York-based Jewish educators, many of whom were former students that went off to work in other parts of the US for periods.[13] Kaplan was not himself known to be a great musician, but he saw the value of Hebrew music in Jewish religious life and education. And because of his position, he was able to teach, work with, or employ many of the most known American Hebrew musical figures throughout his long and storied career in New York. Throughout the pre-1948 period, Kaplan imparted his educational perspectives and conceptions of Zionist engagement in America to innumerable students and members of the American Jewish community, many of whom went on to utilize Hebrew music as a component of their approaches to engaging with and/or proliferating Zionism in America. Kaplan's Society for the Advancement of Judaism became the nucleus for the American Reconstructionist movement and an early bastion for Hebrew music and national culture in New York and American Judaism more broadly during the period.[14] Avraham Tzvi Idelsohn (albeit for a very brief and relatively unremarkable period in 1923, just months after the Kaplan Eisenstein historic bat mitzvah) was one unique example of the many Hebrew musical figures that Kaplan tapped to aid in his broader mission to advance American Judaism in the pre-1948 period.

Avraham Zvi Idelsohn: A Pioneer of Jewish and Hebrew Music in Palestine and America

As historian James Loeffler justifiably argues, Abraham Zvi Idelsohn (born in Latvia in 1882), "represents an underappreciated key to unlocking the larger riddle of Israeli music itself."[15] And, while Idelsohn's impact on Israeli music culture is indeed significant, he was likewise important to Hebrew music culture's evolution in America. According to his obituary in the *New York Times* "Idelsohn . . . laid the foundation for the scientific study of Jewish music" in part through "his ten volumes 'Thesaurus' of Jewish melody . . . [with] six volumes in Hebrew."[16]—an endeavor that evolved during periods of his life in

Europe, Africa, Palestine, and America, his home from the early 1920s until just before his premature death in 1938.[17] Idelsohn was educated at Berlin's Stern Conservatory and the Leipzig Academy of Music, and, after a brief period of time in South Africa, moved to Jerusalem in 1907. His intention? To recreate and document what he saw as an authentic Jewish national music form in Palestine, one which he deemed lacking, as the core of his greater research agenda as an early career composer and musical scholar.

Upon arriving in Palestine, Idelsohn began his multi-faceted work as a scholar, choral conductor, composer, author, and educator. His early Hebrew songsters and pedagogical approaches in Palestine brought him noteworthy local and international acclaim, explaining Henrietta Szold's interest in engaging with him in 1919 as she sought to secure novel Zionist songs and pedagogical assistance in teaching them. Idelsohn's works were likewise praised by iconic Hebrew language pioneer and his neighbor in Jerusalem, Eliezer Ben-Yehuda.[18] His profound passion for Jewish music and unyielding drive helped Idelsohn rise to the fore of Jewish musicology and Hebrew culture in the early years of the twentieth century—catalyzing a prolific career as an internationally recognized composer, musicologist, and educator. Idelsohn can be seen as a possibly under-recognized yet foundational figure in shaping many elements of Hebrew music culture worldwide.[19]

A major project of Idelsohn's was to incorporate his interpretations of Eastern aesthetics and musical forms into many of his compositions and works, informed by his European background. Early in his career, Idelsohn studied aspects of Yemenite music—in part brought by Jewish-Yemenite immigrants to Palestine during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century—and other music forms from different Jewish communities across the Middle East.[20] He was drawn toward many Eastern Jewish musical traditions and sought to fuse aspects of them with more-familiar European musical forms as part of the greater Hebrew national project. He focused intently on the music of Yemenite Jews because, like many Zionists, he saw them as uniquely representative of an ancient Jewish past in the Middle East due to their long, sheltered history in the Arabian Peninsula. Idelsohn's central goal in Palestine was to establish a Jewish national music form which would be viewed as endemic to those (mostly European) Jews forming a novel Jewish society, culture, and national entity in Palestine, inclusive of diaspora Jewry. While Idelsohn's outlook was certainly influenced by his own formal European music education, background, and even his own reactions to European antisemitism, he saw himself as crafting a reconstituted, unique Hebrew national music form with biblical roots in Palestine. Idelsohn's interpreta-

tions of Eastern Jewish musical motifs were employed throughout his many works and provided what he saw as an intriguing distinctiveness to emerging Hebrew musical styles, and by extension Hebrew national culture.[21]

His endeavors to set his own works and Hebrew music more generally apart from European music culture were being noticed early on in America, even in the secular music industry. In 1915, for example, Murray Hill, a writer from the international "Music Trades Company," which produced trade publications on various aspects of the music industry, wrote to Idelsohn in Jerusalem to inquire about a Hebrew Opera[22] that he was working on. The letter opens:

> Mr. [Eliezer] Ben Jehuda, who is at present in this city [New York], has suggested that I write you regarding the Hebraic opera which he tells me you are writing. I am told by Mr. Jehuda that you have employed the ancient Hebrew scale in the musical score and the Hebrew language in the book of the work. I should very much like to receive from you . . . any facts you can furnish regarding the employment of the Hebrew system of musical notation and the lyric results and harmonic combinations that are had, as compared with the results of music-writing according to the western scale. Particularly I should like to know if you have employed any plan of Leit-motiven similar to that used by Wagner, Strauss and the modern European composers . . . I should like to have the names of any ancient instruments-called for in your score.[23]

First and foremost, we see that Idelsohn was a spokesperson of sorts for Hebrew music. His growing profile as a scholar and composer provided him and emergent Hebrew music culture legitimacy and commercial intrigue in America, even amongst secular trade houses like the Music Trades Company and others. Utilization of "ancient Hebrew scales" and "ancient instruments" are certainly the types of formulations that Idelsohn would have hoped for in an inquiry about his work from someone like Hill in the music industry. Indeed, Idelsohn saw and desired to present himself as reviving an ancient Jewish national music form, distinct from European music, rooted in the Hebrew Bible. However, the implied Western mainstay of the music, including a reference to one of the nineteenth century's most outspokenly anti-semitic composers, Richard Wagner, paints a complex picture of the tensions surrounding the interplay between European music culture, antisemitism, and developing Hebrew national culture and music.[24] This complexity can,

in part, be displayed by Idelsohn's own views of the famed composer and his notoriously derogatory remarks about Jews and Jewish music.

Idelsohn maintained a complicated relationship with Wagner and his antisemitic tropes. Loeffler argues that Idelsohn in fact "adopted Wagner's critique of Jewish music wholesale . . . Although Jews typically dismissed Wagner as an anti-Semite, a 'crazy person,' or a 'madman,' Idelsohn explained, this was a terrible error." According to Idelsohn, Wagner's antisemitic tropes in fact helped ignite his intense drive to prove the existence of a Jewish national music form. "In Idelsohn's estimation . . . Wagner's only mistake was his understandable ignorance regarding the survival of a truly authentic national [Jewish] musical tradition" and, according to Idelsohn, "Using Wagner, modern Jews could successfully renegotiate the terms of the relationship between Judaism and Western civilization."[25] A major component of this project of renegotiation was to try and include musical traditions of Jewish communities in the Middle East within the umbrella of what he thought he was building or even reconstituting—an authentic Jewish national music, rooted in an ancient biblical past; however, one that was in fact developed largely based on his own music education in Europe.

The tensions surrounding Western music culture and its ingrown antisemitism are uniquely expressed in Hill's letter to Idelsohn. Wagner, for example, infamously claimed in his 1850 article, "Jewry in music," that a Jew is "innately incapable of announcing himself to us artistically through either his outward appearance or his speech, and least of all through his singing."[26] Yet, Hill inquired about Wagner with the hopes that his musical styles and techniques were included in Idelsohn's exposé of his Hebraic musical stylings—something to make it seem more legitimate, relatable, and marketable to his readers in the secular American music industry.[27] Wagner was one of the most quoted and boisterous antisemitic voices emanating from Europe and her emerging national cultures in the nineteenth century,[28] which in many ways served as frameworks for Hebrew national culture's conception and evolution. Idelsohn, in his search for an authentic Jewish national music internalized Wagner's derogatory conceptions of both Jews in music and Jewish music, and worked to reconcile them, in part through fusing Eastern sounds with Western music in his scholarship and compositions.[29] He longed to prove Wagner wrong and convince the world (and music industry) that Hebrew music was indeed a legitimate Jewish national music form and field of study which found its roots in the Hebrew Bible, Palestine, and the East.

Idelsohn was often successful in framing his scholarship as being based on scientific methods, which helped position him as a global authority of

modern Hebrew music, well beyond the Jewish community. In 1921, for example—amidst a transitional period in Europe between Idelsohn's departure from Palestine and arrival in America in 1922—Anglican clergyman and scholar at Oxford University, George Albert Cooke wrote a letter in support of Idelsohn's works' publication at Oxford University Press. The letter, which cites Cooke's views of Idelsohn's research's integrity, accessibility to Western readers, and potential to market to Christian audiences offers us insight into Idelsohn's pursuits immediately prior to arriving in America.

> I have been allowed to see the MS of the work upon which Mr. Idelson has been engaged for the last 15 years in Palestine. It is a very thorough and original investigation of Oriental Music, both Jewish and Arabic—Mr. Idelson has collected a large number of . . . musical themes . . . these he has transcribed into the ordinary notation, so that any Western musician can read them at once. Mr. Idelson is both a trained musician and a practical Orientalist, well equipped by his residence in the East for original research of this kind . . . I have felt no hesitation in introducing him to the Oxford University Press with a view to publication; it is just the kind of work which a University Press ought to publish. Primarily it will appeal to Jewish circles; but it will also be welcomed by Orientalists in general, and by those who are interested in the traditional plain song of the Christian Church.
>
> G. A. Cooke, Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford.[30]

While the Thesaurus or portions of it were not in the end published by Oxford, the letter of support is a clear indication of Idelsohn's intention to frame his work and assertions in the highest-level academic, scholarly discourses. He yearned to legitimize Hebrew national culture, music, and his publications' value to Jews, but also to Christians—and it was not purely economic (although it was certainly that too—Idelsohn was known to suffer from financial problems throughout many periods of his career).[31] Idelsohn sought legitimacy for Hebrew music and himself amongst those European musical figures he worked so hard to distance his music from. Yet, it is part of his greater efforts to prove Wagner wrong and show Western musical elites, like those who trained him, that Jews too were part of a nation and had a national music form that was biblically significant to listeners of all backgrounds in many locations. These efforts, of course, carried over to Idelsohn's work in America after he relocated there a year later. Like many academics, he was working to secure support from colleagues in the field for his research,

publish it, have as many as possible read it, and find a secure tenured position so he could settle down with his family—which, for Idelsohn entailed marketing his scholarship to non-Jewish audiences in Western academia and securing the confidence and support of figures like Cooke.

Still in Palestine, Idelsohn envisioned Hebrew music and Hebrew national culture to include diaspora Jewry as part of the Jewish nation. He then spread his ideas and compositions across the US throughout his years there as a scholar, author, performer, and public intellectual. In 1923, for example, early in his American tenure, "Dr A Z Idelsohn recreator of Jewish song in modern Palestine" offered "a recital of synagogue melodies and modern folksongs . . . open to the public and through the courtesy of local Jewish leaders" in Fresno, CA. The program was billed as a performative journey through his Jewish music Thesaurus, offering "the whole history of the development of Jewish music with a view of determining the measure of originality inherent in Jewish melodies . . . Melodies of the Jews of Yemen, South Arabia—a center untouched by other Jewish influence for 15 hundred years. Melodies of the Jews of Babylon—an ancient center with a continuous tradition since Bible days. Melodies of the Jews of Persia . . . Melodies of the Sephardic Jews of the Near East northern Africa and the Sephardim."[32] In Idelsohn's many lectures, performances, and publications, these types of formulations and exhibitions of his nationally-framed East-West Hebrew and Jewish musical fusions were central.

Public scholarship events (often inclusive of a lecture and musical performance) at synagogues and other venues were one-way Idelsohn found a stage to personally make a case to a variety of audiences in America that he had indeed crafted a legitimate, biblically-rooted rebuttal to Wagner—a music form that communicated Jews' status as a geographically diverse and culturally significant nation, rooted in the Hebrew Bible and Palestine. Did most attendees at this program in California's Central Valley understand the nuances, tensions, or many contexts represented by Idelsohn's work? Maybe. However, even if they didn't, Idelsohn could have certainly offered a sense that as Jews, they were a part of the musical, national project he was undertaking. Idelsohn's work offered attendees an avenue to hear how Judaism could represent more than attending a synagogue in Fresno, CA and participating in Jewish rituals and communal activities alongside secular American life. Idelsohn's performances of Hebrew music and descriptions of Jewish national music's evolution presented an intriguing story of reconstituting a Hebrew biblical nation, inclusive of these attendees. And, through a novel, engaging performance, he could indeed facilitate a break from some banali-

ties of Jewish life in America. More significantly though, Idelsohn offered an "Eastern" yet familiar enough and palatable soundscape to help attendees imagine what the *Yishuv* sounded like (at least in Idelsohn's conception): a fusion of relatable, European musical stylings with elements of Middle Eastern musical aesthetics and rhythm, presented as inimitably authentic (according to Idelsohn's own peerless rubric).

The Fresno, CA lecture was part of a broader speaking tour following Idelsohn's departure from Kaplan's synagogue, a position he viewed as a steppingstone, and only held for a few months in 1923.[33] He was more interested in pursuing his scholarship than being a clergy member full time and had already intrigued many members of the American Jewish community with his confidence, mystique, as well as unique musical and intellectual formulations. Idelsohn received many requests to give lectures in communities across the US based on his growing cachet, including one from Edward Calisch, then President of the CCAR. Calisch wrote to Idelsohn on May 6, 1923, to extend an invitation to address the CCAR's annual national conference that year taking place in Cape May, NJ. "A place has been made in our program for Saturday afternoon . . . if you will kindly consent to accept our request . . . Not only will members of the conference rejoice to hear you but they will also be happy at the opportunity to meet, personally, one of the great authorities of our sacred liturgy" Calisch enthusiastically wrote. [34] Unique to this story, Irma Cohon, already interested in Idelsohn and his work, met him during the address he agreed to give in Cape May, marking the start of a long relationship between the two.[35] In a letter to an acquaintance, Cohon penned "You ask how and when I became acquainted with Idelsohn. Because of my deep involvement with the Synagogue, as Rebbetzin [rabbi's wife] and teacher, I wrote a welcoming note to him [Idelsohn] when he came to New York [Winter, 1922/1923]." And after meeting at the 1923 Conference of American Rabbis in Cape May, New Jersey, Irma and Samuel Cohon invited him to visit their home in Chicago, before "Idelsohn circled our country on a lecture tour, from Chicago to the west coast, through the south, and then north to Cincinnati."[36] His approaches to framing his work for a variety of American audiences—like the ones in Fresno and Wilmington—were successful and intriguing, growing his profile and reach. Indeed, his tour helped him build a modest national profile early on in his tenure in the US.

The attention Idelsohn received throughout the tour and in addressing the CCAR conference, combined with Samuel and Irma's contacts, helped him secure a position at HUC in Cincinnati to begin Fall 1924, a position he

held until he fell ill a decade later. As such, Idelsohn had to become quickly acclimated to the American Reform world of Cincinnati, often resistant to outspoken Zionist support during his tenure. Indeed, his Zionist activism diminished during his time at HUC due to the non-Zionist (albeit softening by the 1930s) norms of the institution where he found a permanent academic position.[37] Idelsohn's publication agenda shifted toward liturgical music, musical scholarship, and musical works for use in Jewish education. One such example is his 1925 book *The Harvest Festival: A Children's Musical Celebration,* co-authored by Irma Cohon and published by The National Council for Jewish Women. In Cohon's preface, she does not mention Palestine or political Zionism, themes absent from the publication. Indeed, the book's lack of reference to Palestine and Zionism fit into Reform educational norms of the time at HUC. Yet, Idelsohn and Cohon's assertions that "The influence for healthy Jewishness can in no way be more effectively produced than by" songs which are "captivating by their charm; and, without the singer's consciousness, timing the pulse of his heart to the spirit of his people" is significant. Roughly a decade after their publication's release, Zionist songs would become common in Reform education, and would serve a similar purpose subconsciously twinning students' Jewish identities to a sense of connection to Zionism, Hebrew national culture, and Jewish peoples in Palestine. Yet, Idelsohn died in 1938 and was only witness to the initial stages of Reform Judaism's rapid movement toward Zionist embrace.

Amongst his most significant contributions to American Hebrew music culture was his work as a public intellectual and scholarly source of Hebrew music in America. Idelsohn evolved to become a Hebrew cultural emissary of sorts to the non-Jewish American musical world. For example, in 1925, while addressing "the forty-sixth annual meeting of the Music Teachers National Association" held that year in St Louis, Idelsohn "illustrated his talk with various selections that he . . . sang without accompaniment" which "personified the intensely spiritual and nationalistic [Hebrew] music he sang." During the presentation, Idelsohn offered the audience his sense of "the striking similarity between the Slavic and Spanish music and the Jewish folk music." In other words, he made a case for why his emergent Jewish national music form was just as authentic and legitimate as analogous national music forms in Europe, likely more familiar to this audience of predominantly non-Jewish American music educators. And, after Idelsohn sang "the Zionistic hymn [Ha'Tikva] and Jewish prayers" he offered the teachers a taste of "Oriental music by singing . . . a dance song with a tilting air [and Arabic style rhythmic, Dabka feel]" to demonstrate the presence of Eastern

rhythm and cadence in his modern Hebrew musical work.[38] Would this lecture and performance lead the dominantly non-Jewish music teachers in the audience toward teaching Arabic rhythms, "Ha'Tikva," and/or Hebrew or other Jewish songs in their schools? Likely not. Although, some may have found an interest in such pursuits. More significantly though, Idelsohn was able to use Hebrew music and his scholarship to articulate aspects of Hebrew national culture and music (as he saw them) to non-Jewish musical figures in an intriguing capacity. Educators, columnists, industry professionals, academics, and many in between were drawn to Idelsohn's intriguing, passionate, and exotic presentations of Hebrew music as an educational or scholarly field, liturgical, and/or commercial genre.

By the mid-late 1920s, as Idelsohn's focus shifted further toward new scholarly pursuits at HUC and a variety of non-Zionist focused writing projects, compositions, and speaking engagements,[39] he was still seen by certain American Jews as a local resource for and authority on Zionist songs to sing. In 1927, for example, Max Rhoade, President of the American Student Zionist Federation, based in Washington, D.C., sent a letter to Idelsohn's office at HUC in Cincinnati. "Dear Prof. Idelsohn" penned Rhoade, "We are in great and immediate need of an appropriate list of selections of Jewish music, primarily for the presentation at the gatherings of our chapters throughout the country." Clearly not interested in singing Idelsohn's liturgical compositions during American Student Zionist Federation chapter gatherings, Rhoade made clear that ". . . We are of course primarily and particularly interested in the modern Palestinian melodies such as the Chalutz songs . . ."[40] Seeking new songs from Palestine to sing at meetings and gatherings was not a unique pursuit amongst similar Zionist student groups in the US during the mid-late 1920s; however, what is distinguishing about this letter is that we can see Idelsohn maintained a level of relevance amongst even young American Zionists, despite his affiliation with HUC and new professional foci. He was indeed an authority on Hebrew music, and to many Zionists, was an intriguing and impressive figure of Hebrew national culture in America. There are numerous letters to Idelsohn from the 1920s and '30s where Zionists in America, like Rhoade and Szold in 1919, reached out to seek his guidance in attaining new Zionist songs. Likewise, there are many letters of inquiry for him to give lectures about his work and performances in Jewish and non-Jewish venues across the US throughout his active years there.[41] These correspondences are far from the only evidence of Idelsohn's role in contributing to Hebrew music's growth and even acceptability in many sectors of American society.

Judah Cohen argues that Reformers during Idelsohn's time at HUC were increasingly focused on those Jews in America who were "disenchanted with synagogue life, and Idelsohn's efforts to reestablish Jewish music's uniqueness, as well as formulate its relationship with Christian music, helped address those concerns"[42] by way of making Judaism seem more mainstream and accepted by Christian society in America. Idelsohn's 1929 book, *Jewish Music: Its Historical Development* can be seen as part of his scholarly determination to legitimize notions of music's historic centrality to the Jewish people with implications for Hebrew national culture while still staying within the bounds of his institutional home's interest in his work to foster Judeo-Christian ties in America.[43] As such, Idelsohn messaged through Jewish and Christian religious imagery to reach a wider, Judeo-Christian audience

> we know that Jesus was asked to read from the Prophets in the Synagogue service . . . Thus, we see that this ancient usage had its origin in Palestine during the time when the bulk of the Jewish people still lived there. As proof of the antiquity of the traditional tunes in which the Scriptures are chanted, we cite their Oriental origin. They bear the distinctive marks of the Semitic-Oriental song . . . They have the modal form and character . . . of the Semitic Near East. Though this ancient part of Jewish song has much in common with the song of the East, its motives and consequently its expression distinguish it from the rest of the body of Oriental song.[44]

Referencing Jesus's recitation of Hebrew melodies in Palestine that "bear the distinctive marks of the Semitic-Oriental song" is a clear indication of Idelsohn's interest in making a case to non-Jewish readers that his research evidenced a shared Judeo-Christian musical heritage—a message rooted in the Hebrew Bible. This musical missive indeed dovetailed with numerous American Jewish efforts toward becoming a successful, patriotic, and accepted religious minority group in America's dominantly Christian society.

In 1934, as Idelsohn's health declined, we find another demonstrative example of how his work helped raise the profile, intrigue, and relatability of modern Hebrew music in Jewish and non-Jewish American culture and society as Zionism support grew more mainstream. "The Romance of a People . . . a musical and dramatic spectacle" was performed at Philadelphia's Convention Hall (and reported on by *The Morning Call* in Allentown, PA). The work, based on "The product of years of collection by Dr. A. Z. Idelsohn" was "distinctly Hebraic, some of it having an Arabic influence" and,

as Idelsohn would likely have hope for, the reporter for Allentown, PA's *The Morning Call* concluded that "modern music finds some of its ancestry in the primitiveness of Hebrew melodies. Many of the latter were probably part of the services in the temple at Jerusalem." The reporter evidenced these claims by arguing that "Shuva, Shuva," a song included in the performance, was "the song of the Jewish slaves in Egypt" and was "obviously like the Gregorian mode [Roman Catholic liturgical chant]."[45]

"The Romance of a People" was produced and presented by American composer Isaac Van Grove and playwright, journalist, and Zionist activist Meyer Weisgal—and it is among the grandest displays of musical (and other) Zionist performance in pre-1948 America. It was a touring act, running before the 1934 performance in Philadelphia. In 1933, "*The Romance of a People*" was even "the featured event of 'Jewish Day,' [on] July 3, 1933 . . . [at] the Chicago World's Fair." Chicago's "Soldier Field could barely contain this stupendous spectacle of the history of the Jewish people and their quest for a homeland."[46] The musical and theatrical spectacular was part of a fundraising campaign for the *Yishuv* with stops in multiple major US cities[47] and is just one uniquely demonstrative example of how Idelsohn's work helped foster the conveyance and acceptance of aspects of Hebrew national culture and music amongst the American secular mainstream—likewise, their inclusion in the Jewish musical and cultural lexicon simultaneously. Idelsohn's Thesaurus informed many of the musical forms and elements in the pageant[48] and this influence was even noted by a small-town newspaper covering the Philadelphia performance. Coverage of the performance and its origins in the Allentown, PA newspaper was likely a welcomed and exciting piece for those that comprised the Lehigh Valley's Jewish community of the 1930s. More intriguing though is how might the predominantly Christian readers of this newspaper have received the story, outside of a big city and distant from major Jewish population centers (like Chicago)? Would formulations based in Idelsohn's framing of Jewish music like "distinctly Hebraic songs" being similar "to the Gregorian mode" have allowed Hebrew national culture in America to seem less foreign and/or even less threatening to non-Jewish readers in central Pennsylvania or other rural areas? Such an assessment is difficult to make. However, it can be deduced that—much like Idelsohn's vignette of Jesus chanting biblical melodies in Jerusalem in *Jewish Music: Its Historical Development*—the newspaper's use of likely familiar musical aspects of Christianity was intended to frame the Hebrew music and themes highlighted in the story into a greater Judeo-Christian historic background. Such a context could allow the music and aspects of Zionist thought to be more

accessible to understand or to support for non-Jews in places like Philadelphia, Chicago, Allentown, PA, and many other American locales that hosted the touring act and/or had newspapers that covered it. If a non-Jewish reader could imagine the dark, hypnotizing melodies of Gregorian chant, perhaps they could image what "Shuva, Shuva" sounded like. These descriptions and performances of Hebrew music, informed by Idelsohn's conceptions and work indeed offered non-Jewish readers or attendees a framework to imagine aspects of Christian liturgy through Hebrew musical motifs, presented as being biblical in origin.

Although Idelsohn didn't write "The Romance of a People," his work helped inspire it and was part of the popular discourse surrounding the pageant. And, as a result, Idelsohn's many efforts to build and legitimize Hebrew national music and culture lived on with it and many other compositions, song publications, and pedagogical approaches inspired by his work in America. Much like his many (often posthumous) impacts on Israeli music, Idelsohn's contributions to Hebrew music's evolution in America are far reaching. Like Kaplan, Idelsohn's impacts on Hebrew music and national culture in America can be seen through his own writing and creative output, as well as the work of musicians like Irma Cohon and many others who were inspired by him, including numerous past students. Amongst the most significant of this American cohort to shape Hebrew music pre-1948 was music director, educator, composer, and *cantor* Moshe Nathanson. Nathanson studied under Idelsohn as a child in Jerusalem and is a principal figure in continuing Idelsohn's legacy in America, bringing aspects of his work to new audiences in the US before and after Idelsohn's premature death. In fact, Moshe Nathanson emerged as one of the most significant voices of Zionist Hebrew music's proliferation in America during the pre-1948 period.

Moshe Nathanson: The Voice of Jerusalem

Born in Palestine, Moshe Nathanson (1899–1981) was a gifted musician, composer, and *cantor* in both the *Yishuv* and America. He is credited by his biographer and former student Sheldon Feinberg with writing the iconic Jewish song "Hava Nagila" at a young age while studying under Idelsohn in Jerusalem—despite Idelsohn having taken credit for penning the still internationally ubiquitous and iconic Jewish song. Nathanson's many accomplishments, historic intrigue, contributions to Hebrew music, and connections to Idelsohn's work throughout his long career, however, extend well-beyond the controversy between him and his former teacher and mentor over the writ-

ing of "Hava Nagila"—a situation recently resolved through documentary evidence showing Idelsohn indeed wrote the song in 1907.[49]

As a child in Jerusalem, Nathanson's musical talents were recognized by his teachers, who provided him early opportunities to perform in liturgical Jewish settings. By the age of eight, Nathanson was said to have served as a *hazan* in several Jerusalem synagogues, leading congregations in both common liturgical melodies and his own improvisations.[50] Continuing his studies at a religious *Yeshiva* until age 10, Nathanson was exposed to a traditional Jewish education in addition to his early experiences as a public musical figure in Jerusalem. At the time, Idelsohn was working as a *cantor* and educator in Jerusalem, researching Jewish music, and leading a boys' choir for the German *Hilfsverein*'s Network of schools. Idelsohn was introduced to a ten-year-old Nathanson and developed an early interest in him as a musical prodigy and prospective member of his choir. Nathanson left his *Yeshiva* that same year to attend the Hilfsverein Elementary School in Jerusalem, where he learned German and Hebrew as part of a more secular, European-style education.[51] While studying there, he became a valued member of Idelsohn's choir and developed a close relationship with both his teacher and the Hebrew music of the *Yishuv* in the early twentieth century. His experiences growing up in Jerusalem and working with Idelsohn to further develop his musical voice and understanding would help build a foundation for Nathanson's lifelong journey into Hebrew music—outside of his birthplace. In 1922, Nathanson, a bright student, left Palestine and immigrated to Canada to study law at McGill University in Montreal. However, shortly after matriculating, he dropped out to pursue a career in music.

Nathanson immigrated to the US after leaving McGill to study at the prestigious Institute of Musical Art in New York which later became the Juilliard School of Music,[52] and before Nathanson finished his degree, Kaplan hired the young talent as his *cantor* for The Society for the Advancement of Judaism, following Idelsohn's departure for his US speaking tour. Nathanson was already emerging as a known performer in New York's Zionist circles surrounding his hire. For example, in March 1923, Hadassah's Brooklyn chapter, launched a campaign "to aid in bringing health and sanitation to Palestine . . . [and] to secure this borough's share of a $450,000 fund that is being raised throughout the country." The ambitious campaign was kicked off with a well-publicized event in Brooklyn that featured musical performances by Nathanson and renowned *cantor* and Jewish composer Zevulon Kwartin.[53] Nathanson sharing a stage with a figure like Kwartin at this Hadassah event so early into his time in New York serves as an indication of his quickly

acquired profile amongst Jewish musicians and Zionist activists there. And, for the duration of the 1920s, Nathanson continued to mature in his musical abilities, acquire connections, and gain recognition for his distinctly fluent Hebrew and first-hand knowledge of Hebrew songs from Palestine. He held his position at the Free Synagogue from 1924–1970. Nathanson's audiences grew quickly throughout the 1920s, which created opportunities for him to become one of New York's most public Hebrew musical figures by the start of the 1930s.

Idelsohn had a significant influence on the trajectory of Nathanson's career and his work to publish, perform, and teach Hebrew music alongside his work in liturgical Jewish music in America. Despite their loss of contact throughout much of Nathanson's first decade in the US, he attributed a great deal of his own successes to his estranged teacher and mentor. In a 1934 (Hebrew) letter to an ailing Idelsohn, Nathanson wrote:

> You may be surprised to suddenly receive a letter from me after so many years of silence . . . I wish to express my deepest sadness about your illness . . . I will always know and will never forget that I owe you my gratitude for your great contribution to a significant part of my knowledge of Hebrew melodies. And if I were to write the story of my life then you would have fared as the most important feature in my youth. Nowadays I am dealing a lot with Hebrew songs. I have a weekly program which is broadcast on the radio during which I sing *Shirei Eretz Yisrael* and other Hebrew songs. It has achieved a considerable level of success. This program is becoming widely known among the Jewish public in the New York area. And for this as well, I have to thank you because I inherited a lot from you when I was still a young boy. I sing many of your songs on the show, accompanied by a sizable orchestra. Your influence is recognizable also in my teaching songs in Hebrew schools . . . Though many good musicians recently emerged in Eretz Yisrael, none has more knowledge than you.[54]

This excerpt from Nathanson's letter to his former mentor offers a window into Nathanson's growing profile, even just ten years into his career, and, of equal import to this study, how significant he considered Idelsohn to be in influencing his trajectory as a musician and singer of Hebrew songs. Idelsohn—amid some of his most fervent work to develop a Hebrew national music form in Palestine—taught Nathanson at a crucial developmental stage of his early education and grooming as a musician. As a result, Nathanson

was near fluent in many aspects of Idelsohn's own conceptions of Eastern Jewish music, notions of Hebrew national music, its character, and its import to Zionism. He was uniquely positioned to proliferate a variety of songs and musical styles he learned from Idelsohn and others in Palestine throughout his five-decade career as a composer, *cantor,* and in-demand-performer.

"The Voice of Jerusalem," the radio show Nathanson mentioned in his letter was a Hebrew musical radio program that ran for nearly a decade on WMCA, a robust regional station that reached audiences in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut. Nathanson, a regular star of the show, typically sang Hebrew songs backed by an in-studio choir and orchestra. At a formative time in American Zionism and Jewish culture, Nathanson's talents, many performances, contacts, and institutional relationship with Kaplan in the 1920s and '30s placed him at the vanguard of Hebrew music in America. And, unlike Coopersmith, Binder, the Goldfarbs, and other American Jewish musical colleagues developing Hebrew songsters, Nathanson grew up in Palestine, studied with Idelsohn for years, sang beautifully in fluent Hebrew, and knew a wide repertoire of Hebrew (including Eastern) songs from his life in the *Yishuv.* As a performer, he brought a linguistic and stylistic Hebrew authenticity unique amongst his peers. These distinctive attributes sparked the interest of WMCA and allowed Nathanson to broadcast his Zionist songs to audiences throughout the tristate area during the 1930s.

The station already gave a public forum to certain American Zionist activists, even members of more fringe Jewish socialist groups.[55] As such, WMCA's interest in Nathanson as a featured performer in a Zionist Hebrew song program is not an amazement. Surrounding the October 1930 Passfield White Paper, circles of Zionists in New York were regularly staging pro-Zionist public protests of the policy document. As Feinberg explains it, WMCA's advertising director heard Nathanson perform Zionist songs in his iconic Palestinian Hebrew at one of these rallies for Palestine. He recognized Nathanson's ability to captivate an audience and saw commercial value. The result was a radio program, intended as a one-off, that served as an advertisement for a local *Matza* company before the holiday of *Passover* in Spring 1931. The first airing of "The Voice of Jerusalem" received praise from WMCA listeners and garnered letters to the station requesting more episodes of the Hebrew musical program.[56]

The show's broad appeal and its ability to generate revenue for WMCA as a sponsored slot catalyzed subsequent weekly presentations of the show. "As the word Jerusalem was flung into the air by the announcer . . . it was followed by the unmistakable Nathanson sound" remarked Feinberg—"that

unusual quality which made Moshe the foremost interpreter of the Yemenite Palestinian way of singing . . . The Lyrics and notes and interpretation carried them [the listeners] over land and water to a place [Palestine] they had never seen, nor had their fathers' of their fathers' fathers, but which had been and was still in their hearts from time immemorial." Nathanson's radio performances offered listeners an opportunity, many for the first time to hear Zionist songs performed by a Jew from Palestine who spoke (at least what certain Zionists saw as) "authentically Yemenite" Hebrew. Nathanson would open each program "by singing the theme song 'Yalel,' a Palestinian pastoral . . . This short opening was followed by two full numbers" and concluded "with 'Tumba,' an Arab-derived chant."[57] Perhaps, the novel sounds of Nathanson's "Yemenite Palestinian way of singing" could indeed "carry" his listeners' imaginations from the tristate area to the *Yishuv* in Palestine?[58]

Unfortunately, it has proven impossible to secure recordings or transcripts of those shows, or really any substantive information about the radio program outside of Feinberg's descriptions, brief mentions in news coverage, and innumerable advertisements and listings for the show throughout the 1930s, across New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut. For example, on March 4, 1933 readers of *the Morning Call* in Patterson NJ were notified that at 12:30 p.m., along with all local radio listings available in the region, they could tune into "WMCA—Voice of Jerusalem."[59] On September 30, 1937, readers of Passaic, New Jersey's *the Herald-News*, were informed that they could tune in at "8:15—WMCA, Moshe Nathanson, Songs."[60] Likewise, on January 19, 1938, readers of Hackensack, NJ's *The Record* were informed that at 7:30 on WMCA Radio, they could tune in to hear "Palestine numbers sung by choral group, headed by Moshe Nathanson."[61] Worthwhile to note is that the show moved from a lunchtime show in the early 1930s to primetime by the late 1930s, likely a reflection of Hebrew music's growing popularity, commercial value in the region. Not being able to determine though what that choral group sang, what it sounded like, what Nathanson's banter was like on air, or any other details about the show has been an unfortunate frustration while conducting the research for this study.

Regardless, Nathanson's weekly broadcasts offered listeners across the tristate area a variety of Hebrew songs, including compositions informed by Idelsohn's brand of "eastern-informed" Hebraic music, like those that Idelsohn performed, lectured on, and taught to Nathanson as a child in Jerusalem. While the listeners of Nathanson's show were sitting in their homes, they had unique access to hearing Hebrew songs sung by a Jew raised speaking Hebrew in Palestine. In other words, Zionist music that may have sounded

more convincingly "Hebrew" to them. Like Idelsohn, Nathanson brought Hebrew songs from Palestine and performed them in a way that many others couldn't—with a level of general fluency and confidence that could only come with growing up in the *Yishuv*, speaking, studying, and singing in Hebrew. While Idelsohn was born in Europe, he too had the ability to offer a sense of Hebrew authenticity in his performances, which often focused on the ways in which his interpretations of Eastern sounds and their injection into his works offered what he saw as a distinct, Hebraic authenticity, with roots in the biblical past. For listeners of "The Voice of Jerusalem" though, they didn't need to purchase an event ticket or travel to experience this unique musical journey "across land and water" to Palestine. They could regularly hear the distinct sounds of emergent Hebrew music by a trained performer, rather than having to sing alone or with a group, using sheet music or a songster to bring the music to life. With that said, I'm sure many listeners sang along.

As Nathanson's show was broadcast across the tristate area at a time of great growth in American Jews' interest in Zionism and Hebrew culture, he gained local celebrity for his musical prowess and unique-in-America "Yemenite" Hebrew. His profile in the 1930s ballooned as a performer of Jewish music in general, helping him book gigs singing and leading the group singing of Hebrew songs at Zionist events, fundraisers, rallies, and a variety of other events in the region. Many of these were organized by Hadassah and other women's groups, and some were broadcast nationally. In 1937, for example, "Commemorating the Holiday of Purim and Hadassah's 25th anniversary . . . gatherings throughout the country . . . [tuned into] to an NBC broadcast" from 10:30 to 11 p.m. EST, featuring the First Lady of the United States, Mrs. Eleanor D. Roosevelt "speaking from Washington." To leverage the local fundraising potential of the broadcast and its high-profile guest, "a special Brooklyn [Hadassah] Chapter celebration to mark the silver Hadassah jubilee" was held—"a $25 luncheon at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel" in Manhattan. The high-ticket affair at one of New York's fanciest venues hosted 1300 attendees ($32,500 in gross revenue from ticket sales alone) and, as entertainment featured "community singing led by Moshe Nathanson, 'The Voice of Israel' from the radio."[62] Musically reinforcing the notion that American Jews could support Zionist national causes without being in conflict with American patriotism (in a way we see over and over in this study, yet, not as part of an event that included the First Lady of The United States)—Nathanson's communal song session was concluded "with the singing of 'Ha'Tikva' and the 'Star-Spangled Banner' by the audience."[63]

By the late 1930s, Nathanson's musical influence continued to grow in

New York's Jewish music scene and circles of Zionist activists. And throughout the radio show's airing, Nathanson still served as the *cantor* and musical director of Kaplan's Free Synagogue, amidst his many performance engagements and other Jewish communal and educational endeavors. In this capacity, he saw a need to compile his vast collections of Hebrew songs into his own songster, largely for educational purposes. The publication was intended to spread his music to wider audiences and be used nationally in classrooms to teach young American Jews about Zionism and the Hebrew language, simultaneously through music.

Shirenu: A Selection of Hebrew Songs and Chants, Old and New, Religious and Secular

In 1939, Nathanson published *Shirenu: A Selection of Hebrew Songs and Chants, Old and New, Religious and Secular.* The book was all in Hebrew, including its foreword. It was released at a time of growing demand for pedagogical materials to help teach about Hebrew music and language in American Jewish education—much like those Kaplan called for more of in 1948. *Shirenu* was the most extensive Zionist Hebrew songbook of its kind produced entirely in Hebrew in the US for an American audience. The songster's production was heavily influenced by Nathanson's experiences growing up in the *Yishuv*, and as an educator, performer, and *cantor* in New York. In many regards, the book was catalyzed by what Nathanson saw as lacking: a Hebrew Zionist songster produced for American Jewish educators without translation or transliteration. Like many of his musical and educational colleagues, Nathanson worked not just with Kaplan, but also with Samson Benderly[64] and his New York Bureau for Jewish education, as well as a host of other Jewish educators seeking to create Hebrew language and Zionist educational curricula for American Jewry. [65] *Shirenu* is one more unique and illustrative primary source to help further understand Zionist education and Hebrew language instruction's development in pre-1948 America. *Shirenu*'s publication, much like other songsters analyzed in this study, fits into a greater story of American Jewish educational development in the late 1930s and how Zionism was taught to and expressed by American Jewry. And, while he never graduated from JTS, Nathanson and his work were intertwined with circles of Jewish educators and Zionist thinkers associated with JTS, its faculty, and its many graduates working in Jewish education by way of his relationship with Kaplan and affiliation with Benderly's BJE.

In a 1941 speech at the National Conference on Adult Jewish Educa-

tion, one such figure, Samuel Blumenfield—a central voice in American Jewish education during this period and beyond, and an avowed Zionist—articulated the role he saw Hebrew culture playing as a pedagogical tool in fostering the proliferation of Zionism amongst American Jewish adults in the 1940s. "While the average Jew automatically has recourse to the Synagogue on at least certain important occasions . . . and quite naturally responds to the appeals of Jewish charity on behalf of the underprivileged and the needy, he will not respond with equal ease to the call for . . . the upbuilding of the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine." Blumenfield further charged that American Jewry lacked an "appreciation of this [Hebrew national culture] and some understanding of the significance of Palestine as the Jewish homeland." As a remedy to the detachment from Zionism that he saw American Jews displaying, Blumenfield proposed that there was a "great need for persuasion, demonstration, the sharing in some Zionist experience; in brief, the need for a program of education."[66] Hebrew-language Zionist songsters like *Shirenu* were certainly one piece of the educational program that Blumenfield and others in the field envisioned could help more American Jews "experience" or participate in Zionist activities. If students used curricular materials like *Shirenu* before adulthood as they studied in Hebrew schools, they could quite likely internalize an enduring appreciation for or at least sense of inclusion in Hebrew national culture and the Zionist movement, maybe with an attenuated "need for persuasion" compared to their parents' or grandparents' generation.

In the foreword, Nathanson clearly articulated (in Hebrew) his intentions in publishing *Shirenu* as a musical, pedagogical tool that would fill lacunas he saw in the field of Jewish education in America—the types of curricular materials both Blumenfield and Kaplan respectively called for more of after its publication in the 1940s:

> In the absence of a printed book of songs that could fit Hebrew education in America—and will not be too expensive—teachers of songs in Hebrew schools are using copies of single pages that they distribute to their pupils before every lesson. To relieve the teacher of this faulty/cumbersome method, I edited the book: *Shirenu (Our Songs)*. There are more than 220 songs—old and new—that have been collected for this book. They are the best choices out of the list of Hebrew songs . . . I attempted to comply with all tastes/needs and therefore I classified the songs into the following categories: "folk songs"; "Longing for the Mother Land"; "Pioneers' songs"; "Dance Songs"; "Songs of

> Guardsmen and of shepherds"; "Songs of the sea"; "General songs"; "Biblical songs"; "Chants for Shabbat and prayers"; and "festive/holidays songs . . ." This book could be used to serve all our Hebrew and Zionist Associations that are interested in Hebrew songs, including Camps and synagogues.[67]

Shirenu's vast catalog of songs covers similar Zionist, cultural, national, and Jewish theological themes found in the works of Nathanson's cross-denominational musical colleagues producing Zionist songsters at this time. What is quite remarkable about *Shirenu* compared to other songsters in America is that the only English words in the book appeared on the cover page and only contained Hebrew language song lyrics, without any musical notation. *Shirenu* is still widely available (as of 2022) and can be purchased easily online through numerous book vendors. It would still be quite useful to an American Hebrew language instructor today, particularly one interested in fusing aspects of Zionist thought through Hebrew songs into their lessons.

The first two songs in the book's introductory section, "Songs of the People" serve as noteworthy insights into Nathanson's approach to framing and presenting the contents and pedagogy of the songster. The first selection is a simple chant titled "Am Yisrael" (The People of Israel). "The people of Israel Live, your people of Israel Live, the people of Israel Live."[68] Through this simple tune—a musical introduction to other, more complex aspects of Zionist ideology, theology, and culture that come later in the collection—Nathanson is reinforcing his understanding that his Jewish readers in the US, through their Judaism and participation in Hebrew song, can feel like they are the same "people of Israel" as those Zionists working toward statehood in Palestine. Further, the simple language made it far more likely that a reader or student would understand the Hebrew words—despite the lack of translation—further enhancing the experience and its sense of being authentically 'Hebrew.' The song is just one of many that would constitute this type of simple pedagogical tool for the "demonstration . . . [and] sharing in some Zionist experience . . ." that Blumenfield would call for to build a future generation of American Jews interested in supporting the Zionist cause and participating in Hebrew national culture.

The second song, "We Will all Dance" is similarly simple and accessible. Nathanson wanted readers at synagogues, camps, Hebrew schools, or other venues to not only understand these two songs, but have fun singing them, and maybe even dance together as they sang, as was common practice in the *Yishuv*—"How good and how pleasant! We will all dance, all of us like one."[69]

Beyond the clear Zionist aesthetics of togetherness associated with group dancing and singing,[70] there is an additional noteworthy layer of Hebrew national significance to this song. Nathanson is hoping that those Jews who sang this joyful song—maybe physically joining hands and dancing to the rhythm as they did so—would internalize a sense that they were all part of a global Jewish nation that included Jews in the *Yishuv,* Europe, America, and elsewhere, "all as one." And "all as one," in Jewish educational or other communal settings, they sang Zionist songs written in Hebrew about their inclusion in Hebrew national culture's evolution in Palestine. Feeling joy in such conceptions of Jewish peoplehood and Zionism in the years following the songster's release was likely a welcomed respite from thinking about the devastations of WWII, the Jewish holocaust (particularly by late 1942), and increasing political tensions and intercommunal violence in Palestine. Participation in this song and dance could allow American Jewry, particularly students, to enjoy an interactive, communal performance and affirmation of their place in Hebrew national culture, "all as one," in solidarity with Zionists in Palestine and Jews elsewhere, as they practiced their Hebrew.

For American Jewry to see "the significance of Palestine as the Jewish homeland" in ways that Jewish educators like Blumenfield hoped for in the 1940s, they needed to feel that as Jews, they too (and all Jews for that matter) shared in the Zionist claims to Palestine, even if they chose not to immigrate—which, as we know, negligible amounts of American Jews did. The tenth selection in the book, "Yarden, Yarden" offered students in Hebrew schools or participants in other types of Jewish programs a distinctive musical opportunity to perform and personalize Zionist claims of Jewish rights to Palestine. Nathanson's continued use of simple Hebrew lyrics describing simplified elements of Zionist thought were intended to create a low-barrier-to-entry, all Hebrew "Zionist experience" that was in some way greater than the sum of its parts, like the horsehair striking the catgut in Kaplan's formulation. "Yarden, Yarden" (at, https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=15204) is a simple chant placed over an equally simple, hypnotic minor melody, and could indeed provide for such an experience. The song was accessible to most, even if they were not a great singer or did not know much Hebrew. "Yarden [Jordan River], Yarden, my Yarden, Yarden, Yarden, my Yarden, Carmel [Mountain], Carmel, my Carmel, Carmel, Carmel, my Carmel."[71] The song offers a variety of readers an easy, participatory musical experience to communally affirm Zionist notions of Jewish claims to specific areas in Palestine, "all as one" as a global Jewish nation and people. Simple Zionist Hebrew songs like "Yarden, Yarden"

could undoubtedly provide an American Hebrew teacher the type of easy-to-access Hebrew musical teaching tools that Kaplan called for more of in 1948. A musical Hebrew lesson teaching terminology about specific locations in Palestine could help Jews in those classrooms or summer camp song sessions internalize an ". . . understanding of the significance of Palestine as the Jewish homeland" as youngsters. This type of Zionist infused musical Hebrew language instruction is indeed part of what Szold sought in 1919 in her letter to Idelsohn and is still a ubiquitous pedagogical practice across Hebrew schools in North America today.

Nathanson's interest in the music of Yemenite Jewry and Idelsohn's understandings of its import to Hebrew national music and culture are of course important elements found in *Shirenu*. "Zimri Li" (Sing to me) is just one example of numerous songs in *Shirenu* credited as being simply "Yemenite" in origin. "Sing to me, an innocent dove, sing to me joyously from Yemen, I will Ascend to Zion, to the East."[72] Much like Nathanson's "Yemenite songs" on his radio show, "Zimri Li" was intended to help an American Jew imagine that they could musically "ascend to Zion" in lieu of physically doing so. In this case, through imagery of a Jewish Yemenite songbird, summoning them to Palestine and the east—not dissimilar from Feinberg's description of Nathanson's radio show's ability to "carry" listeners to Palestine through "Yemenite" Hebrew songs. Nathanson and Idelsohn, amongst many Zionists, clearly articulated their views that Yemenite Jewry were essential in evidencing the existence of an authentic global, Hebraic Jewish nation centered in Palestine and the east. To Idelsohn in particular, there was no clearer specimen of this evidence than Hebrew music's inclusion of Yemenite song and musical aesthetics. Following in his teacher's footsteps, Nathanson's 1945 recording of "Zimri Li" (Sing to me, at https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=583&perf_id=17587) for Metro Records features pronunciations of certain letters closely associated with Yemenite Hebrew speakers and their Arabic accents when speaking Hebrew. Likewise, the recording of the song features Arabic style melismatic inflections over the upbeat tempo.[73] Indeed, the notion that such Yemenite imagery, accents, and musical motifs in Hebrew songs could elicit some visceral sense of being whisked away to the east and Palestine is certainly one indication of Idelsohn's enduring impact on his former students' (and many others') work to build Zionist Hebrew music culture in America; particularly since his *Thesaurus*'s contents could source a variety of Middle Eastern sounding phrases to place in compositions like "Zimri Li."

Beyond the Middle Eastern musical aesthetics and framing, the under-

standing of basic geography in Palestine made the *Yishuv* seem more real and tangible. Many selections in the book employed the use of simple Hebrew lyrics as tools to teach about the *Yishuv*'s geography and how Jews in America could see those places as being *theirs,* too. "Sham B'Eretz Yisrael" (Over there in the land of Israel, at https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=2596&perf_id=5350) is another simple, rhythmic Hebrew chant intended to educate American Jews about the *Yishuv*, its geography and the efforts of Jews in Palestine to develop their ancestral homeland. "Over there in the land of Israel, over there in the village of Yehizkel (an agricultural community in the northern, Gilboa region of Palestine), [where] Hebrew laborers are working [our land of Israel]."[74] The specifics of the imagery, like in "Yarden, Yarden" could create a more vivid picture of Palestine and Jewish life there, helping American Jews think about actual places being developed by Jewish pioneers in Palestine. Particularly since we know maps of Palestine were an early feature of Zionist education, songs like "Sham B'Eretz Yisrael" served multiple functions as pedagogical tools. They could provide a student—even with no prior knowledge about the *Yishuv*—some basic knowledge of a Jewish area in Palestine shown to them on a map, its name, and what went into developing it. Likewise, the song could be used simply for instruction in the Hebrew language, as well as much in between.

The fourth section of *Shirenu*, "The Shepherd and the Guardian," promotes another theme important to Nathanson in educating American students about Zionism and life in the *Yishuv* during Hebrew language instruction: the virtue and valor of defending Jewish land from enemy combatants, particularly by 1939. "Song of the Watchman," one of Nathanson's selections dedicated to the intensifying national conflict in Palestine was written by Mordechai Zeira and Yitzhak Sheinberg, both significant figures in Hebrew culture.

> My footsteps pound in the night, a man far away, a fox howling.
> The scepter and its name keep Israel! Look, soon daybreak will come!
> Humming with excitement, my eyes open, Sleepiness is taking over, quiet and restful.
> The scepter and its name keep Israel! Look, soon the daybreak will come![75]

A dramatic, slow-moving and almost haunting song in a minor key, "Song of the Watchman" punctuates the reverence in the Zionist movement for the many watchmen guarding communities around Palestine, often working

slow, uneventful, yet anxiety-filled guard shifts in the darkness of the night. The song is a non-graphic means of conveying certain militaristic components central to Zionist state-building processes, through relatively simple lyrics appropriate for use during a Hebrew lesson or singing session. "Song of the Watchman" was indeed an age-appropriate and participatory introduction to intercommunal violence in Palestine for younger students during their regular Hebrew language instruction. They could embody those *Chalutzim* guarding Jewish land in Palestine as they sang national songs in their language. Maybe they would even internalize a sense of the fear and monotony associated with guarding rural agricultural settlements in northern Palestine?

Nathanson sought to educate American students about many complexities associated with Zionist efforts and circumstances in Palestine, including the impacts of increasing violence there. And, if those students could learn about such issues while reading the lyrics of and singing Zionist songs in Hebrew, Nathanson and many of his colleagues would of course see those outcomes as successes in their own pursuits to build Zionist education as an emergent component of Jewish education and Hebrew language instruction in America. Ultimately, Nathanson wanted to use Hebrew songs to illustrate Zionism, the Hebrew language, and life in Palestine for his readers, to make them come to life and become something they could physically participate in and feel a part of while in Hebrew schools. He hoped these students would comprise a new generation of Hebrew speaking, Zionist American Jews that would continue to pass the language and national identity of his birthplace down to future generations. And while many aspects of his educational program's intentions came to fruition, American Jewry, as we know, largely do not speak Hebrew fluently, despite ubiquitous Hebrew language instruction in American Jewish communities.

In this sense, Erez and Karkabi's discussion of postvernacular Arabic music usage in Israel and Shandler's analysis about the ways in which Yiddish transitioned away from being an important means of communication to "a ground for the cultivation of Jewish identities" in North America are key to understanding what may be termed a postvernacular usage of Hebrew music in 1940s America.[76] These Hebrew songs helped shape American Jewish identity and senses of connection to Palestine and Hebrew national culture. And while the Hebrew language was important, particularly in *Shirenu*, the experiences of singing those songs with a general understanding of the songs' meaning became far more important than the understanding of all the lyrics. Today, much like in the early 1940s, even if American Jews do not retain the Hebrew that many study during their childhood, they still

spend hours of their most crucial developmental years studying it. Often, simple Hebrew songs are what Jewish students in America retain into adulthood. And while proficiency in Hebrew may not be a significant component of shaping American Jewish life and identity, the experiences that young American Jews have in Hebrew schools, synagogues, summer camps, and other Jewish communal spaces trying to learn the language through songs certainly are formative components of their lives and Jewish identities. In this sense, Nathanson's intentions to use Zionist songs to teach Hebrew and even provide basic information about life in Palestine and Zionist thought to American Jewry was certainly a worthy pursuit in achieving his goals as a Jewish educator—even if he would have likely hoped for Hebrew language instruction to be more focused on proficiency overall in America.

1939 also saw the publication of another significant Hebrew educational songbook from a Jewish musician and educator associated with Kaplan and JTS, Judith Kaplan Eisenstein's *The Gateway to Jewish Song*. The product of her "teaching experiences in the Center Academy of the Brooklyn Jewish Center['s]" "Jewish Institute Hebrew School and the Cejwin Camps," the book contained "Hebrew songs that tell of the things you work with and the things you play with [while musically embodying Zionists in Palestine]," which were intended to be entertaining to sing alongside "English songs," "Songs for the Ceremonies and Holidays," "Songs for the Synagogue" and "Songs of Bible Days," in a variety of settings, including inside Jewish homes when "the family gathers 'round Mother at the piano." Further, Kaplan Eisenstein informs readers that "the songs which you'll hear during the Synagogue service" are included in the publication, and suggests that students could "sing them over a few times with Mother or teacher" as to "know them and be able to join with" their parents "and all the other grown-ups in the service." In the book's last section, "Songs of Eretz Yisrael," readers "will find songs that are popular in Palestine, and other songs which tell about this beautiful land." "Sing them," Kaplan Eisenstein implored, "imagine you yourselves are Halutzim, working, dancing and building the land."[77] Unlike *Shirenu*, Kaplan Eisenstein's 1939 publication contained musical notation and transliterations of the included Hebrew lyrics, making such synthesis of the songs and the simultaneous, suggested role playing of Jews in the *Yishuv* accessible to most. And while *The Gateway to Jewish Song* only contained ten Hebrew Zionist songs, many of which were published by others like Nathanson, Coopersmith, and Binder, this publication was intended for more general educational uses, and was quite likely more useful as a single publication to most American Hebrew

school teachers; responsible for teaching a variety of curricular foci, across diverse Jewish religious institutions and communities.

At the time of *The Gateway to Jewish Song*'s publication, Kaplan Eisenstein was teaching musical pedagogy at JTS's Teacher's Institute and sought to create pedagogical materials for as broad of an audience as possible, well beyond Hebrew teachers seeking Hebrew-only materials. Her success in providing such materials helped her and her work grow in importance, particularly by the late 1940s, when she emerged as a central voice in American Jewish musical scholarship, education, and Hebrew song. She produced numerous musical publications throughout her prolific career, many of which emphasized Hebrew national culture and song. Her and Nathanson would collaborate, too, in the coming years. For example, in December 1945, when a broadcast program on CBS Radio featured Kaplan Eisenstein giving a lecture titled "Time for Moral Greatness," Nathanson and the Society for the Advancement of Judaism Choir provided musical entertainment.[78] Indeed, Nathanson and Kaplan were in demand as performers of/and lecturers on Hebrew music in the tristate area. In 1943, for example, commemorating the "26th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration" Hadassah organized a mass meeting that was held at Bridgewater, NJ's Jewish Community Center. The program included performative readings of "The [Balfour] Declaration and the United States' resolution endorsing the declaration . . . by members of the Junior Hadassah and Massadah Young Zionist Groups" and featured a musical performance by none other than "*Cantor* Moshe Nathanson of the Society for the Advancement of Judaism."[79] Similarly, in January 1945, "Mrs. Judith Eisenstein, professor of music of the Teachers Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary" presented an illustrated lecture on Jewish music at another new Jersey synagogue, Temple Emanuel in Englewood, "sponsored by the Educational Department of the Hebrew Institute" which made the event open to the public. The advertisement for the event in the *Hackensack* [NJ] *Record* noted that admission "is free and there will be no solicitation of funds."[80] Such Zionist Rallies and educational events in the tristate area were a widespread phenomenon during the 1940s. Indeed, New York City was host to some of the largest of these rallies in the US, many of which included Hebrew song. However, communities throughout the region wanted to find ways to learn about and build bases of support for Zionists in Palestine during this period, and New York's pool of musical talent was readily accessible to many such suburban and even rural communities seeking to plan their own local events. The 1940s also saw phonographs become more ubiquitous and accessible in American homes and schools, allowing figures like Nathan-

son, with his radio celebrity, to record albums of Hebrew songs and reach individuals and communities across the US through his iconic voice, without having to book performances.

Nathanson (and his producers) hoped that records could bring his "Voice of Jerusalem" to national audiences in ways that his WMCA program of the 1930s and his many continued live performances—often confined to the New York metro area and its surrounding states—could not. In conjunction with the Metro Music Company of New York, known for producing many Jewish music recordings at this time, in 1946, Nathanson produced a four-record set titled, "Sing Palestine." Containing many titles from *Shirenu*, the album included the songs "Hava Nagila," "Shir Ha'Temani" (Song of the Yemenite), "Hora [with multiple sections of the dance song]," "Zimri Li" (Sing to me), "Yerushalayim" (Jerusalem), "Tel Aviv," "Tumba," "Alu Alu" (Ascend, Ascend [to the land of Israel], "Pakad Adonai" (God Remembered Zion), and "Gamal Gamali" (Camel my Camel), amongst others. The commercial recording allowed Nathanson to propagate his Hebrew songs to homes, schools, synagogues, camps, and a variety of other venues across North America with record playback capabilities. Fans of Nathanson's music as well as educators and clergy interested in utilizing these recordings to help teach the songs contained in *Shirenu* now had an aural means to do so, and at their own pace, without needing to access regionally specific and already discontinued broadcasts of "Voice of Jerusalem." This "album of songs of Palestine sung by the eminent artist Moshe Nathanson,"[81] is yet another significant contribution that he made to American Jewry's access to Zionist Hebrew songs at a crucial time in their evolutionary relationship with Hebrew national culture leading to the creation of Israel. Canadian Jews likewise listened to Nathanson's record. In February 1947, "Recorded examples of Jewish music" were played for audiences at "the Jewish Music Festival" held in Montreal. The music included Jewish "liturgical items" and of great significance to understanding the intrigue of Nathanson's recorded work, the portion of the program dedicated to "modern Hebrew and Palestinian works" included portions of Nathanson's album played on a phonograph before a live audience seated in an auditorium. [82]

Throughout his career, which lasted nearly until his death in 1981, Nathanson maintained his place as a central figure of Hebrew and liturgical music, as well as Jewish life and education. While he—like some of his peers discussed in this study—is most often remembered for his widely recognized work as a composer, performer, and educator of popular Jewish liturgical music, his contributions to building Hebrew music culture in the United States are an

underappreciated and significant aspect of his career and the evolution of Hebrew music and culture in American Jewish life and education. His youth in Palestine, all that he learned studying with Idelsohn as a child in Jerusalem, the profile he received from his years performing on the WMCA radio show, fluent Hebrew, and his connection to Kaplan and the Free Synagogue all uniquely helped him bring the sounds of Jewish Palestine to American Jewish life in ways that set him apart from many of his American Hebrew musical colleagues in the first half of the twentieth century.

Celebrating 35 years of Nathanson's career in the US, in a 1959 letter, the Jewish Education Committee of New York's Director of School Dramatics Department, Samuel J. Citron, wrote:

> It seems as if only last night I tuned in [on the "Voice of Jerusalem"] . . . and for the first time heard a Hebrew song on the air. The thrill of that moment is indescribable. Your sweet voice, your clear and pure Hebrew enumeration were the personification of Israel abuilding. All the yearning, all the nostalgia for the land of Israel, inbred in early childhood, reinforced in adolescence and early adulthood, sprang into focus. Thereafter no one could keep me away from the radio on the nights when Nathanson was "The Voice of Jerusalem."[83]

Through Nathanson's songbooks, commercial recordings, and many public lectures and performances, America's Jewish community didn't need "The Voice of Jerusalem" to cast them away to Palestine. Nathanson provided Hebrew music and pedagogical approaches to teaching it for a variety of settings and audiences to help American Jewry bring Zionism to life, visualizing the culture, scenes, and sounds of Palestine as they embodied the Hebrew speaking *Chalutzim* living in, working, and defending land in Palestine.

Conclusion

Mordecai Kaplan, Moshe Nathanson, Judith Kaplan Eisenstein, and Avraham Tzvi Idelsohn were all integral to the greater process whereby American Jews integrated aspects of Zionism, Hebrew national culture, and music into Jewish education, religious life, and popular culture. Each brought with them unique characteristics as Jewish educators in America and went on to help create a framework in which Hebrew culture in general, and music more specifically, were used to connect American Jews to a sense of belonging to the land of Israel as well as Jewish communities in Palestine and the greater

diaspora. Each figure deeply impacted the ways Americans related to and interacted with Hebrew culture and Zionism through prolific careers that spanned decades.

Part of the vast JTS and Benderly network, Kaplan, Kaplan Eisenstein, and Nathanson were integral to the complex process whereby American Jews integrated Zionist education into general Jewish and Hebrew language instruction. And while Kaplan was mostly a teacher and enabler of educators and clergy interested in Hebrew music, he fostered and encouraged that interest, recognizing the value of Hebrew music to pushing forward his vision of American Jewish life. Idelsohn, Kaplan Eisenstein, Nathanson, the Goldfarbs, Coopersmith, Landesman, and others mentioned in this study are one slice of Kaplan's expansive networks of musical, Zionist students that he inspired to integrate that music into their work and communities. These students' musical compositions and published collections can still be found in many American Jewish religious, communal, and educational spaces, across denominations, particularly in the post-1948 period. In 1959, at the age of fifty, "Kaplan Eisenstein entered the School of Sacred Music of Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion (HUC–JIR), where she received her Ph.D. (1966) with a dissertation on 'The Liturgical Chant of Provencal and West Sephardic Jews in Comparison to the Song of the Troubadours and the Cantigas.'" Following her doctoral conferment, she taught music at HUC–JIR from 1966 to 1979.[84]

Idelsohn was important in many capacities to the development of Reform Jewish liturgy, music, and education in the US, and could be recognized as such with little mention of Zionism. He produced important scholarship that shaped Reform Jewish life and music while at HUC and taught many students that went on to become great Reform rabbis and musical figures. Idelsohn's impact on establishing Hebrew national culture and music in America though are indeed unique and extend far beyond penning "Hava Nagila," training Nathanson as a young student in Jerusalem, working for Kaplan in the early 1920s, or inspiring Van Grove's "The Romance of a People." Of his most significant personal contributions to American Zionism and Hebrew music culture was the legitimacy he provided them to non-Jewish Americans. Idelsohn helped Hebrew music and national culture become recognized and even accepted by the secular music world in America—which in many ways bolstered Nathanson and others' ability to serve as more effective instruments of Hebrew national culture and music to American audiences, particularly through non-Jewish commercial avenues.

Four

The Jewish National Fund—Land Purchases in Palestine, Fundraising in America, and Hebrew Music

On August 4, 2021, the Jewish National Fund (JNF) issued a press release that hailed the return of "its largest annual fundraising event." The fundraiser showcased "a two-hour virtual program featuring top-tier celebrities, comedy, music and entertainment broadcasted live from the organization's in-person soiree at City Winery, an upscale music venue and wine bar overlooking the Hudson River in New York." Celebrity entertainers at the event included "Israeli singer-songwriter Idan Raichel; Israeli singers Rita and Eden Alene; Israeli hip hop/funk band, Hadag Nahash; 'mentalist' Eran Biderman; Israeli singer-songwriter David Broza; and actress Shira Haas," amongst others. "In addition to a magical evening of brilliant entertainment that will be available to attendees from coast to coast on JNF-USA's YouTube channel and Facebook live, JNF-USA professionals and lay leaders will conduct a major donor outreach initiative in a sprint telethon style approach—calling, texting, and emailing thousands of the JNF-USA supporters nationwide as the organization approaches the end of its record-breaking 2021 fundraising campaign." Michael Kessler, President of the JNF's Tri-State Board of Directors, noted "Come for one of the best entertaining evenings you'll experience since the start of the pandemic. But most importantly, play a part in helping to rebuild local businesses in Akko, help support a resilience center on the border with Gaza that is helping adults and children alike deal with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder from rocket and balloon attacks, help support the hundreds of critical environmental and nation building activities that JNF-USA is pursuing in Israel's north and south. Whether you join us in-person or virtually, this is an event you don't want to miss."[1]

Established at the turn of twentieth century, the JNF's primary function was to raise private capital and solicit support for land concerns and other public projects in Palestine. Much of the funding came from the Jewish Diaspora. And much like others working to promote Zionist national causes in the first half of the twentieth century, the JNF used Hebrew music as part of their efforts to bolster Zionist engagement and carry out fundraising campaigns amongst American Jewry. The above press release[2] offers clear evidence—as the following analyses will further demonstrate—that the JNF's contemporary motives and operational frameworks for engaging with American Jewry, including the feature of Israeli music in nationally broadcast fundraising campaigns, have not changed significantly since the pre-1948 period. In his book *Sinews of the Nation: Constructing Irish and Zionist Bonds in the United States,* sociologist Dan Lainer-Vos remarks that the challenge of nation building "is not merely one of conjuring a representation of the nation as a cultural whole." Beyond this, it requires "setting up mechanisms that can contain and accommodate heterogeneous interests and preferences so as to allow different groups [including those that comprise a nation's diaspora] to cooperate and develop lasting national attachments."[3] Lainer-Vos's analysis offers poignant insight into why the JNF used Hebrew music as a tool to help proliferate their national message and solicit financial donations amongst American Jewry in the pre-1948 period and why it continues to be utilized. As the JNF sought to build a broad base of support amongst American Jews, Hebrew music was utilized to shape participatory, evocative, and culturally accessible fundraising campaigns and other programs, often promoted by the Hadassah Women's Zionist Organization of America and many other American Jewish women affiliated with a variety of Jewish communal organizations. Further, the JNF campaigns, fundraisers, and community programs themselves offered Jews a unique and often-entertaining-outlet to develop and maintain a diasporic national attachment to Palestine and Hebrew national culture as they financially contributed to the *Yishuv*'s development.

As American Jewry—increasingly supportive of Zionism—grew in import to JNF fundraising efforts in the 1920s, JNF leadership pursued novel and traditional approaches to produce increasingly impactful and effective fundraisers in the US. By the 1930s, Hebrew music was a central feature of a variety of JNF outreach efforts, including concerts, broadcasts, films, small fundraising events, publications, and many other endeavors. The JNF pipeline of Hebrew music from Palestine to America and their sponsorship of Hebrew musical performances were certainly impactful in contributing con-

tent to emerging Hebrew music culture in America. Indeed, such musical efforts were part of the JNF's broader endeavor to utilize the most impactful propaganda and fundraising approaches possible as they sought to match growing fundraising quotas; a response to political events in the *Yishuv* and Europe, as well as rising real estate costs in Palestine. During the years of the British Mandate for Palestine (1920–1948), the JNF increasingly pushed for new types of propaganda and fundraising campaigns (musical and otherwise) that could offer American Jewry a greater sense of intrigue and inclusion in the JNF's mission; as well as the Zionist movement more broadly, eager to forge channels of engagement with American Jewry.

The following analyses provide novel insights into an underexplored musical link between aspects of Palestine's pre-1948 economic and political history and the evolution of Hebrew music culture in America.[4] The story shows the unique role Hebrew music played in developing the JNF's largest revenue stream of any diaspora Jewish community (from the 1940s–today) worldwide. Indeed, the American Jewish-JNF relationship, birthed in the pre-1948 period, is transactional in certain regards. Yet, it is simultaneously nuanced and complex. The relationship and its many components benefited both the JNF as a Zionist institution and American Jewry, yet, in very different ways—with lines between Zionist national interest and the internal needs and interests of American Jewry often blurred and difficult to define. Martiniello and Kasinitz's formulation that "music, is a space in which the boundaries between insiders and outsiders blur . . . a 'promiscuous' enterprise which encourages cross fertilization and discourages the idea of cultural purity"[5] can help us understand why Hebrew music culture was indeed unique in its ability to help American Jewry "develop lasting national attachments" to Zionist fundraising institutions like the JNF and Hadassah. Hebrew music was used by the JNF to foster a sense amongst American Jewry that they were important "insiders" within the Zionist movement—essential to the settlement and upbuilding of Palestine through financial giving and participation in Zionist activities.

JNF Land Purchases in Palestine and Early Fundraising in America

Founded in 1901 during the Fifth World Zionist Congress in Basle, the JNF originally worked within the Ottoman land-tenure system to purchase parcels of land in Palestine for Jewish settlement. Upon early Zionist immigration there at the end of the 19th century, many Arab land title holders were

willing to sell certain tracts of land in Palestine—often inhabited by agricultural tenants—to JNF agents for the right price. British Colonial policy then recognized these Ottoman land-tenure documents once the Mandate began in the 1920s. In fact, private (non-state owned) lands increased in volume following the conclusion of WWI and the beginning of British administrative control of Palestine (1920–48).[6] In the years of pre-state Zionist development, Jews in Palestine, at times surreptitiously, purchased thousands of dunams of land (a measurement of land that was equal to roughly 1000 square meters, in the context of Palestine) from local property holders, often funded by diasporic Jewish financial support.

International fundraising efforts were thus an important component of the JNF's mission and the greater Zionist enterprise during this period, particularly since the *Yishuv*'s economy was nowhere near sufficient to produce enough capital for frequent and often-high-priced real estate transactions. Further, the JNF was established at a time when private investments from past diasporic patrons like the Rothschilds wanned in the *Yishuv*. As a result, numerous diaspora Jewish communities—and not just their elite families—were always essential to the JNF's efforts to funnel private capital from around the Jewish world into land purchases and other Zionist national development projects in Palestine. "Zionism can count upon the benevolent support of European powers. But it is not upon external encouragement that Zionism chiefly relies" argues a 1908 JNF pamphlet written for British Jewry. "It relies on the principle that whatever the Jewish people wish to achieve for themselves, [must be] by the exertion of their own strength . . . any contribution—even the smallest."[7] At this point in the early twentieth century, Europe was still the central focus of JNF outreach efforts to diaspora Jews as they sought contributions, "even the smallest." However, less than a decade later, surrounding the events of WWI—with rampant destruction in Europe, and an ongoing mass exodus of European Jews to America—the JNF refocused more of its attention toward this growing center of Jewish life across the Atlantic; and sponsored and/or partnered on a variety of fundraising programs with American Jewish institutions, organizations, and individuals, which often featured Hebrew song.

Alongside the JNF's shifting focus toward American Jewry surrounding WWI, American Zionist organizations like Hadassah were already building networks, propaganda mechanisms, and philanthropic organizations for Zionist fundraising in the US. These networks served as important resources for the JNF as they sought to raise funds from American Jews in the coming decades. Clearly articulating their intentions in America, the 1915 publica-

tion *Hadassah in America and in Palestine 1912–1915* notes that "Hadassah has missed no opportunity of making Zionist-propaganda" and "It is possible to stimulate even those who are unsympathetic with Zionism to participate in the betterment of conditions among their brethren in the ancient home." Further, they posit that "Once this connection with Palestine is established in the mind of a Jewish woman, it remains open for every sort of information about the land of the Fathers [Palestine]" to be included in American Jewish identity.[8] This could be interpreted to mean that Hadassah believed that if American Jewish women could be persuaded to identify with and support the Zionist cause as part of their American Jewish identities, personal priorities, and interests in communal Jewish engagements, such an outcome would help establish future generations of American Jews with similar outlooks toward Palestine and then Israel.

By the conclusion of WWI, Hadassah was a central voice in defining American Jewish attitudes toward and approaches toward Zionist engagement. In 1919, for example, during the American Federation of Zionists' twenty-second annual convention in Chicago, we can see Szold and Hadassah's mission to raise funds for Palestine and utilize Hebrew song as Zionist propaganda in America be featured as central elements at an important annual meeting of American Zionists. During the convention, Sophia Berger, a Zionist relief worker who had just returned from a Hadassah healthcare mission to Palestine, gave a talk about "existing conditions in Palestine" as well as the ways that other works in Palestine were being carried out with the funds of and in "the name of the American Zionists." According to the event's coverage in the *American Israelite,* Berger's talk was amongst the most important features of that morning's proceedings, which were "devoted to the business of the Hadassah women's organization." Surely a great achievement for Hadassah, one of the reported outcomes of the convention was the authorization of funds by "the executive committee to curb unsanitary conditions in Palestine" which they saw as "hampering the country's well-being and the welfare of the people now living there." Further, forecasting future trends in American Zionist fundraising endeavors, organizers of the convention noted in the closing proceedings that the coming year would witness an "unprecedented Jewish renaissance in the United States" where "Jewish literature, Hebrew music and all forms of Semitic culture will be revived as a part of Zionist propaganda" for the purposes of "lining up American-Jewish financial interests and coordinating the various Jewish organizations in the country."[9] Indeed, they were correct about the role that Hebrew music would play in future efforts to develop Zionist propaganda for American Jewish

audiences, and the JNF would soon become an important one of those Jewish organizations seeking access to American Jewish philanthropic funds.

In June 1919, for example, "Under the auspices of the Zionist District Organization of Los Angeles, a peace and victory concert . . . [was] . . . held in the Trinity Auditorium." Los Angeles residents "Mr. and Mrs. Moses Grumbinger," attendees of the concert, "donated . . . $100 . . . to the Jewish National Fund,"[10] which was no small sum in 1919 America. Similarly, in November 1923, a "flag day" for the Jewish National Fund was held in Los Angeles. Zionist "flags . . . [were] sold on the streets of the city by several volunteer workers, the money [went] to the national fund for the purchase of land in Palestine [JNF]." Scheduled as part of the celebration was an evening concert at Los Angeles's Music Arts Hall. [11] Fundraising events such as these two in southern California were becoming common across the US, and only became more important to the JNF's bottom line as European Jewry's position went from precarious to dire throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s. While specific Zionist songs are not listed as part of these events' coverage, it is near guaranteed that attendees sang "Ha'Tikva" at some point in the program; and very likely heard, danced, and/or sang along to other Zionist songs.

By the official start of the Mandate in 1922, political and real estate conditions for Zionists in Palestine were becoming increasingly complicated. Many JNF financial assets were tied up in pending deals,[12] and their liquidity problems were further exacerbated by evolving intercommunal tensions between Jews and Arabs, economic problems in Palestine, and the mounting displacement of non-Jewish agricultural workers that resulted from land acquisitions that the JNF was engaging in. All these factors complicated the circumstances surrounding the land sales and forced up prices.[13] In response to market conditions and political circumstances, outreach work to the Jewish diaspora increased writ large, including new propaganda efforts to aid in attaining more private capital, with a growing focus on America as a target market—one that required new, imaginative methodologies for shaping fundraising campaigns that would appeal to the sensibilities of American Jewish communities.

In a 1925 pamphlet, *Propaganda for the Jewish National Fund (with special consideration for that of America)*, the leadership of the JNF, under the control of their new President Menachem Ussishkin (elected in 1923), deliver an explicit explanation of their interest in revamping methodological approaches to raising these funds. "The JNF is the vehicle for utilizing the desire of the Jewish people to bring donations . . . Propaganda for the JNF should never employ the word 'must' . . . Propaganda for the JNF must be warm-hearted and many-

sided," implored Julius Berger, head of the JNF Propaganda Department and credited author of the Pamphlet. "The need of raising sums of money is so urgent that all propaganda activities must be concentrated on this object."[14] In competition with many other Zionist and Jewish communal fundraising efforts at a time when Zionist support was still minimal in America, JNF leadership recognized that "propaganda, if effectively carried out, must be interesting, vivid, must appeal to the imagination, and must, in order to yield results, that is, to bring in money, reckon with the spirit and moods of man."[15] In other words, the JNF was urging their fundraisers to utilize an imaginative, exciting, and in some way inclusive presentation of Zionism and American Jewry's place in it to couch urgent calls for securing funds to purchase land. Community fundraising programs in America—which often featured concerts of local musicians and other activities, like those in Los Angeles—had helped the JNF receive many donations like the $100 gift from the Grumbingers or the proceeds from the 1923 flag sale and concert. However, as circumstances evolved in Palestine and Europe in the years following WWI, more concerted and intentional efforts were necessary to pursue larger gifts at higher volumes so the JNF could meet growing financial needs. Hebrew music was a natural and low-cost additive to their fundraising and propaganda efforts that could indeed "be interesting, vivid . . . [and] appeal to the imagination" of American Jewry, already interested in utilizing Hebrew music as a mechanism of Zionist fundraising propaganda.

JNF leaders wanted American Jews to feel personally and emotionally invested in contributing to the upbuilding of Palestine. This required approaches intended to build a feeling of excitement and active participation in the Zionist enterprise, which could constitute more than just an ask for a donation to another Jewish philanthropy. In wanting demographically diverse American Jews to internalize a sense that they were indeed partaking in the upbuilding of the *Yishuv* and evolving Hebrew national culture, just donating money, one important piece of their transnational ownership stake in the Zionist enterprise via the JNF, was not enough. Hebrew music, however, could help the JNF "bring in money, [*and*] reckon with the spirit and moods of man." It allowed American Jews to sink their figurative plows into the soil of the land as they sang (or listened to) Hebrew songs that Jews sang in Palestine and gave money to the JNF.[16]

As tensions between the *Yishuv*, the British administration, and the Arab population in Palestine grew into the 1930s, so too did the JNF's financial needs. Alongside the rise of Nazism, emigration from Europe to Palestine swelled as European Jewry sought refuge.[17] Pressure to reach out to Ameri-

can Jews for support (despite the Great Depression of the 1930s) increased even more from JNF leadership as the need for and cost of lands soared.[18] Simultaneously, increasing numbers of Jews in the US saw Palestine—in the least—as important to resettling the growing number of insecure European Jewish refugees, unable to enter America as they had prior to 1924. The appeal in *Propaganda for the Jewish National Fund (with special consideration for that of America)* to refine fundraising approaches and make them more appealing and effective at growing their bottom line became that much more pronounced in this context. Simultaneously, American Jews were increasingly receptive to JNF calls for action by the 1930s—seeking a variety of outlets to participate in Hebrew national culture and Zionist national causes from afar, particularly amidst mounting intercommunal violence.

In August 1929, a series of particularly gruesome violent clashes ushered in a new level of Jewish-Arab violence in Palestine and catalyzed novel British efforts to curb further escalations. These events simultaneously served as a call to action for American Zionists to increase their own efforts to raise money and build support for Jews in Palestine. According to historian Alex Winder, the violence, which broke out in Jerusalem in August 1929, spread to Hebron and Safad, and, "in less than a week—from 23 to 29 August—the official casualty counts listed 133 Jews killed and 339 wounded, mainly by Arab rioters, and 116 Arabs killed and 232 wounded, mainly by British security forces."[19] Zionist groups operating in America indeed saw these events as a rallying cry to boost American Jewish support for Zionist national interests, including the funding of Hebrew national cultural projects. For example, at Hadassah's 1929 Annual meeting, in Atlantic City, NJ (on November 9, soon after the riots in Palestine), which hosted 350 delegates, representing "Forty thousand American Jewish women" from Hadassah's growing list of national chapters, Hadassah implored "that the future of the Hadassah medical and health work in Palestine and the organization's extensive cultural and fund-raising activities in America will be profoundly affected by the decisions of the delegates," particularly "In view of the recent disturbances in the Holy Land." According to the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*'s reporting, "At a reception the first night of the convention Miss Henrietta Szold, founder of Hadassah and only woman member of the Palestine Zionist Executive, will make an address on 'Progress in Palestine.' Mrs. David de Sola Pool, of New York, will preside and members of the Atlantic City Chapter will be hostesses." Both Szold and Mrs. de Sola Pool made urgent calls to fund Zionists efforts in Palestine amidst growing insecurity in the *Yishuv*.[20] The following years would see growth in Hadassah's formal parentships with the JNF to

jointly raise funds for a variety of national and cultural interests in Palestine, and, even amidst the Great Depression, the JNF found growing support amongst American Jews in the 1930s.

JNF fundraiser concerts by the 1930s were attended by celebrities and high-profile Jews and became increasingly commonplace across the US. One example occurred in 1931—"In order that all Los Angeles Jewry . . . [could] have the opportunity of hearing . . . Prof. Albert Einstein," the JNF had produced "[a] concert and mass meeting" to raise funds for the "[Albert] Einstein forest project." The concert was the "suggestion of Prof Einstein himself," part of an expressed "desire to meet the masses who could not afford to be at formal banquets." And, because of Einstein's apparent popularity for his "deep interest . . . in the less fortunate coreligionists in all parts of the world, and especially in the effort of creating a national Jewish homeland in Palestine," the *LA Times* correspondent "expected an overflow audience will be on hand to greet him,"[21] which indeed was the case. Key here is the fact that music, accessibility, and land interests are emphasized parallel to each other.

America is, of course a big area, and in the early 1930s, Jews represented a spectrum of socio-economic classes and lived across the country. The JNF needed scalable approaches that could intrigue American Jews of all sociodemographic positions and locations. Events like the above-mentioned, celebrity-sponsored concert could help them build a sense amongst the Jewish communities in Los Angeles (either those that attended or read the coverage in the *LA Times*) that land interests in Palestine were important to the Jewish community; as such, giving money to the JNF was an expression of their Jewishness and support for Jews in need. In part for communities outside of major cities like Los Angeles, possibly without access to such large-escale concerts, the JNF produced a variety of fundraising program guides and other publications—often containing Zionist songs—for wider, national proliferation. Throughout the 1930s (and beyond), these types of publications assisted the JNF as they worked to develop a presence in Jewish homes, synagogues, community gatherings, and other spaces across the US during a time of ever-increasing need for financial and political support in the *Yishuv* and a growing Zionist movement in America.[22] The JNF's printed materials could be cheaply produced and distributed to Jewish communities no matter their locale or income level. Unique to the following analyses, Hadassah and other American Jewish women's groups regularly helped proliferate JNF programmatic materials and aided in fundraising campaigns on behalf of the JNF as part of their own activities and fundraising goals, which consistently broadened in scale and scope throughout the 1930s and 40s.

Politics, Holidays, Songs and Hebrew Culture: Fundraising Efforts Evolve in the 1930s

The Passfield White Paper of October 1, 1930, was the second major policy paper produced by the British government attempting to mitigate mounting inter-communal violence in Palestine (the first was in 1922). Jewish land purchases, land settlement, and immigration to Palestine were central to Britain's assessment of what was catalyzing growing social unrest and the associated violence there. A measure of the problem that they saw was the way land was being purchased, and the resultant displacement of Arab agricultural workers in Palestine—largely to urban centers with conspicuously insufficient economic opportunities. Accordingly, as part of their strategy to alleviate tensions and stabilize the Arab economy, the British began discouraging Jewish land purchases. Jewish efforts to lobby against or work around such British intentions were in large part successful at the time.[23] However, the increasing political, social, and economic pressure that land sales were contributing to led to further surges in asking prices for parcels, ever-increasing the JNF's need for capital.[24]

One of the major ways that the JNF collected funds in the diaspora during this time, alongside fundraising events, was through distributing blue JNF collection boxes globally. "Millions of JNF charity boxes had been distributed throughout the world by the end of the 1940s," argues historian Yoram Bar-Gal. "Each box bore a printed text according to the language of the country in which it was to be used: English for the English-speaking countries, German for Central Europe and Hebrew and Yiddish for Eastern Europe."[25] In the 1930s, as land prices in Palestine soared, these efforts in the US were supplemented by easy to distribute fundraising program guides, as well as other types of educational, propaganda and outreach materials. Like many American Zionists, Jewish holidays were a theme often utilized by the JNF to build engaging Zionist programs and educational materials for American Jewry with universal Jewish appeal—and many featured Hebrew music.

The Jewish rituals and traditions that the JNF presented to American Jewry—in part through Hebrew song—fused evolving Zionist national foci, secular cultural trends, and traditional Jewish practice.[26] Impactfully twinning JNF agendas and perspectives on Zionist thought to aspects of Judaism familiar to American Jewry proved to be of great value to their outreach strategy. As a result, Zionist reinterpreted Jewish holidays like *Hanuca* and *Purim,* already important in American Judaism at the time, had entire JNF fundraising programs built around them. Programs relating to Jewish holi-

days allowed the JNF in the 1930s (and beyond) to present a multiplicity of evolving Zionist political issues, elements of Hebrew culture, and financial asks through themes, imagery, and activities that could be tied to familiar and already occurring aspects of American Jews' religious lives. In this sense, such initiatives allowed for the JNF's mission and visions of American Zionist engagement to be personally and communally relatable, yet evocative and intriguing enough to help garner a donation (the bigger the better) in a crowded philanthropic space, amidst the Great Depression.

One fundraising event guide, *Programme for Purim,* was published by the Head office of the JNF in Jerusalem in 1931. The 40-page pamphlet offered American supporters of the JNF a guide on "how to conduct a Purim campaign" appropriate for use during "Popular functions of all kinds, fancy dress balls (with costumes symbolizing JNF activities), concerts, parties, house-to-house collections [and more]." The introduction implored that:

> Every Jew can participate in the Purim Campaign: the veteran Zionist . . . the Jewish woman . . . the youth . . . the child . . . Every Jew: by contributing generously to the JNF, which establishes the foundation for the building of the Jewish Homeland for the Jewish people. Enable the JNF to consummate the land transactions it has initiated![27]

Directly tied to JNF land acquisitions in 1930s Palestine, this program utilized intriguing themes and events in Hebrew culture contemporary to the *Yishuv*. The vivid imagery illustrated in the prose were intended to help American Jews visualize themselves in Palestine. While providing a sense of great urgency, the JNF offered an opportunity for American Jews to feel as if they were themselves interacting with the scenes and Zionist characters presented in the program—the intention being that the ask for funds to enable "the JNF to consummate the land transactions it has initiated" would feel personally compelling to a diverse array of Jews in America after these types of light cultural engagements.

Programme for Purim contained three sections, and an addendum of sheet music for a song to be sung during the implementation of the greater program, which included sections about "Purim in the Diaspora," "Purim among the Jews of Yemen" and "Purim in Eretz Yisrael: The Children of Eretz Yisrael on Purim."[28] The attached musical score was for the song "Shoshanat Ya'akov," a traditional *Purim* song, likely familiar to many American Jews, yet newly arranged by a notable Latvian-born composer in Palestine, Solomon Rosowsky. It must be noted that Rosowsky himself contributed to building orga-

nizations seeking to proliferate Hebrew music culture and garner donations in America during the 1930s. He helped found the America-Palestine Institute of Musical Sciences (known as Mailamm), an organization dedicated to supporting Jewish musical research in Palestine and the US.[29] Mailamm had a dedicated base of donors in the US, and Rosowsky in fact moved to the US, where he spent the latter years of his career teaching cantorial students at JTS. The score for Rosowsky's rendition of "Shoshanat Ya'akov" included notation for a piano accompanist and transliterated Hebrew lyrics so all attendees could sing along, no matter their knowledge of modern Hebrew.

> The Jews of Shushan beamed with joy, when they beheld Mordechai robed in royal blue. You, God, have always been our deliverance, our hope in every generation. Those who place their hope in You will never be ashamed. Those who trust in You will never be confounded, cursed be Haman, who sought to destroy us; Blessed be Mordechai the Jew, Cursed be Zeresh, the wife of our persecutor; blessed be Esther, our protector.

The unconcealed financial ask on the first page of the guide sits within a program that utilized both familiar and more novel depictions of *Purim*'s celebration in Mandatory Palestine. Significantly though, analogous to Rosowsky's newly arranged version of a traditional *Purim* song, these possibly unfamiliar and even exotic aspects of Zionism and Hebrew culture were presented as part of Jewish traditions quite familiar to American Jewry. The imagery showcased in this program was intended to paint a captivating, distinctive picture of the *Yishuv*. Simultaneously, it urged American Jews to feel a sense that financially "enable[ing] the JNF to consummate the land transactions it has initiated!" could and should be a part of their *Purim* celebrations in America. The scenes and songs of their shared Jewish tradition of *Purim* presented in the program were indeed convenient and effective thematic pieces of content for the fundraiser. "Shoshanat Ya'akov," while re-imagined by a Jew living in the Palestine, proposed a relatable and/or recognizable musical vehicle for attendees of the program to see commonality with Jews like Rosowsky, building Hebrew national culture and in the *Yishuv*.

The section for "Purim in Tel Aviv" paints rich images of the novel *Yishuv* custom of *Purim* Carnivals. The prose describe how "Most of the children" celebrating *Purim* in Palestine, like attendees' children in America, "are dressed in all kinds of costumes." And like their own kids who dance at *Purim* parties in America, "In the Large hall, selections are given by the police band,

to the tunes of which the children dance the hora in circles."[30] The imagery of joining hands and dancing at an exciting, novel *Yishuv* ritual celebration for the familiar holiday of *Purim*, maybe to a song they learned that night, could—even at such a geographic distance—offer attendees a vivid lens to visualize themselves (or their children) physically expressing their Zionist support through dance in Palestine. The evocative imagery of celebrating *Purim* through the Hora, a Hebrew folk dance—already an increasingly popular element of Hebrew culture amongst American Jews[31]—was a path to frame the financial needs of those Jews depicted at the Tel Aviv Carnival as being part of a global Jewish undertaking, inclusive of American Jewry who were also dancing the hora. The scenes were hoped to enable American Jews to feel a sense of embodiment of *Chalutzim* as they considered giving money to help the *Yishuv.* It made personal the unique features of Hebrew national culture in Palestine, and in doing so, the JNF hoped the experience could also make personal the challenges of Palestine's real estate markets, political dynamics, and the needs of the JNF; a reality quite distant from 1930s American Jewish life and financial priorities amidst crisis.

Children dancing together as part of a JNF *Purim*-themed fundraiser in the 1930s was not a theme unique to this program guide. It represented a broader means through which the JNF demonstrated to American Jews that they could physically participate in aspects of Hebrew culture through JNF programs, and even see their children as an important piece of building a multi-generational link between American Jewish life and Zionist institutions. For example, in 1936, the JNF sponsored a "Celebration of Purim" that included "entertainment and dances among . . . Jewish youth in the United States" based on the story of Ester. The celebration involved the participation of "hundreds of Jewish Sunday schools" across America. The attending parents, maybe past participants of other JNF programs, would have certainly been happy to see their kids dancing with other Jewish students as part of a festive and joyful holiday event at their religious school. And as the students performed the Hebrew folk dances for prideful parents at the hundreds of separate religious school programs, "It was announced by the Jewish National Fund . . . that special appeals for *Purim* gifts would be made to aid the Jewish victims of racial bigotry and persecution in foreign countries by helping them settle in Palestine."[32] The JNF understood that their approaches to proliferating Hebrew national culture and soliciting financial help in America needed to be captivating and novel, yet simultaneously dovetail with a familiar context and the emerging frameworks for participating in Jewish life in America.

Jewish holidays, music, and dance helped the JNF to inject their agenda

near-seamlessly into American Jewish programming. Indeed, the JNF found an effective method to shape a profitable series of events, with performative and often interactive musical components that also fostered a sense amongst American Jewry that the JNF's mission and Zionist cause more broadly were extensions of the story of *Purim* and other aspects of their Jewish heritage. In other words, the ". . . Jewish victims of racial bigotry and persecution in foreign countries" were analogous to those Jews persecuted by the *Purim* antagonist (featured in "Shoshanat Yaakov"), "Cursed Haman, who sought to destroy us." And that "providing aid" to help the JNF settle those contemporary persecuted Jews in Palestine was analogous to supporting the protagonists "Blessed . . . Mordechai the Jew . . . and Ester, our protector." The JNF similarly sought to use Hebrew music as a means to communicate a sense of inclusion in other less-familiar aspects of the *Yishuv*, Hebrew national culture, and their national agenda through their holiday programs.

For example, Zionist notions of Hebrew culture's "Yemenite" character were communicated through elements of *Purim*'s celebration and the associated musical customs in Palestine. Describing aspects of an annual *Purim* procession, part of a greater array of *Purim* festivities evolving in the *Yishuv*,[33] the pamphlet offers an evocative vignette

> Two years ago, "Queen Esther," who is elected and is also Tel Aviv's queen of beauty for the coming year, was a Yemenite girl . . . A great wave of excitement ran through the crowd as the Yemenites appear . . . with their queen . . . For this purpose, they [the Yemenite portion of the Purim procession] mobilized their procession . . . which was of marked oriental character . . . In one of the automobiles sat an orchestra of Yemenites, playing national folk-songs . . . All of the dresses and costumes had been prepared with taste and in a special style, Oriental-Hebrew . . . with merry acute from the cars:—"Long live the Queen!" "Long live the Yemenites!" Long live the people of Israel!" and the band played, camel bells tinkled[34]

Linking attendees' own Jewish identities and practices in America (like celebrating *Purim*) to Zionist notions of Eastern Jewish heritage, Zionist Jewish holiday celebrations, dances, and songs was not coincidental. The depiction of Yemenite Jews playing Hebrew national songs at the Tel Aviv *Purim* carnival conveyed to American Jewry that Zionists were fusing familiar elements of Western culture with aspects of Middle Eastern Jewish culture. In some cases, brought to Palestine by Yemenite Jews or sourced from the works of

those like Idelsohn; and Jews everywhere were invited to lay claim to such Hebraic national evolutions in Palestine. The framing was not dissimilar from Idelsohn and others who proliferated similar types of Hebraic conceptions of Jewish heritage in the Middle East through Hebrew song. However, the JNF did so with the value add of offering to American Jewry an accessible path to buy a personal stake in the actual land and development projects in Palestine. And as circumstances worsened for Jews in Palestine and Europe in the mid-1930s, the JNF's needs grew even further. The JNF hoped that American Jewry—unable or unwilling to come pave roads, dredge swamps, dance the Hora at a Tel Aviv *Purim* parade or participate in the Yemenite procession—would feel further compelled to give money as to allow Jews in Palestine to do those things amidst toughening circumstances in Europe and Palestine, as Sophia Berger noted in 1919, in "the name of the American Zionists."

Throughout the 1930s, there was a push and pull between Zionist political institutions and the British government over the issues of Jewish land purchases and immigration in Palestine. However, despite British efforts to attenuate both, Zionist entities continued to have access to land for purchase in Palestine, but again, under evolved market conditions.[35] One 1934 propaganda pamphlet produced by the JNF voiced a direct call for support within the context of the JNF's struggling finances amidst further increases to land costs. *The Jewish National Fund to the Fore!* implored that

> The JNF Organization of America, as it stands today, is meager and weak, compared with the strength of its intrinsic appeal and the abundance of the opportunity . . . The JNF in this country [America] has not measured up to its responsibilities and to its opportunities in the fat years and it has not measured up to its more limited opportunities in the lean years [the Great Depression of the 1930s]. When we consider how much more land the JNF could have owned by this time at prices half of what they are today and how many more footholds it could have provided, if the contributions of American Jewry would have been what it should have been, we shrink in contrition.[36]

JNF leadership—under pressure to raise ever-growing sums of money to purchase lands and build settlements to house the swelling inflow of Jewish refugees from Europe—continued to seek novel propaganda materials and program concepts that could continue to be scaled nationally and could help yield even more revenue. And as these needs increased in the 1930s, American Jews' growing interest in Zionist activism, support, and Hebrew national

culture helped the JNF's presence rapidly grow in the US alongside Zionists' push for statehood in Palestine.

Amidst these developments of the 1930s, Hadassah sought intently to help the JNF grow their American fundraising operations, and integrated JNF fundraising efforts into their own national, operational framework. Indeed, JNF land purchases were crucial to Hadassah's efforts to secure real estate as to build healthcare infrastructure in Palestine. As such, Hadassah was central to JNF fundraising goals of the pre-1948 period. For example, in Hadassah's 1933 operational guidebook for their national chapters, *Chapter Instructions,* Eudice Elkind, national Chairman of the JNF Council of Hadassah, asked her chapter leaders across Hadassah's growing American network if their JNF Blue "Box committee had been organized" yet? And, if it had, "Are they on the job? Have they placed a Blue Box in every Hadassah home and in the homes of Hadassah friends? Are they keeping a complete and an accurate record of all these boxes? Are they prepared to make collections regularly and promptly?" If a chapter leader's answers "to these questions can be made in the affirmative" then they carried out their "Jewish National Fund work properly and effectively." Elkind reminded chapter leaders that while Hadassah empties its Blue Boxes "only three times a year, deposits in those boxes must be made all the time" to help Hadassah raise the funds necessary to purchase plots of land in Palestine for their own development projects, in partnership with the JNF. Elkind further appealed to national chapters, amidst the Great Depression of the 1930s, that they "Remember our three-fold task," which in 1933 consisted of "Continuation of the redemption of the Haifa Bay [land] tract," "Planting of the Hadassah Forest of 10,000 trees" and "Purchasing a site for the Hadassah-University Hospital. Our obligations must be met!"[37]

In 1933, Hadassah had just become independent from its parent organization the Zionist Organization of America. Historian Mira Katzburg-Yungman argues that their new autonomy allowed Hadassah "to chart its own distinctive course as a women's organization, to consolidate its achievements," and "to initiate new projects" in the 1930s, including new partnerships with the JNF. Between 1935 and 1945, Hadassah's membership grew from 32,000 to over 176,973,[38] giving them a broad base of potential donors as American Jewry increasingly participated in Pro-Zionist activism and donated what funds they could to Zionist philanthropic causes like Hadassah, the JNF, and many others. Their fundraising programs grew in reach as new chapters formed across the country, and Hebrew music remained a consistent staple of Hadassah programming strategies amidst target-focused, rapid national scaling.

In 1935, for example, the "Atlanta unit of Junior Hadassah" organized an event "sponsored by all Zionist groups and parties under the auspices of the Jewish National Fund." The fundraiser, held in Atlanta, was part of a "nationwide drive to raise among American Jews the amount of $500,000 for the acquisition of new land areas in Palestine" to absorb the "constant influx of Jewish refugees from Germany and of pioneers from other parts of the world." Utilizing the power of Hebrew music as entertainment and a Zionist bonding agent, the JNF and Hadassah built the program around "a nationwide [radio] broadcast over the NBC network." The broadcasted program took place at Rockefeller Center in New York city and featured a "program of Palestinian Hebrew songs by a choir of 70 singers, under the direction of Dr. A.W. Binder." High-profile fundraising programs like Binder's national broadcast occurring in tandem with smaller, local satellite programs proved impactful and nationally scalable through broadcast technology; and, as we saw in the opening to this chapter, is a strategy still utilized by the JNF today. Jewish holidays, evolutions in Hebrew national culture, Zionist music, the need for American Jewish financial support, and its ability to offer an avenue of participation in furthering the Zionist cause remained central themes in JNF fundraising approaches, stressing novel urgency alongside intensified Nazi saber rattling in mid-1930s Europe.

Also in 1935, The Head Office of the JNF in Jerusalem produced *Hanuca Program*. Amidst a crescendo of tense political circumstances and violence in Palestine, deterioration of European Jews' safety, and a devastated American economy, the foreword instructs a program host "to render the evening as pleasant as possible" and to do so, "the material presented should be varied, heavier items being interspersed with others of a lighter nature, such as [Hebrew] songs."[39] Singing Hebrew songs provided a light yet impactful means for attendees to find a sense of enjoyment, cultural inclusivity, and active participation in the program through communally "performing" aspects of Zionism they learned about in the program through an active, likely enjoyable and participatory activity. It is important to note that music is obviously a form of entertainment. In times of global Jewish distress, economic devastation, and challenging circumstances in Palestine, group singing, beyond musically proliferating the JNF's national agenda, had entertainment value and was likely a welcomed break from the stresses of everyday life. Maybe those heavier items in the program could be even more warmly received after the potentially fun and/or emotional experience of singing a Hebrew song together. These heavier items could include, for example, a fundraising ask or one of six potentially divisive and certainly provocative "suggested debates,"

which included debate prompts like "Hanuca has no meaning for Jews today" and "The festival of Hanuca—contrary to the spirit of Judaism, because it glorifies war—should be abolished."[40]

As was the case in *Program for Purim*, the *Hanuca* program couched fundraising asks within rich descriptions of the holiday's celebrations in Palestine and singing the associated Hebrew songs. "Hanuca on Its Own Soil" describes how

> the torchlight of a candle-light parade of school children has come to be a Hanuca tradition. . . . Instead of the wax tapers used by most Jews abroad, the custom here is rather to return to the primitive oil cup which was the original lamp . . . In schools there are many plays, songs and recitations, always with the lighting of the menorah and a chorus of Maoz Tzur brought in somewhere . . . True, the children are our candles, the lamps of our rededication in the land of Israel; but the old Maccabean struggle is ours too, laborious struggle for a Jewish, that is, a human and universal conception of nationalism, of a family of cooperating nations . . . Everywhere we hear new songs of Hanuca, newly written and composed, sung in school and street.[41]

Jews in Palestine were depicted as returning to a biblical land of Israel to practice an idealized, non-diasporic Jewish life—one with a more "primitive" tradition, including using oil cups instead of more-modern wax candles to celebrate *Hanuca*. Likewise, a tradition that assumes "the old Maccabean struggle," a reference to Zionists' identification with the story of *Hanuca*'s more-militaristic elements. It can be deduced then that the fomenting intercommunal violence and the intensifying national contest in Palestine during the 1930s was presented here as an extension in some way of the military components of *Hanuca*'s story, already important to Zionist expressions of Hanuca and its place in Hebrew culture.[42]

The JNF indicates that such events in the *Yishuv* should be contextualized by American Jewry within an international or "universal conception of [Zionist] nationalism." The building of a Jewish home, national music, military, and other institutions in Palestine were thus part of a national culture inclusive of American Jews—part of this "family of nations," or global Jewish communities celebrating their shared holiday of "Hanuca on Its Own Soil [in the biblical land of Israel]"—no matter their location. Juxtaposing descriptions of Jews in Palestine singing the familiar Hanuca song of Ma'oz Tzur with

likely unfamiliar Hebrew arrangements from Palestine included for singing in the program—songs like "Mi Zeh Hidlik" (Who Kindled These Lights, at https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=1250)[43] by renowned Hebrew and Israeli literary figure Levin Kipnis or "Pakad Adonai"[44] (To Zion's Shore, https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=373&perf_id=794%20https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=3665https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=373&perf_id=794) by larger-than-life Hebrew composer Mordechai Zeira—is illustrative of what the program and the JNF more broadly intended to offer American Jewry (beyond the financial ask): a means to physically engage with and feel part of the modern Zionist national project, including its many adaptations of Jewish ritual traditions and songs, which often juxtaposed ancient Jewish life and modern realities. While such programmatic fundraisers, centered on aspects of Hebrew national culture, certainly served the JNF's institutional needs, they simultaneously served to educate American Jewry about emergent trends in Hebrew national culture. They wanted to signal that American Jews too were insiders. They could support, feel optimistic about, and find inclusion in Zionist national endeavors; and, through engagement with the JNF, they could help to physically build the *Yishuv*, evolve its culture, and provide a refuge for Jews as Europe deteriorated.

The JNF pursued a variety of projects that utilized different forms of Hebrew cultural output as propaganda materials for the Jewish diaspora. Bar-Gal notes that "After the JNF Head Office moved to Jerusalem, its Propaganda Department, headed by Julius Berger, began to produce series of transparencies on filmstrips, which they called 'light picture strips' or 'light picture ribbons [around 1925].'"[45] These initial projects and experiments evolved into a series of propaganda films released throughout the pre-1948 period. In 1936, one such film titled, *The Land of Promise* was screened across the US. A "benefit for the Jewish National Fund" was held in Chicago (1936) that featured such a screening of *The Land of Promise*, described by the *Chicago Tribune* as telling the story of "a new nation in the making . . . Where once were dirty villages there are today cities as modern as Chicago . . . men, women and children are shown working cheerfully at everything which goes toward the building of a successful community." Like the holiday programs, the film focused on the achievements of Zionists in developing the *Yishuv* and Hebrew national culture while attempting to make them relatable to the American Jewish schema. Yet, the distinctive, non-diasporic character of the Hebrew "nation in the making" was heavily emphasized, reflected in part through the film's soundtrack.

The music for *The Land of Promise* was, according to the *Tribune*'s coverage, "based on folk themes characteristic of the new [Hebrew national] culture, and the modern dances of the pioneers, symbolic of a life founded anew on the soil," which "contrasted with the oriental [Hebrew] dance forms" representing ancient ties to the land. All proceeds from the event went to "the Jewish national Fund for the purchase of land in Palestine for colonization."[46] The repetitive depictions of the modern, familiar, and even European elements of Hebrew music and national culture juxtaposed with the non-familiar, more-exotic elements of the *Yishuv* are indeed themes central across JNF outreach efforts of the period. The film (at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QDoD6W2z01s), however, unlike the holiday programs, provided American Jews—at least those with access—to a more vivid visual and aural presentation of Palestine, the building of the *Yishuv,* the JNF's national agenda, and evolving Hebrew music culture.[47] Of course, the soundtrack of a film is a less participatory musical experience than group singing; but, it required less imagination to visualize the advertised impact of a JNF donation on developing Jewish settlements in Palestine and what Palestine may sound like in the process. The music in the film does not sound distinctly Middle Eastern, yet, it is a well-crafted score, which effectively dramatizes the footage of life in Palestine featured in the film, which was, of course, produced for Americans, dominantly of European descent. Many Jews in the Chicago area who were unable to attend likely read coverage of the event in the *Tribune*, which bestowed further legitimacy and prestige onto the JNF as an institution. Such coverage likewise offers us a sense of the increasing normalization of Hebrew national culture in secular American culture, undoubtedly aided by Idelsohn's work of the 1920s and 30s.

As America emerged as the largest center of Jewish life following the decimation of European Jewry during the Holocaust, a variety of JNF programs and other fundraising initiatives continued to evolve and proliferate in American Jewish communal spaces. This type of American Jewish engagement with Zionism and Hebrew music was attached to Zionist institutional goals; yet, since Zionist support was already growing rapidly in America in the late 1930s, American Jewry largely welcomed JNF and other Zionist organizations' efforts to build fundraising markets and outlets for Zionist engagement in America. The JNF provided American Jewry with channels to directly contribute to the Zionist national cause amidst devastations in Europe, growing tumult in Palestine, and a mounting sense that Zionist support and aspects of Hebrew national culture should be important components of American Jewish life and vital to saving the destitute Jews of Europe.

Zionism Evolves in America: Classified Palestine Songs

1939 marked the beginning of WWII and the end of the Great Depression in America. Likewise, the issuing of the British White Paper in Palestine caused an increasingly irreparable fracture between the British government and Zionists throughout the last decade of the Mandate. The British colonial administration had long been under pressure to curtail years of escalating intercommunal violence which had already claimed thousands of lives and surged between 1936–39—in what has come to be known as the "great Arab revolt." The 1939 White Paper, a policy response to these violent events and general political chaos, dealt a severe blow to Zionist national aspirations by setting restrictions on Jewish immigration to Palestine (75,000 over a five-year period) and land purchases. The hope was that the policy would help attenuate growing dissent among Palestine's Arab population and aid in curtailing a further escalation of violent tensions.[48] Anxieties about immigration grew amongst Jews worldwide as Europe's millions of Jews faced the outbreak of WWII and rapid crescendo in antisemitic violence, without legal refuge in the US or Palestine. In response, American Jewish senses of urgency to engage in activism to help Jews enter Palestine[49] and to support a variety of other Zionist and European-focused causes and philanthropies, already growing in the 1930s, ballooned in the 1940s.

Zionist organizations and institutions in Palestine during this period were diverse and included those which supported the growth of Hebrew music culture in the *Yishuv* and America. One such group was the America-Palestine Institute of Musical Sciences, established in the early 1930s by a group of Jewish musicians and scholars, including numerous figures analyzed in this study, like Binder, Coopersmith, and the Goldfarbs, to support Jewish musical study in the US and Palestine. The organization became known as Mailamm, the Hebrew acronym for the group's English title, and they were active in promoting Hebrew song and fundraising agendas in the US.[50] Heskes notes that in 1939, amidst "a time of growing peril to Jewish life in Europe, Mailamm was reconstituted by its roster of notable members into a successor society known as the Jewish Music Forum," which focused on "broadening the range of American cultural activities and public service." Yet, the fundraising networks established by Mailamm continued to operate, at times in coordination with Hadassah and JNF, respectively.[51] One such network was the American Friends of the Palestine Conservatoire.

The Palestine Conservatoire of Music, founded in 1933 by Emil Hausner and other musicians who fled the Nazis and found refuge in Palestine,

was a central focus of Mailamm, which sought to raise funds and build support in America as to help establish and sustain the Conservatoire. However, despite sustained effort, their goal to raise the funds that the JNF requested to purchase a plot of land as a permanent location for the Conservatoire were eclipsed by other more pressing philanthropic concerns. In a 1939 letter to the Director of the JNF, Avraham Granovsky, "Mrs. Frank Cohen [of New York] (member of Presidium)" for Mailamm offered her deepest regrets that the organization was "unable finally to meet our full commitment for the purchase of the plot of ground in Jerusalem which you have been and upon which we were to erect" the Conservatoire. "Unfortunately for us, the appeal for land for the Conservatory, despite the fact that we stressed the necessity of housing refugee music students, seemed inopportune; for all efforts in America today are centered upon physical salvation of refugees and our project seemed less than secondary in importance." In her closing words to Granovsky, Mrs. Cohen promised she would seek a path to provide the JNF with the four thousand dollars Mailamm had already raised for the land purchase, and that she would inform Granovsky and the JNF leadership should there be "other monies we may raise to carry out our purpose in connection with Jewish National Fund."[52] Indeed, Mrs. Cohen was correct in her assessment that JNF appeals for land to settle European Jewish refugees were more pressing and marketable to American Jewish donors than funds for a Conservatoire in Palestine.

Yet, efforts to fund the Conservatoire and even scholarships to send American Jews there to study extended into the 1940s; in part through the establishment of the American Friends of the Palestine Conservatoire, an organization supported by Szold and Hadassah. One unique illustration of this relationship can be found in a 1941 letter sent by Hadassah's New York office to a donor, "Mrs. De Sola Pool." There is "no doubt" you will be "glad to know that the Palestine Conservatoire of Music in Jerusalem has presented Miss Szold on her 80th Birthday with a scholarship in her name" to fund the way of an American student to study in Palestine for three years at the Conservatoire, after which the candidate would be "obliged to remain in one of the Youth Aliyah settlements" in the *Yishuv* to teach music to young Palestinian Jews living there. As a gesture of gratitude for their donor's gifts, Hadassah enclosed the music for "a little song in the honour of Miss Szold" written by a music student in Palestine, "a seven years old girl." A 1941 letter from the Mailamm offices in New York (115 W. 57th St) to a donor offered "a report about the activity of the Palestine Conservatoire," including a note about the Szold scholarship, as well as two new scholarships funded by "Mrs.

Frank Cohen."[53] Such efforts to fund music education in the *Yishuv* and provide opportunities to send American students to Palestine to study were sustained throughout the 1940s; despite the focus of American Jewish giving to Zionist causes being on lands and other infrastructure for the settlement of Jews in Palestine as a refuge from the horrors of Europe.[54] Further, as the above demonstrates, there was American Jewish interest in funding the arts in Palestine as a platform to send American Jews there to participate in Hebrew music culture and the Zionist cause; an interest sustained amongst many American Jews until the present.

David Ben-Gurion, then Chairman of the Jewish Agency (the de facto governmental organization of the *Yishuv*), had high hopes for American fundraising markets' continued growth amidst these difficult times and the rebound of the American economy surrounding WWII. Despite British restrictions, there were bureaucratic and legal back and side doors that allowed for land acquisitions, and the JNF continued to purchase parcels, just at increasingly high costs and levels of risk. As a result, Ben-Gurion pushed the JNF to intensify their efforts to secure funds and support for strategic land and political interests—and these efforts were successful. Historian Eric Engel Tuten argues that the 1940s in fact "Justified [Ben-Gurion and other leaders'] optimism about the role of America." After years of the JNF hustling to build fundraising markets and spheres of support through musical programs and other means, America became the greatest benefactor of "JNF efforts in Palestine, overshadowing the contributions and loans from all other English-speaking and non-English speaking countries of the Diaspora."[55] In 1942, amidst breaking news about the Jewish holocaust and its devastations,[56] American Jewry increasingly contributed to the JNF and other Zionist organizations, alongside a variety of outlets for Zionist activism as an expression of support for/and mode of agency to help Jews in need (in Europe and the *Yishuv*).

As the *Yishuv* staggered toward statehood in the 1940s, building future generations of American Zionists to support the JNF's mission and base in the US was a focus of their outreach, made even more clear in May 1942. Marking growing unanimity in American Jewish attitudes toward Zionist support and activism, a breakthrough, consensus platform amongst American Zionist organizations was defined at New York's Biltmore Hotel. Historian Anita Shapira argues that the proceedings of this conference in fact "proclaimed the Jewish people's war objectives," which included "opening Palestine to immigration, Jewish control of the country, and establishment of a Jewish commonwealth there."[57] The JNF recognized the growth of Ameri-

can support for the Zionist cause and interest in teaching Jewish students about Zionism as an optimistic counter to the terrors faced by their brethren in Europe. In an effort to bring the JNF's message directly to such students, surrounding the Biltmore conference in 1942, the JNF published *Camp Issue,* the first of a five-part series of Zionist songsters intended for mostly younger Jews in America under the series title *Classified Palestine Songs*.

Among the more extensive collections of Zionist songs produced for American Jewry until that point, *Classified Palestine Songs* offers a unique window into ways American Jewish students interacted with Zionism, Hebrew national culture, and the JNF during this tumultuous period of Jewish and world history.[58] Stressing similar themes as other American-produced Zionist songbooks (and other JNF propaganda materials), this series of songsters was intended for practical application during activities like actual marches in nature, campfire-centered public singings, or Friday evening, post-Sabbath-meal programs. Here again we see the JNF promote singing Hebrew songs during communal Jewish experiences already taking place in America as an avenue to participate in the Zionist national project and JNF mission, in this case though, amongst students at summer camps and religious schools across the US. American Jewish summer camps were (and remain) a major venue for young Jews to engage in Jewish communal experiences, isolated in the American wilderness. These camps increased in numbers and centrality to American Jewish life in the post WWII period.[59]

Communally singing a variety of songs has long served as a central feature of these camps, and they were an early epicenter of emergent Zionist affiliation, Hebrew national culture, and music in America[60]—a phenomenon which only grew after 1948. The JNF recognized the potential value of these venues and used *Classified Palestine Songs: Camp Issue* to provide American Jewish campers opportunities to engage with their brand of Hebrew culture in ways not dissimilar from how their parents might have at a fundraising event for the JNF, Hadassah, or the Friends of the Palestine Conservatoire. Yet, the purpose wasn't necessarily to solicit a donation, as the students likely didn't have any money to donate. Rather, the intention was to build a sustainable and diverse base of JNF support in America with outlets for education and engagements to shape the next generation. Shahar significantly reminds us that "Although fund-raising was the JNF's main activity, it also assumed a central role in the production and dissemination of Zionist educational material,"[61] often with a focus toward young Jews around the globe that likely had no money. Beyond their interest in just educating young American Jews about Zionism, Hebrew national culture, and the work of the JNF, there

was certainly a sense amongst the JNF leadership that these campers could potentially motivate their parents to engage with the JNF after coming home from camp and/or comprise a future generation of American JNF donors and supporters.

The first section of *Camp Issue*, "Marching Songs," which "Should be found useful by campers when out on a march, stroll or ramble"[62] offered campers the opportunity to roleplay aspects of Zionist military activities in Palestine during a time of great Jewish insecurity, including those Jewish GIs fighting in WWII. The song "Left Right," (at, https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=3665) a lively, upbeat march with commanding lyrics, quite appropriate for its stated use, is framed by an illustration of a farmer and a soldier at the top of the page, both marching while carrying rifles in a pastoral setting

> Left right, keep in line, marching. Marching as we Sing! . . .
> . . . We march together under a clear sky, firm and singing!
> When the dawn breeze blows we burst into song to
> honour God's reigning radiance.[63]

The campers were encouraged to act as if they themselves were young defenders of the *Yishuv,* marching and singing along to a military style marching song in the hills of Palestine, as they soaked in their own rural camps' pastoral sceneries. These types of interactive and/or performative components of the songbooks help us see the importance to the JNF of recreating in America not only the song, but the synthesizing of the physical experience of singing them, communally.

While the campers participating in these musical simulations of marching through Palestine on guard duty are not able to recreate such an experience, they are able to communally take part in synthesizing aspects of Hebrew culture, making these unique Zionist experiences part of their expressions and understandings of Judaism in America. Lainer-Vos argues that "Since nationalists often describe membership in the nation as a deep camaraderie, the construction of national simulations requires engineering this kind of emotional experience." As such, national entrepreneurs "who wish to share their vision with others have to select certain practices that they see as essential and create situations wherein national belonging would be experienced and affirmed."[64] These military-style nature marches laced with communal Zionist singing indeed offered essential elements of Hebrew national culture integral to life and development in the *Yishuv.* As campers embodied Zionist

watchmen defending Jewish settlements in Palestine with their peers during this musical performance of a patrol march, they were quite likely to find an emotional sense of Jewish comradeship with their peers at camp and *Chalutzim* in Palestine—particularly those young Jews taking up arms to defend the *Yishuv* (and maybe even those Jewish militias attacking British positions).

Particularly for young American Jews, unable to contribute money to Jewish causes or fight in the war, this enactment constituted a difficult to obtain sense of participation, albeit imaginary, in guarding Jewish life. In "honour[ing] God's reigning radiance," there is a notion being presented that these campers are honoring their own Judaism through singing Palestine songs, while physically participating in activities where song would be used similarly in the *Yishuv,* in this case, during a patrol march. Beyond religious significance, this musical activity constituted a dramatic prop that helped synthesize the drama of Palestine and its many tensions, violent moments, issues, and complexities for American youth. These young Jews were musically internalizing their inclusion and participation in Zionist national struggles and the JNF's national agenda, all as part of their own emergent relationship with Judaism in America—likely influenced heavily by spaces such as Jewish summer camps. It should be noted that Zionist activities at camps supplemented any Zionist education campers may receive at home, in religious schools or synagogues during the rest of the year. But for some, these summer camp experiences may have been their primary exposure to Zionism.

The Book's section "Shabbat Songs" further punctuates notions of Jewish religious continuity between the *Yishuv* and American Jews as both evidencing and being a source of connective tissue between campers, Jews in Palestine, and the Zionist national enterprise. The short section begins with a song written to the lyrics of renowned Hebrew poet Chaim Nachman Bialik. "Shabbat Queen"—a popular Shabbat song in the *Yishuv*, and then Israel, as well as many diasporas Jewish communities around the world—is followed by an arrangement of the globally common Sabbath evening prayer "Yismechu" (Let them Rejoice).[65] Despite the Shabbat practices of those in the *Yishuv* often being different from those in the US, the common tradition of celebrating the weekly holiday, and singing similar songs and melodies provided in the JNF's songster offered a shared sense of peoplehood and commonality between what would become the two largest Jewish communities in the world.

The JNF did not select novel and exotic songs for this section. Rather, they chose songs which would evoke a sense of familiar ease when relating to what was likely the most observed Jewish ritual in these campers' lives.

Common amongst nearly all the camps was that a variety of Jewish prayers and ritual practices, different types of evening and morning sabbath rituals, and other Jewish religious education and practices were integral components of most Jewish campers' experiences.[66] At summer camps, aspects of Zionism and Hebrew national culture were often tied to many of these daily activities. These JNF Zionist songsters—providing programmatic materials to be used during the many different types of Jewish ritual and secular activities taking place at camps during the Sabbath and beyond—show just one example of how Zionist experiences at Jewish summer camps and youth groups helped inoculate American Jewish life with Zionist thought and Hebrew national culture across the US well into the twenty-first century.[67] It was, however, a distinct Hebrew national culture that developed independently in the American context.

Amidst the proliferation of more gruesome information about the devastations suffered by European Jewry and ever-increasing pressure to get more Jews into Mandatory Palestine, the second book of the series, *Valor and Heroism,* was released in February 1943. Here again, Jewish holidays and Zionist rituals are used to musically convey to American Jews a sense that there is a universal Jewish national context to evolving military conflicts in Palestine. Equally significant is that this book features emerging Zionist National rituals commemorating intercommunal violence in Palestine, more specifically, Hebrew songs about Tel Chai Day. The section "Tel Hai Day" begins with a full-page illustration of an armed watchman mounted on a horse with a rifle slung over his shoulder as he looks out over a pastoral scene, a settlement compound and watchtower in the distance.

> In Galilee, at Tel-Hai Trumpeldor Fell, for our people and our land,
> Joseph, the hero, died. Mountains and hills he ran to redeem Tel-Hai,
> and say to his brothers there—"follow in my footsteps."
> . . . Everywhere and every moment remember that I fought and died for our homeland.[68]

With a moderate pace and somber melody, the opening song (at, https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=2513) is intended to emotionally memorialize the notion that "Trumpeldor fell for *our* people and *our* land" and invites Jews "everywhere" to find a sense of Jewish pride in Zionist military hero Joseph Trumpeldor, slain in the infamous Battle of Tel Chai in 1920. Put in a different way, the JNF presents him as a mythical protector of

Jewish life amongst a litany of Jewish heroes throughout history, much like the musical presentation of "Mordechai the Jew" and "Ester, the Protector" in Rosowsky's "Shoshanat Yaakov" years before. Yet, Trumpeldor was a military man. Rather than focusing on past Jewish figures who used their intellect to thwart plans that would bring harm to Jews—like Mordechai and Esther—Trumpeldor represented the muscularity and focus on Jewish military valor so important to Hebrew national culture and the Zionist ethos, particularly amidst the atrocities of the 1940s.

We know commemorating Tel Chai Day never held as an observance in American Judaism. Yet, songs about the battle of Tel Chai, like in other American Zionist songsters, may likely have elicited pro-Zionist reactions from the campers while they musically interacted with stories about national conflict and Zionist notions of Jewish military sacrifice and heroism in Palestine; particularly in the 1940s. Indeed, Binder saw value in songs about Trumpeldor and Tel Chai in 1926 when he included them in *New Palestinean Folk Songs*. What is unique in this context is that these songs about Trumpeldor, the battle of Tel Chai, Tel Chai Day, and their universal Jewish national significance were presented to young American Jews by a major Zionist institution during a time of desperate need for American support. In other American contexts, these Zionist rituals were presented through Hebrew song largely to create a type of American Jewish identity that included aspects of Zionism and Hebrew national culture, but in service of the agendas of American Jews—not necessarily the national needs of a Zionist institution in Palestine. Regardless, both American Zionists and the JNF had a vested interest in integrating Zionism and Hebrew national culture into American Jewish life and used music to do so—even the more militaristic aspects expressed in songs like those about the Battle of Tel Chai.

Cultural critic Yael Zerubavel argues that Tel Chai Day "provided a major opportunity to educate the young [Jews in Palestine] in the spirit of Tel Hai and helped shape its meaning as an example of the fulfillment of the historical mission of settling, working, and defending the land." And that "Poems, songs, stories, and plays [were written] glorifying 'the amputee hero.'"[69] It is unlikely that young Jews in America would have the same type of relationship with this instance of intercommunal violence or the songs about it as a young person in the *Yishuv*. However, singing "In Galilee at Tel Hai" in the 1940s is the type of engineered "emotional experience" described by Lainer-Vos that could plausibly create a sense of Zionist "national belonging" amongst young American Jews.

Evoking the emotion associated with "the spirit of Tel Chai" and articu-

lating how defending land in Palestine was part of a broader evolution in Jewish self-defense and resistance to violence was certainly the intention of the JNF in the song and section for Tel Chai Day's inclusion. Further punctuating this argument, following "In Galilee at Tel Hai," the JNF presents "We Shall not go From Here." A simple tune with few lyrics, it reads "We shall not go from here, all our adversaries and enemies shall go, but we shall not go from here."[70] The JNF's musical message is simple, much like the song itself: Trumpeldor and Zionists more broadly refused to capitulate to their enemies, and American Jews can and should find pride in their own Judaism through these acts of Jewish military heroism occurring in Palestine. Further, supporting the JNF (in any capacity) equated supporting these heroic efforts to defend Jewish settlements on "Jewish" land in Palestine. This generation of American Jews, likely to climb America's socio-economic ladder higher than past generations, could find pride in Jewish military heroism, sing about Zionist military heroes, and even contribute financially to Zionist military efforts one day. As such, the JNF was interested in reaching a variety of age groups within America's growing population of Jewish students.

Children's Songs, published in 1943 presented a collection of Zionist songs and corresponding illustrations to be used while teaching younger American Jewish students about foundational elements of Hebrew culture and the messaging of the JNF. In this case though, the pedagogy is more accessible and developmentally appropriate for younger children. The songs in the collection included "On the Soil of Judea," "Rachel by the Well," "The Camel," and "My Homeland," amongst others, and each was accompanied by an illustration. Further, *Children's Songs* provided specific examples of ways that the students might make the experience of singing these songs more performative, developmentally appropriate, and thus a more impactful Hebrew cultural experience. To this end, we see the JNF emphasize musical pedagogy from Palestine while organizing the singing of Zionist Hebrew songs in America. And, "In order to heighten interest in these songs," the foreword notes that the instructor teaching the songs

> is advised to dramatize them, text permitting, or to suggest to groups of children that they themselves dramatize the songs after being thoroughly learnt. A novel and interesting experiment was successfully carried out by a music teacher in Palestine some time ago, which we submit for the consideration of instructors abroad. The children were asked to draw the characters of the songs they learned, cut them out, paste them on stiff cardboard, and attach wire to the base of each fig-

> ure . . . In place of cardboard figures, the children themselves can be the performers.[71]

We can again see the JNF stress the importance of actively fostering inclusion in Zionism through performative singing of Hebrew songs on the backdrop of imagery of land in Palestine. Such methods allowed younger students—who likely didn't have a broader context to understand Zionism like teenage campers or other older students—to have a more engaging experience, musically embodying Jews in Palestine through song (from various eras of Jewish history). This may have been the case even if younger students didn't fully understand the context of the activities.

The illustration above the introduction to this book depicts what appears to be a couple in ancient Israel, collecting water at a well with a desert village in the distance. Here we see the exhibition of a central theme the JNF hoped students could internalize through song, even subconsciously—Zionist notions of the Jewish past in Palestine through imagery of Jews in ancient Israel and songs like "On the Soil of Judea" and "Rachel by the Well." Likewise, another familiar element of Hebrew national culture used to evidence Jewish biblical ties to Palestine is present in the children's book: Yemenite Jewish heritage. Song 12 in the Book, "Great Rejoicing Among the Yemenites," is upbeat, and includes modal coloring in the melody, utilized to infuse Middle Eastern sounding phrases into it. Yet the tune remains accessible to American students.[72]

The song sits below an illustration of Jews adorned with distinctly Yemenite dress. The depiction of these Jews in Palestine departs from the European, pioneer-like images of many other *Yishuv* portrayals in the series' illustrations,[73] emphasizing those Zionist conceptions of Hebrew national culture's Middle Eastern character; and is presented to young students in ways quite similar to adult audiences. Likewise, an illustration of a camel depicted in a desert scene appears above the song, "The Camel," (at, https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=711) again emphasizes Eastern and/or biblical imagery as a backdrop to singing Hebrew songs.[74] More broadly, this book offered children multiple avenues to musically perform Zionist conceptions of Judaism's long-standing claim to Palestine that could be associated with their experiences in Jewish educational settings and their forming understandings of Jewish life and worldviews in America.

Considering the intended performative component of the book, these illustrations are unique in that they provided opportunities for young students to in fact dress as if they were Yemenite Jews or ancient Israelites walk-

ing through Middle Eastern scenes that included camels and ancient villages in the hills of Palestine as they sang Zionist songs. The participatory, theatrical component of the songster is distinctive and evidences the JNF's interest in these young students feeling as if they too were physically part of Hebrew national culture in the *Yishuv*, communally performing songs about their inclusion in core Zionist conceptions of a Hebraic, biblical past in Palestine. And if their instructor in fact had students make cutouts of characters from the songs to hold while singing or dress up as those characters, the JNF is clear in wanting the children to visualize the biblical and/or Middle Eastern illustrations that they conspicuously provided in the book. To foster the development of a lasting sense of personal inclusion in the Zionist national project—one that students would carry with them into adulthood—the JNF wanted them to feel that as Jews, Palestine, its stewardship, and the mission of the JNF were part of their lives, history, religion, heritage, and communal lives in America. And their efforts were met with even more growth in American fundraising markets surrounding WWII's conclusion.

Between September 1944 and April 1945 alone, the JNF's income from American donations made a 28 percent increase over the same stretch of time a year prior.[75] The increased money stream to the JNF of course sat as part of greater thrusts amongst American Jews toward a pro-Zionist agenda in American politics, Jewish communal and religious activities, as well as bolstered financial support to Zionist institutions.[76] Upon the conclusion of WWII, with the prospect for Israeli statehood becoming ever-more plausible for Jews in Palestine, increased support from American Jewry was even more essential to Zionists' national struggles. And American Jews responded in kind. They provided necessary funds for armaments, development and settlement projects, infrastructure and a variety of other necessary components of state building—in addition to national and local political campaigns as to pressure American politicians to support Israeli statehood and/or oppose numerous British colonial policies in Palestine. With a flood of homeless European Jewish refugees following 1945, growing wealth amongst American Jews, and increased British restrictions on immigration, the JNF's mission was more prescient to American Jewish philanthropic and cultural interests than any period before. As such, the JNF brought in even more money between 1946–48,[77] reflecting the robust and ubiquitous nature of American Jewish Zionist engagement by 1948 and how enmeshed the JNF had already become in American Jewish life.

Many Zionist organizations in America witnessed growth during this period, and were broadly organized into umbrella fundraising groups. One

such group was the American Fund for Palestine Institutions.[78] The Fund, according to 1944 reporting by the *Jewish Telegraph Agency,* coordinated "through a united campaign, the fund-raising drives of 52 Palestinian religious, secular, educational, cultural, and social welfare agencies" and "Among the numerous institutions receiving support" from that year were "the Palestine Symphony Orchestra-$20,000; Hechalutz Farms-$18,000; Palestine Hebrew Culture Fund Keren Hatarbut-$15,000; Yemenite Children-$9,000; David Yellin Teachers Seminary-$8,000; Habimah Theatre-$8,000; Physical Education-$8,000," amongst others. The American Friends of the Palestine Conservatoire was also absorbed into their portfolio, and they continued to raise money for a variety of the Conservatoire's operational expenses. Like in 1946, when the group helped fund the purchase of upright pianos and "a recording instrument to be used in connection with the collection of old Hebrew chants and music" at the Conservatoire, still under Hauser's direction.[79] Indeed, participation in Zionist philanthropic causes across the board, like Hebrew song, became enmeshed with many aspects of American Jewish communal life.

On May 19, 1948, for example, just days after Israel declared her independence, the Lebanon, PA Chapter of Hadassah gathered for a meeting at the Beth Israel Synagogue—built in 1907 to serve a small number of families (the synagogue is still operational for a similarly small Jewish community there).[80] The meeting was commenced with the singing of "America" followed by an opening prayer "given by Mrs. Irwin Krim." Administrative business was handled as usual at this regularly occurring meeting, yet amidst the newborn state's precarious status in her evolving regional war, there was a heightened sense of urgency to rally support for Israel amongst the Jewish communities in this semi-rural area of Pennsylvania. "Mrs. Ostrow gave a comprehensive report on the Hadassah Conference held over the weekend in Reading [, PA] and told of the needs Hadassah must supply for Palestine in the crucial year ahead." After updates about the regional Zionist conference, "[JNF produced] Colored slides of Palestine [not referred to as Israel in the coverage of the meeting] were shown by Sam Ostrow, with Mrs. Gruman as narrator" allowing attendees to see the land they were helping to develop and defend through their donations and activism. The *Lebanon Daily News*'s detailed coverage of the meeting concluded with a long list of local Jewish community members who recently gave to the "Jewish National Fund boxes" followed by a final sentence noting that the meeting ended with "the singing of 'Ha'tikva'" followed by a "hospitality committee of 18 members [who] served refreshments."[81]

A share of the JNF's success in America can be attributed to their propaganda and educational materials, musical fundraising events, as well as their strategy to integrate their blue boxes, programs, materials, songbooks, and agenda into the daily activities of American Jews and agendas of American Zionist organizations like Hadassah. Their development plan relied heavily on American Jewish support and successful stewardship of that relationship, and their efforts were seen by Zionist leadership as a resounding success by the mid-1940s[82]—contrasting the urgency of the 1920s and 30s where the JNF barely made ends meet through American donations. Ultimately, the JNF, like many other Zionist organizations, provided American Jewry with a unique, largely-welcomed, intergenerational framework through which they could feel a part of Zionist activities and a proposed solution to helping solve global Jewish issues through financial gifts and participation in aspects of Hebrew national culture—all while remaining firmly planted in America. This framework, with many noteworthy evolutions, remains largely intact amongst Jewish communities across America until today.

Conclusion

In a scene from Ephraim Kishon's classic 1964 Israeli comedy, *Sallah Shabbati*, the lead character, Sallah, a Mizrahi/Sephardic immigrant to Israel is depicted working in a Jewish National Fund tree planting area. A JNF official is then shown placing a large sign designating the site as the "Simon Birnbaum Forest." Shortly after, Birnbaum and his wife (both American Jewish tourists), eager to visit the forest they ostensibly sponsored through a donation to the JNF, arrive in a taxi. As they exit the car, the official exclaims, "Mr. and Mrs. Birnbaum, this is your forest!" Following a brief photoshoot, where Simon Birnbaum photographs Salah as he is working, the two are hurried back to the taxi and leave. The official is then shown placing a new sign in the same location with the name of a different American Jewish couple as they arrive in another taxi. When they get out, the same official disingenuously decries, "Mr. and Mrs. Sonnenschein, this is your Forest!" Salah, watching this unfold, asks the official why he is doing this and isn't it dishonest? The official replies, "it's tourist season. Everyone wants a plaque!" Did the JNF's approaches to engaging with and fundraising in the American Jewish community in the pre-1948 period catalyze the sort of transactional relationship between American Jews, the JNF, and the land of Israel that Kishon seems to suggest?

The JNF certainly had overt political and financial intentions while

engaging with American Jewry in the pre-1948 period and beyond—and there are indeed transactional components to the relationship that evolved through their outreach and fundraising endeavors, famously satirized by Kishon. Yet, the JNF, like Hadassah, and many other Zionist philanthropic organizations emerged as meaningful channels through which American Jewry could engage with and even feel included in the Zionist national project and Hebrew culture—an outlet that many American Jews sought in the later years of the *Yishuv* period. By the 1940s, as supporting Zionist causes and institutions rapidly grew in popularity and importance to American Jews' visions of Zionist engagement in the US, the American Jewish-Zionist institutional relationship benefitted both the *Yishuv* and American Jewry, just in different ways. Zionist institutions like the JNF received funds and political support essential to the *Yishuv* and then the young state of Israel's sustenance. American Jewry in turn received a largely welcome outlet to contribute to the upbuilding of the *Yishuv* through giving portions of their growing wealth to Zionist causes—including JNF land development projects—and participating in Zionist cultural activities offered by the JNF (and many others).

Hebrew music, an easily accessible, expressive, and malleable form of cultural output, helped foster a foundational sense amongst American Jewry that they were included in, and even important to evolving the Zionist national project, as well as its institutional and national culture in Palestine. At a critical time in the American Jewish-Zionist relationship, the JNF—recognizing Hebrew musical phenomena already occurring in America—utilized publications like the *Classified Palestine Songs* series and Hebrew musical performances like Binder's, broadcast nationally on NBC in partnership with Hadassah, to help concretize the participatory Hebrew cultural component of American Jewish engagements with and support of Zionist institutions. The intertwined mix of cultural and financial engagement that unfolded in the first half of the twentieth century helped Zionist institutions and organizations like the JNF, Hadassah, and countless others to establish a still extant, successful, and profit driven modus operandi for American Zionist engagement.

American Jewry largely embraced this model then, and many still see financial contributions to the JNF as a common expression of Jewishness in America—one that should be passed down and taught to future generations, across Jewish demographics. One illustrative example of this phenomenon—well beyond the star-studded August 2021 fundraising Gala and concert described above—is the practice of trees being planted in Israel through American donations to the JNF, a scaled down type of land development

donation satirized by Kishon. Most American Jews cannot afford to sponsor an entire tract of forest like the Birnbaums or Sonnenscheins (who at least thought they were). Yet, a single tree planted in Israel for a modest, flat rate of $18 is a reasonable sum for most Jews in the US today. This practice has become an iconic, accessible, and ubiquitous symbol of American Jewry's connection to Israel. To this day, a JNF tree being planted in Israel through a private donation and the accompanying certificate is a ubiquitously-given gift at any number of Jewish lifecycle events in America. "Send a beautiful personalized gift to your family, friends or loved ones" the JNF notes on their website's "Plant Trees" section. They offer numerous options for certificates tailored to over a dozen different Jewish and secular celebrations. The first and most general certificate option is the "Trees for Israel certificate." One can "Send this beautiful, personalized tree certificate" to "family, friends, or loved ones" as to show an "expression of sympathy or in recognition of a special occasion. Planting trees in Israel is a beautiful way to show you care."[83] Well beyond tree sales, the JNF maintains a strong presence and administrative operation across America, raising millions of dollars annually for a variety of projects in Israel. And they still produce a variety of Israeli cultural programs, concerts, curricular materials, and many other Israel educational opportunities for American Jewry and diaspora Jews worldwide.

Epilogue

In 2020, American Jewish author Philip Roth's novel *The Plot Against America* (2004) was reimagined and released as an HBO miniseries of the same name. The story unfolds a fictional revisionist history in which famed pilot and conservative provocateur Charles Lindbergh defeats Roosevelt in the 1940 US Presidential election by rallying conservative bases around an "isolationist, anti-war" platform with overtly antisemitic, nativist rhetoric. Roth's own internalized anxieties surrounding his perceptions of tensions between Jewishness and Americanness in his hometown of Newark, NJ are at the center of the plot—a dramatized recounting of his early 1940s childhood self's worst fears as a young American Jew, which exhibit unfortunately eerie likenesses to real elements of life, popular rhetoric, and political rancor in 2020s America. Many Jewish characters in the story participated in Zionist causes as one of few available channels in 1940 to counter the fictionalized streams of xenophobic-populist-fascism rapidly evolving in America—part of which centered on Lindbergh's policy to negotiate agreements with Hitler and the Nazis rather than enter WWII. This policy was supported by certain segments of American Jews that saw aligning with Lindbergh and his platform as a strategy to attain upward mobility and acceptance for Jews in America.

In reality, of course, incumbent Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt defeated Republican candidate Wendell Willkie in November 1940. America entered WWII and many Jewish GIs fought—yet that did not begin until 1941, after the timeframe of the story. And, as we know, the Allied Forces did not finally stop Hitler or those who perpetrated the Holocaust until 6 million Jews had already been killed, wiping out roughly one third of the world's Jewish population. Further, as the above show, Jews in America had been rallying for Zionist causes for decades leading to 1948—hoping to open Palestine to

Europe's precarious and then remanent Jews, barred from America. In this sense, Roth's framing of Jews' anxieties, feelings of helplessness, and engagements with/interest in Zionism in 1940 America accurately represent many American Jewish outlooks, considerations, and tensions as they watched the unbridled spread of right-wing fascism, violence, and antisemitism in Europe, culminating of course with the Holocaust.

Particularly significant to this study are Roth's presentations of Jews' liminal place in American society at the time. Jews were often externally viewed as agitating, subversive "globalists," wanting to bring America into WWII for "Jewish interests" and not "American interests." Yet, many were eagerly working to integrate into American life and culture, buy property, and establish paths of upward mobility into the American middle class. The working-class Jews in Roth's fictionalized childhood neighborhood were struggling to climb the socioeconomic ladder as mostly first-generation Americans. Simultaneously, they navigated xenophobia and antisemitism in American society and politics as they wrestled with defining how they would maintain Jewish traditions as well as senses of hope for and ties to those Jews left in the European countries their families fled (as well as those who immigrated to Palestine)—without incurring the ire of antisemites.

Common amongst many characters in the story was support for Zionist causes amidst this broader negotiation between Jewishness and Americanness. In other words—unable to physically help Jews in Europe and with constrained abilities to pursue activism in America—many culturally, economically, and religiously diverse American Jews saw Zionism as a viable avenue to try and help Jews in Europe and Palestine in what capacity they could. Simultaneously, it offered a communal mechanism to engage with Judaism, Jews in other parts of the world, and a sense of inclusion in a greater movement that could serve as a source of communal pride, hope, and intrigue amidst their often challenging and complex fictional lives in America—further complicated by the existential crises associated with watching the grave circumstances in Europe and spread of Lindbergh's antisemitic nativism in America. While Hebrew music is not a feature of *The Plot Against America*,[1] those American Zionists that it depicts would certainly have sung and/or listened to Zionist songs in a variety of settings. More so, Roth's depictions of American Jewry in 1940 and the many conflicting forces dictating their outlooks form a vivid contextual backdrop to offer some concluding thoughts and broader framing to the above analyses.

As this study demonstrates, Zionist Hebrew songs were a central component of what might be termed the "Zionization" of American Jewry prior

to Israeli statehood. Hebrew music culture's integration into America Jewish life during the first half of the twentieth century contributed to the evolutionary processes through which today's American Jewish-Israel relationship emerged. Hebrew songs—beyond offering a performative declaration of support for Zionism and Zionists in Palestine—were easily accessible avenues for American Jews to embody Zionists in Palestine and actively engage with Zionist developments, necessary elements in building and sustaining transnational Zionist support and association in American Judaism. Analyzing the complex series of events and circumstances that comprised the integration of Hebrew music culture into American Judaism in the first half of the twentieth century shows that balancing Americanness and Zionism was not—and is not—easy or uncomplicated and required active stewardship by many. The lives and circumstances of American Jews are in many ways different than those Jews in Israel and other regions of the world, yet American Jews still relate to, interact with, and are impacted by all these communities. As a result, much like in the formative years of Zionism, American Jews—in part through singing Israeli songs—continue to define and redefine their diasporic associations with Zionist thought, notions of Jewish peoplehood, as well as religion, culture, and politics in the state of Israel.

Considering the ubiquitous presence and import of Hebrew music in American Jewish life and the powerful lens it offers to help analyze American Zionism's origins pre-1948, it seems surprising that it has not occupied a more central place in discourses surrounding American Zionism and its evolution. Seroussi offers insights to help understand one potential cause of this lacuna in his article "Music: The 'Jew' of Jewish Studies" when he suggests that "It is not farfetched to state that music is one of the most enlightening and yet enigmatic expressions of human culture . . . Yet, within the modern scholarly discourses on Jewish culture, from the nineteenth century . . . to the more recent . . . music emerges as a relatively minor field of inquiry in comparison to other disciplines."[2] Further, commenting on a broader lack of musical analyses in numerous scholarly fields and discourses, Zheng assesses that social scientists have long "neglected or avoided music in their discussion of migration, identity, or even cultural representation and expressions" more generally.[3] Thus, we see that this study serves, on the one hand, as a novel musical contribution to discourses on Hebrew national culture, Zionism, and American Judaism pre-1948. On the other hand, it sits within a much broader and still developing body of work that investigates and analyzes diasporic and transnational identities amongst America's many diverse immigrant groups, as well as movements of peoples worldwide in an age of increasing globalism.

Hebrew music allowed for joyful, meaningful and/or emotionally evocative avenues for American Jewry to participate in aspects of Zionism during a complex period of world history—a period in which the *Yishuv* and then Israel was placed as the center of American Jewish notions of what constituted their diasporic homeland and how they would interact with it. Musicologist Thomas Salomon offers insights as to why Hebrew music's use in this capacity in the pre-1948 period was successful and why American Jews and Jewish institutions' thrusts to evolve and maintain a musical framework for American Zionist engagement are not necessarily exceptional amongst other immigrant groups. In general, Salomon notes, music's portability "and its enabling of pleasurable embodied experience—make it especially powerful as a vehicle for creating a diasporic consciousness, or a sense of belonging to the same transnation." Further, he argues that music offers actionable frameworks for "organizing the diasporic experience, including the historical consciousness of having come from somewhere else, and identifying with other people in other places who also share this origin" through song.[4] Throughout this study, we see how music was used to help create a unique, novel American Jewish diasporic consciousness and sense of belonging to the Zionist national project and global Hebraic national culture—all while Jewish populations, ideas, national associations, and ideologies were rapidly shifting worldwide.

Promoting a sense of universal Jewish inclusion in the Zionist movement and Hebrew national culture amongst America's diverse Jewish communities helped unify them and required outlets for physical participation in Zionist activities from afar (supplemented in later years by frequent American Jewish travel to Israel). Hebrew music was a unique, potent, and consistently utilized tool to proliferate Zionism and Hebrew national culture amongst a variety of demographically and religiously diverse American Jews. It helped Jews devise and implement a Hebraic diasporic experience in American Judaism, which included "the historical consciousness of having come from" Palestine (at some point in history) "and identifying with other" Jews (and their circumstances) in the *Yishuv*, as well as the global diaspora—many of whom found common cause in Zionist outlooks toward Jewish rights to land in Palestine, and Hebrew cultural participation through activities like singing Zionist songs. And, as Jonathan Sarna suggests, this approach to Zionism served as "a prime leavening agent in twentieth century American Judaism" due to "its broad inclusiveness and ideological diversity, coupled with its captivating solution to the steadily worsening problems of Europe's Jews."[5] This study demonstrates that Hebrew music uniquely aided in proliferating this leavener of American Jewish life.

Alongside Zionism's evolution prior to 1948, the world witnessed the most dramatic movements of Jewish populations in modern history, often in response to antisemitism, political chaos, and/or economic instability in Europe, culminating in WWII and the Holocaust. Historian Martin Goodman reminds us that in 1800 only 3,000 or so Jews—mostly of Spanish origin—lived in North America. Then, between 1881 and 1914 about a third of the Jews of eastern Europe moved to central and western Europe and the United States seeking refuge from antisemitism in countries with better economic opportunities. By 1930, the world's Jewish population grew to over fifteen million, with roughly four million in the US, predominantly on the east coast. Palestine had roughly 170,000 Jews in 1930. In 1939, there were more than 16 million Jews in the world, then between 1941 and 1945 roughly six million European Jews were systematically murdered, wiping out almost all of Europe's once vast Jewish populations.[6] In America, amidst sustained global chaos, millions of Jews settled, and like other immigrant communities pouring into the US at the time, pursued educations and career opportunities, established communal and religious organizations, and generally worked to adapt to their new home as best they could. Part of this process entailed negotiating and defining their relationship to Judaism and past homelands—often in peril—as a diverse diasporic population, establishing novel roots in a vast immigrant nation.

The Zionist movement was represented by a small nucleus of Jews in Palestine that grew throughout the pre-1948 period (with roughly 700 thousand Jews in Israel on May 15, 1948), yet the movement espoused a wide tent "inclusiveness" and a "captivating solution to the steadily worsening problems of Europe's Jews" by offering a Jewish national territory to settle Jews in need and a globally inclusive national culture—which included participation in activities and rituals such as singing Hebrew songs, observing Zionist holidays, and donating money to Zionist institutions like the JNF. Further, Zionist association and participating in Hebrew national culture offered a new and unified diasporic framework in America amid European-American Jews' increasingly fraught relationships with their homelands, made even worse by the circumstances of the 1930s and 40s. The Jewish immigrants who arrived by the millions to America in the nineteenth and twentieth century were linguistically and culturally diverse. And they successfully utilized Hebrew music as one important, active ingredient to form and spread American Jewry's largely unified embrace of Zionism and Hebrew culture as the frame through which they conceived their diasporic immigrant identities amidst the destruction of the communities from which many hailed.

Music cultures amongst religious groups in America that utilized a diasporic language to catalyze a sense of cohesion amongst different sectors of an immigrant group or different immigrant groups who share a common language but not a homeland is likewise not unique to American Jewry. American Hebrew music culture's focus on inclusivity and openness to Jews of diverse backgrounds and origins helped it foster a popular sense (with notable exceptions) of cohesion amongst Jews in America—that they comprise a single diasporic group as Jewish Americans that shared a religion in Judaism and diasporic Hebraic national language and culture. Musicologist Marc Meistrich Gidal offers a contemporary comparative example in Roth's hometown of Newark

> The predominantly Brazilian St. James Church uses hymns and contemporary songs to help create events inclusive of all lusophone parishioners, and musical selections attempt to transcend Brazil's regional repertoires. Meanwhile, the local Brazilians currently struggle with immigration-related challenges, as Portuguese immigrants did in previous decades, from economic hardships to limitations on their legal statuses. Religious songs with activist messages are sung during politically oriented events . . . In these ways, music contributes not only to [prayer] services but to distinguishing, combining, and uniting groups among the lusophone Catholic parishes of Newark.[7]

Like the lusophone Catholic parishes of Newark, Jews in Newark in the first half of the twentieth century maintained houses of worship. The Jews who inhabited those synagogues, too, came from multiple countries of origin yet sang unifying Hebrew songs alongside prayers and a variety of Jewish songs of diverse origins—sometimes as part of political activism. Blending Hebrew music with local and other global Jewish musical traditions in communal and religious spaces fostered Hebraic commonality while immigrants toiled to redefine Judaism in America. And like those parishioners in Newark who found a lusophone diasporic bonding agent in the Portuguese language, Catholic prayer services, and music, Jewish immigrants sought support, connections, and help navigating the complexities of American society and bureaucracy within their religious community, unified in part through Hebrew music, national culture, and language.

America offered relative tolerance toward religious minorities and an economy that could enable the development of robust private religious institutions—an attractive opportunity to many Jews parallel to major Jew-

ish events and shifts around the world throughout the pre-1948 period. The migratory timelines and demographic composition of American Jews are diverse. As such, it is not a surprise that Zionism, as well as many other elements of Jewish life in America, took time to develop, negotiate, define, and become widespread and or mainstream. In the end, those contributing to Hebrew music culture's evolution in America ultimately worked in concert, unwittingly at times, toward promoting Zionism's active place in American Jewish life. Furthermore, many Jewish educators, communal professionals, and clergy took jobs for varying periods at schools, synagogues, camps, organizations, and intuitions in other denominations, facilitating the cross-pollination of Zionist thought and Hebrew songs between segments of American Jewry—ultimately concretizing Hebrew music's notable, sustained presence in the American Jewish musical lexicon. And by the late 1930s, by and large, Zionism emerged as mainstream, no longer a boundary between denominations. Not without tensions, as American Jewry became more secure in their place in Americanness leading into 1948, Jewish institutions, organizations, and leaders in America widely used Hebrew music to help integrate support for and participation in aspects of the Zionist national movement into the worldviews and even daily religious practices of Patriotic American Jews.

The repeated joining of "Ha'Tikva" and the "Star-Spangled Banner" in publications, performances, and other events analyzed in this study—analogous to the evolution of a (still ubiquitous) practice whereby Jews place American and Israeli flags side-by-side on the prayer-alters of American synagogues—shows one unique musical component of devising and implementing expressions of Zionist support in America that did not make ambiguous American Jews' patriotism. While many American Jews, for example, proudly served in the American military once the US entered WWII in 1941, an almost negligible number traveled overseas to fight in Israel's 1948 War. However, American Jewry, by 1948—with their growing economic status and electoral influence—provided political and financial assistance central to Israel's ability to declare its statehood and fight a subsequent war in 1948. And, as shown, American GIs serving in (and returning from) WWII, sang Hebrew songs. The *Chalutzim* and fighters in Palestine evolved as symbols of Jewish resilience and might amongst American Jewry during times of great Jewish suffering and precariousness, and singing Zionist songs in the Hebrew language grew as a ubiquitous and unifying voice of support for those figures of strength, fighting for a robust and muscular Jewish future.[8]

While this musical story about creating American Jewish Hebraic dia-

sporic consciousness is distinctive, many religious groups during this period of study developed and maintained transnational ties to a homeland through diasporic music culture in private religious institutions and their associated communal activities in America. Private religious institutions have been historically integral to many American immigrant groups' religious practices, identities, worldviews, communal bonds, and political outlooks, respectively. Ethnomusicologist Ben Dumbauld notes, for example, that "the canonization of Chinese hymns was a massive undertaking, coming to fruition with the 1937 publication of *Hymns of Universal Praise* . . . [including] 62 original Chinese compositions, many of which were written by well-known Chinese composers and musicologists." And, starting in the 1950s, hymnbooks were developed specifically for the Chinese diaspora, which incorporated various melodies and lyrics from around the globe. These hymnals published in the United States blended Chinese liturgical music with songs by "modern hymn composers, and even select songs from Contemporary [non-Chinese, American] Christian Music artists."[9] The fusion of Chinese Christian liturgical music with a variety of American Christian worship music and other music forms, like the fusing of Hebrew music culture with other Jewish and non-musical forms and religious practices, served to help create communal and easily accessible avenues to perform transnational, religious fusions that were both meaningful and socially-acceptable in America. Chinese-Christian Americans—like the lusophone Catholics in Newark—communally constructed and expressed complex linguistic, national, religious, and ethnic associations in America through song, as they evolved. And like Jewish Americans, throughout such evolutions, they defined and performed the changing place of homeland and America in their unique liturgical music culture and religious practices.

Today, Israeli music endures as a ubiquitous bonding agent amongst America's diverse Jewish communities. In April 2021, for example, the *Jewish Journal* reported that "For nearly a decade, the Los Angeles chapter of the Israeli-American Council [IAC] held its annual Yom HaAtzmaut [Israel's Independence Day] festival" which they call "Celebrate Israel." The annual, daylong "affair typically drew more than 10,000 attendees, Jewish, pro-Israel community members of all ages and backgrounds who would show their love for the Jewish State by marching from the park to the Museum of Tolerance; enjoying the festival's carnival with their little ones; sipping beer and cocktails at an outdoor young professionals bar; browsing booths staffed by representatives of Jewish organizations . . . and by dancing the night away at a live concert featuring popular bands from Israel." Los Angeles was not

alone in hosting these types of festivities—the IAC sponsored similar events nationwide. "It was critical for us to find an innovative way to bring Israel to the heart of our community in a safe way [a poignant reminder of the Pandemic's impact on public gatherings]," remarked IAC Chairman Naty Saidoff. "Watching the sense of togetherness, especially with many young kids, celebrating the Jewish state as a united community, is heartwarming and inspiring." The journalist covering the event for the *Jewish Journal* concluded his article by noting "Leave it to the Israelis, known for boldness in action, talent for innovation and improbable achievement against all odds, to show the [American Jewish] community the path forward."[10] Uniquely, much like Hebrew music served to bring together diverse Jewish immigrants in Palestine and then Israel, so too was the case in America. And today, Israeli music remains a mainstay of religious, pedagogical, and communal approaches to strengthening the American Jewish community and its ever-changing relationship with Israel and Zionism, occupying a strikingly similar role as it did a century ago.

Notes

Foreword

1 Menachem Butler, "The Flying Rabbi: Chaplain Louis Werfel (1916–1943)", *The Commentator: The Official Student Newspaper of Yeshiva College and the Sy Syms School of Business*, February 11, 2008.

2 Anneliese Landau. "Jewish Music and Jewish Composers in the Diaspora: 1. Germany," *Musica Hebraica* 1–2 (1938): 43.

3 On this concept see the foundational essay by Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, "Galut betokh Ribonut: Le-Bikoret 'Shlilat Ha-Galut' ba-Tarbut ha-Yisra'elit" (Diaspora within Sovereignty: Towards a Criticism of 'Negation of the Diaspora' in Israeli Culture), *Teoria u-Bikoret* 4 (1993), 23–55; 5 (1993): 113–130. See also Dan Laor, "Me-'Ha-Drashah' le-'Ktav el ha-Noar ha-'Ivri': He'arot le-Musag 'Shlilat ha-Galut'" (From 'The Sermon' to 'A Note to Hebrew Youth': Annotations on the Concept of the 'Negation of the Diaspora,') *Alpayim* 21 (2001): 171–86.

4 Yosef Goldenberg, "Hishtaqfuta shel Shlilat ha-Gola ba-Zemer ha-Ivri" (The Negation of the Diaspora as Reflected in the Hebrew Song), *Cathedra* 111 (2004), 129–148.

Preface

1. Avi Shilon. "*Beyond the Nation-State: The Zionist Political Imagination from Pinsker to Ben-Gurion* by Dmitry Shumsky, and: *Partitions: A Transnational History of Twentieth-Century Territorial Separatism* ed. by Arie M. Dubnov and Laura Robson (Review)," *Middle East Journal* 74, no. 2 (2020): 318–21.

Introduction

1. Edward Marrow. "Exodus Head Calls Battle a Mistake," *New York Times*, 1947, 3.

2. While conducting the research for this study, I uncovered far more Zionist song publications and other sources than I chose to include in it. The sources

I highlight represent the elements of this research most important to my analyses and findings and are not intended to serve as a comprehensive survey of Zionist songs published or performed in America during this period of study. Dozens of sources I omitted will certainly serve to inform my future research projects and publications. Further, I chose to focus my analyses of American figures and institutions central to this story that are dominantly associated with the Reform and Conservative movements. These two sects of progressive Judaism were central to the process which helped establish popular frameworks for Jewish religious practice, Zionism and Zionist education in the American Jewish mainstream and remain the largest denominations of Judaism in America. According to a 2021 Pew Study, only 15 percent of American Jews are "orthodox" and 10 percent are affiliated with "[an]other branch" of non-orthodox, Reform or Conservative Judaism. A study of orthodox usages of Hebrew music during this period could serve as the basis for a rich monograph or doctoral study. Pew Research Center. "Jewish Americans in 2020," May 11, 2021. https://www.pewforum.org/2021/05/11/jewish-americans-in-2020/

3. Henrietta Szold. "Zionist Organization of America to A.Z. Idelsohn," New York, 1919. Personal correspondence: Henrietta Szold—A. Z. Idelsohn (manuscript) 1921, February. Original printed catalog: Szold, Henrietta, Jerusalem. [H.]. 22. 2. 1921, to I. National Library Israel. Important to note is that Idelsohn, pursuing academic opportunities in Europe and then the United States, left Palestine soon after this letter was sent—Idelsohn and his work in America will be examined in Part IV. Likewise, the ZOA went on to publish countless Zionist songsters and other publications with Hebrew songs well beyond the pre-1948 period. While the ZOA is an important American Zionist organization from the period, this study does not focus on it.

4. For analyses of women's evolving place in the rabbinate from the pre-1948 period until women's ordination became ubiquitous in the US, see Pamela S. Nadell. *Women Who Would Be Rabbis*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1998.

5. Erica Simmons. *Hadassah and the Zionist Project*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006, 194.

6. See Simmons, *Hadassah and the Zionist Project*, 1–5. For more about Szold and her prolific career, move to Palestine in the late 1920s, and impacts on global approaches to public health, see Dvora Hacohen, *To Repair a Broken World*, trans. Shmuel Sermoneta-Gertel, with a foreword by Ruth Bader Ginsburg. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2021. It should be noted that many of these teachers were women and/or not professional educators.

7. For analyses of women in American Jewish education during this period and the role of Hadassah, see Carol K. Ingall, ed. *The Women Who Reconstructed American Jewish Education: 1910–1965*. Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2010.

8. Jonathan D. Sarna. "Louis D. Brandeis: Zionist Leader," *Brandeis Review* 11, no. 3 (1992): 22–27.

9. The letter, sent on November 2, 1917, reads "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jew-

ish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." Balfour, A., 1917. The Balfour Declaration. [Letter to Lord Rothschild] WWI D.A., Official Papers.

10. See Zohar Segev. "European Zionism in the United States: The Americanization of Herzl's Doctrine by American Zionist Leaders—Case Studies," *Modern Judaism* 26, no. 3 (2006): 275–76.

11. Melvin I. Urofsky. *American Zionism from Herzl to the Holocaust*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995, 81.

12. It should be mentioned here that other forms of Hebrew cultural output were brought to America during this period as part of Zionists' efforts to offer American Jewry a sense of belonging in Hebrew national culture and outlets to participate in the Zionist national enterprise, often through financial giving. For example, in 1914, Boris Schatz, the Lithuanian-Jewish founder of the Bezalel Arts Academy in Jerusalem (1906), organized a successful exhibition and sale of Palestinian Jewish art at New York's Madison Square Garden. Many Jews and non-Jews attended, purchased Hebrew art from the "Holy Land," and helped Schatz build a donor base in the US. See Jenna Weissman Joselit. "Bezalel Comes to Town: American Jews and Art," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 11, no. 4 (2004): 358–59.

13. Historian Jonathan D. Sarna helps frame this story with his correct assertion that Zionism served "as a prime leavening agent in twentieth century American Judaism, affecting everything from education and culture. For all the divisiveness and controversy that the movement engendered, its broad inclusiveness and ideological diversity, coupled with its captivating solution to the steadily worsening problems of Europe's Jews, made Zionism the twentieth century's greatest Jewish success story." The intention of the following is to show how Hebrew music culture aided in the leavening of American Judaism through Zionism that Sarna describes in the pre-1948 period. Jonathan D. Sarna. *American Judaism: A History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019, 205–6.

14. Currently, George Washington University in Washington, DC as well as other institutions of higher learning, like the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, offer English language Masters of Arts degree programs in the field of Israel Education.

15. In 2018 the iCenter—headed by American Israel educator Anne Lanski—reported a revenue stream of $6.8m in their 990 tax disclosures. They likewise offer a "Master's Concentration in Israel Education" certificate program, https://pdf.guidestar.org/; https://theicenter.org/

16. Vavi Toran. "Contemporary Israeli Arts & Culture: The Power to Engage." *The Aleph Bet of Israel Education*. Chicago: iCenter, 2015, 47.

17. Jehoash Hirshberg. *Music in the Jewish Community of Palestine, 1880–1948: A Social History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995, 146.

18. Itamar Even-Zohar. "The Emergence of a Native Hebrew Culture in Palestine, 1882–1948," *Poetics Today* 11, no. 1 (1990): 175–91.

19. Historian Israel Bartal posits that in fact Hebrew culture's "success derives from its diversity, from its lack of uniformity, and from the constant subversion of the cultural discourse that aspired to hegemony. It draws upon the cultures of minorities, none of which was able to become predominant in the new country." Indeed, Bartal is correct that the diversity among Jewish immigrants to Palestine helped them start anew and create a Hebraic national culture that could flourish quickly in Palestine and the diaspora. Israel Bartal. *Tangled Roots*. Brown Judaic Studies. Providence, R I: Brown University, 2020, 6.

20. While conducting archival research for this study, I found countless Zionist song publications produced by Zionist organizations in Palestine and Europe for a variety of communities in Europe and Latin America (in languages specific to the intended market). The largest trove of these publications existed at the National Library of Israel Bella & Harry Wexner Libraries of Sound & Song, and the second largest was in the Tel Aviv University Archive of Music in the basement of the Sourasky Library.

21. See Even-Zohar. "The Emergence of a Native Hebrew Culture in Palestine, 1882–1948."

22. See Peter Burke. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. Aldershot: Scolar, 1994, 1–22. For unique insights into these phenomena and German Jewish folkloric culture see Aya Elyada. "Early Modern Yiddish and the Jewish Volkskunde, 1880–1938," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 107, no. 2 (April 1, 2017): 182–208.

23. See James Loeffler. "Richard Wagner's 'Jewish Music': Antisemitism and Aesthetics in Modern Jewish Culture." *Jewish Social Studies* 15, no. 2 (2009): 2–36.

24. Philip Bohlman. *Focus: Music, Nationalism, and the Making of the New Europe*. New York: Routledge, 2010, 59.

25. Bohlman, *Focus: Music, Nationalism, and the Making of the New Europe,* 60.

26. Bohlman offers a different definition of "nationalist" music, which "may contribute to the struggle over contested territory such as border regions. Whereas a national music might reflect place through its representation of a geography defining the nation in symbolic ways, a nationalist music relies on the symbolism of structures defining the nation . . . Nationalist music comes into being through top-down cultural and political work." The music analyzed in this study could often serve dual functions of being both national and nationalist in Bohlman's senses, with lines often being blurred as a result of the transnational context and its own unique circumstances in America. Arguments, however, could be well articulated for either or. Bohlman, *Focus: Music, Nationalism, and the Making of the New Europe,* 54.

27. See Ofer Shiff, Adi Sherzer, and Talia Gorodess. "The Ben-Gurion–Blaustein Exchange: Ben-Gurion's Perspective Between an Ideological Capitulation and A Strategic Alliance," *Israel Studies* (Bloomington, Ind.) 25, no. 3 (October 1, 2020): 15–32.

28. Motti Regev and Edwin Seroussi. *Popular Music and National Culture in Israel*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004, 5–8.

29. Motti Regev. "To Have a Culture of Our Own: On Israeliness and Its Variants," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23, no. 2 (2000): 229–30.

30. Edwin Seroussi. "Diasporas and Global Musical Networks: Jewish Perspectives." *Asian-Eureopean Music Research Journal,* 9 (2022): 1–8, 3–6.

31. Oded Erez and Nadeem Karkabi. "Sounding Arabic: Postvernacular Modes of Performing the Arabic Language in Popular Music by Israeli Jews." *Popular Music* 38, no. 2 (2019): 298–316, 310.

32. Even-Zohar. "The Emergence of a Native Hebrew Culture in Palestine, 1882–1948," 176.

33. Talila Eliram. "The Israeli Folksong (Song of the Land-of-Israel)," Hebrew University Jewish Music Research Centre, 1994. Philip Bohlman. *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World*. Indiana University Press, 1988, 4–5.

34. Philip V. Bohlman. "Parables of the Metropole," in *Jewish Music and Modernity.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, 147–80, 158.

35. See Su Zheng. *Claiming Diaspora: Music, Transnationalism, and Cultural Politics in Asian/Chinese America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, 15.

36. Victor Greene. *A Passion for Polka: Old-Time Ethnic Music in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011. It is significant to note that Greene's analysis in the book is not limited to German immigrants and includes analyses of other central and eastern European immigrant groups.

37. Heike Bungert. "The Singing Festivals of German Americans, 1849–1914," *American Music* 34, no. 2 (2016): 141.

38. Marco Martiniello and Philip Kasinitz. *Music, Immigration and the City: A Transatlantic Dialogue*. New York: Routledge, 2021.

39. James Loeffler. "Between Zionism and Liberalism: Oscar Janowsky and Diaspora Nationalism in America," *AJS Review* 34, no. 2 (2010): 289–308, 291.

40. Erez and Karkabi. "Sounding Arabic," 300.

41. Erez and Karkabi, "Sounding Arabic," 303.

42. Urofsky. *American Zionism from Herzl to the Holocaust*, 2.

43. David C. Jacobson. "Writing and Rewriting the Zionist National Narrative," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 6, no. 1 (2007): 1–20, 14.

44. Yaacov Shavit and Shoshana Sitton. *Staging and Stagers in Modern Jewish Palestine: The Creation of Festive Lore in a New Culture, 1882–1948*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004, 14–15.

45. See Oz Almog. *The Sabra: The Creation of the New Jew*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

46. See Jonathan Krasner. "'New Jews' in an Old-New Land: Images in American Jewish Textbooks Prior to 1948," *Journal of Jewish Education* 69, no. 2 (2003): 7–22.

47. "The Immigration Act of 1924 (The Johnson-Reed Act)." U.S. Department of State, *U.S. Department of State Office of the Historian*, https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921–1936/immigration-act

Chapter One

1. "'Night of Stars' Jams the Garden," *New York Times*, 1945, 30.

2. See Naomi Wiener Cohen. "The Reaction of Reform Judaism in America to Political Zionism (1897–1922)," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 40, no. 4 (1951): 361–94, 361.

3. Jonathan D. Sarna. "Converts to Zionism in the American Reform Movement," in *Zionism and Religion*, ed. Shmuel Almog, Jehuda Reinharz and Anita Shapira. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1998, 189.

4. Sarna. "American Reform Movement," 190.

5. Cohen. "The Reaction of Reform Judaism in America to Political Zionism (1897–1922)," 382.

6. Numerous other Reform leaders like Abba Hillel Silver, Judah Magnes (who immigrated to Palestine to head the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in the 1920s), Henry Malter, Max L. Margolis, Max Schloessinger, and many others supported including aspects of Zionism in American Reform Judaism.

7. Segev. "European Zionism in the United States: The Americanization of Herzl's Doctrine by American Zionist Leaders—Case Studies," 275; Wise envisioned Judaism in America to include participation in American society and her economy, a strong sense of American patriotism, and even a lot of the Reform theology central to HUC's vision of American Judaism, despite rejecting many of the anti-Zionist components. Wise considered his meeting with Zionist leader Theodor Herzl while attending the second Zionist conference in 1898 as a "defining moment of his life," and while committed to Reform Judaism in America, was in no way interested in abandoning his long-held Zionist convictions.

8. Melvin I. Urofsky. *A Voice That Spoke for Justice: The Life and Times of Stephen S. Wise*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1982, 182–86.

9. In a 1947 issue of *The American Jewish Yearbook,* it was nostalgically argued that Wise wanted rabbinic education to be "liberal in spirit, wherein its teachers and students are not committed to any special interpretation of Judaism, and wherein the different interpretations of the literature, history and religion, the different constructions of Judaism and of Jewish life, orthodox, liberal, radical, Zionist and non-Zionist will be expounded to the students in courses given by men representing these different points of view . . ." Isaac E. Kiev. "Jewish Institute of Religion," *The American Jewish Yearbook* 49, (1947): 91–100, 92.

10. Already by 1917, Binder was gaining a profile for his performances of Zionist songs. For example, at a June 1917 Hadassah event in Baltimore (Szold's hometown), ". . . the singing of Zionist songs under the direction of Abraham W. Binder, leader of the Choral Union of New York . . ." was featured entertainment ". . . at the second session of the convention of the Hadassah, the women's Zionist organization . . . at McCoy Hall . . . The program included . . . A message of welcome by Mrs. Sydney M. Cone, president of the Baltimore Section of the Women's Council, which was answered by Miss Henrietta Szold, president of the National Hadassah . . ." *Baltimore Sun* Staff. "Hadassah Given Luncheon," *Baltimore Sun*, 1917, 5. In an essay for the Hebrew University Jewish Music Research Centre,

one of the few works where this publication is analyzed, Cantor David Berger notes that in 1916, "Binder founded the Hadassah Choral Union, a women's choir devoted to the performance of Hebrew Zionist music." Berger argues that this forum served as his "first efforts in what would be a life-long devotion to modern Hebrew song." It is important to note that Berger remarks his "essay emerged from a seminar on modern Hebrew song in American Jewish culture conducted by Dr. Edwin Seroussi, the Joyce Z. Greenberg Professor of Jewish Studies, in the winter of 2016 at the Department of Music of the University of Chicago." David Berger. "Na'aleh L'artzeinu—A Simple Melody with an Intricate Story." Jerusalem, 2016. https://www.jewish-music.huji.ac.il/content/na'aleh-l'artzeinu-–-simple-melody-intricate-story

11. Irene Heskes, ed. *Studies in Jewish Music: Collected Writings of A.W. Binder*. New York: Bloch Publishing, 1971, 21–22.

12. Heskes, *Studies in Jewish Music*. 21–22.

13. *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* Staff. "Jewish Author Declares Alienation of 'The New Woman' Is Only Temporary," *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle,* 24 Oct. 1924, 6.

14. Cohon, A. Irma. *An Introduction to Jewish Music in Eight Illustrated Lectures*. New York: Bloch Publishing, 1923, 1–3.

15. Cohon, *An Introduction to Jewish Music,* 140–41.

16. For more on Irma Cohon's music education work in the 1920s, see Judah M. Cohen. "Rewriting the Grand Narrative of Jewish Music: Abraham Z. Idelsohn in the United States," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 100, no. 3 (2010), 417–53.

17. Abraham Wolf Binder. *New Palestinean Folk Songs.* New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1926, 24.

18. Binder. *New Palestinean Folk Songs.*

19. Binder. *New Palestinean Folk Songs*, 1.

20. See Arthur Aryeh Goren. "'Anu Banu Artza' in America: The Americanization of the 'Halutz' Ideal," in *Envisioning Israel: The Changing Ideals and Images of North American Jews*, ed. Allon Gal. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1996, 81–116.

21. Su Zheng. *Claiming Diaspora: Music, Transnationalism, and Cultural Politics in Asian/Chinese America*, 14.

22. Goren. "'Anu Banu Artza' in America: The Americanization of the 'Halutz' Ideal," 81–116.

23. Important to note is that songs in this book are written in Hebrew that emphasize the Ashkenazi, European accent, in contradistinction to the endeavors to establish Sephardi accent of Palestinian Hebrew. Uniquely, Binder credits certain selections in *New Palestinean Folk Songs* as being "Yemenite" in origin, yet that "Yemenite" accent was not necessarily represented in the spelling of song titles and lyrics. See Miryam Segal. *A New Sound in Hebrew Poetry: Poetics, Politics, Accent*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010, 45–73.

24. Binder. *New Palestinean Folk Songs*, 1.; see Jonathan D. Sarna. *American Judaism: A History*, 203–4.

25. Naomi W. Cohen. *The Americanization of Zionism, 1897–1948*. Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2003, 42.

26. Sarna. "Converts to Zionism in the American Reform Movement," 199.

27. Binder. *New Palestinean Folk Songs*, 3.

28. Heskes, ed. *Studies in Jewish Music*, 103.

29. See Yohai Goell. "Aliya in the Zionism of an American Oleh: Judah L. Magnes." *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (1975): 99–120, 99. It is also important to note that unlike Judah Magnes, who immigrated to Palestine, Wise and Binder chose to stay in America. Urofsky, conveying a similar message as Goell, in reference to Wise remaining in the US, argues, "For Wise, Zionism was a great cause, the greatest in his life, and one to which he would devote more time and energy in his career than to anything else. But while he too saw Zionism as a solution to the Jewish problem, it was not his Jewish problem. He was a proud American citizen, with no intention of resettling in Palestine . . ." Urofsky. *A Voice That Spoke for Justice*, 150.

30. Joseph B. Glass. *From New Zion to Old Zion: American Jewish Immigration and Settlement in Palestine, 1917–1939*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2018, 21–22.

31. In his essay, "Na'aleh L'artzeinu—A Simple Melody with an Intricate Story," Berger argues that "Despite all of its apparent popularity in American Zionist circles, [noting its placement in other songsters from the period, most of which are analyzed in this study] the song Na'aleh L'artzeinu was unknown in Israel [Palestine]. It does not appear in any songbooks published in Israel [Palestine] and has no listing on the impressively extensive website of early Hebrew song, Zemereshet." If Berger's assessment is correct, which seems to be so based on my own investigation, the ambiguous origins of this song (credited simply as "Yemenite") in fact punctuate the irrelevance of the song's actual origins. American Jews relied on Binder as an expert source who traveled to Palestine and would likely never know if Binder wrote the song himself or mixed another melody and lyrics of dubious origins and credited them as being of Yemenite, Palestinian origin. Particularly since the song was used in so many different publications after 1926, its meaning in America was not impacted by its origins, rather its use and context in American Judaism.

32. Binder. *New Palestinean Folk Songs*, 4.

33. *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* Staff. "A New and Unique Book of Jewish Music," *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, Green Bay, 1927, 6.

34. Binder. *New Palestinean Folk Songs*, 2.

35. In the 1920s, a German American immigrant noted by Greene that may have sung to their baby a German lullaby they didn't fully understand (but knew the sounds of) as part of their sense of connection to their family's homeland could have certainly been a Reform Jew in Wisconsin. They too could have sung a German lullaby from their childhood to a baby that they may or may not have understood. However, after one or perhaps two generations, their descendants in the US would not necessarily sing German songs or identify as German American. And when their baby grew up, he/she would likely sing Zionist songs (without necessarily understanding the meaning of all the words) at any number of religious schools,

summer camps, or other communal spaces in the US by the mid-1930s into the 1940s as part of American Jewish culture. Victor Greene. *A Passion for Polka: Old-Time Ethnic Music in America*. 2011.

36. Binder. *New Palestinean Folk Songs*, 2.

37. Binder, *New Palestinean Folk Songs*, 9.

38. Cohen. "The Reaction of Reform Judaism in America to Political Zionism (1897–1922)," 367–68.

39. Yosef Goldenberg. "Review Essay: Jewish Folk Songs from the Baltics," *Yuval*, no. 11 (2020): 7.

40. Binder. *New Palestinean Folk Songs*, 24.

41. See Yael Zerubavel. "The Politics of Interpretation: Tel Hai in Israel's Collective Memory," *AJS Review* 16, no. 1–2 (1991): 133.

42. See Yael Zerubavel. *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007, 41–42.

43. During this period of American Jewish life, Yiddish-language *Yizkor* (memorial) books were printed in thousands of copies in New York memorializing deceased Jews in the diaspora, including Palestine, adding another dimension of including Zionism and evolving intercommunal violence there in the religious lives of Jews in America—in this case saying prayers of mourning for those lost in the *Yishuv*. Interestingly, a 1917 *Yizkor* book, (translation from Yiddish title) *Remembrance: To remember the fallen guards and workers in the land of Israel*, opens with a musical metaphor (translation by Professor Shai Ginsburg of Duke University): "an old-muted accord of our volk-melody has found after centuries its remedy and has started to cling with new strength. From the far, deep past the loud echo of Jewish active struggle is carried and spreads trustworthily over the fields and mountains of Judea and the Galilee." The land of Israel and those Jews working to settle and defend it were acknowledged, celebrated, and mourned across American Jewish life, and Hebrew song was just one piece of this broader evolution in the pre-1948 period. https://archive.org/details/nybc200396/page/n4/mode/2up

44. *New York Times* Staff. "Synagogue Music Sung," *New York Times*, 1928, 28.

45. *New York Times* Staff. "Music Notes," *New York Times*, 1929, 22.

46. Thomas A. Kolsky. *Jews Against Zionism: The American Council for Judaism, 1942–1948*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990, 34.

47. Abraham Wolf Binder. *New Palestinean Folk Songs: Book II.* New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1933, 2.

48. It is crucial to briefly comment on his inclusion of "the song of the Arab" in defining Hebrewism's "authenticity." By 1933, as intercommunal violence escalated (catalyzed by 1929 clashes) there was a withdrawal from placing emphases on Palestinian-Arab themes in Hebrew national culture and output—with painting in the *Yishuv* being one example beyond music. With that said, Binder was not necessarily attuned to these evolving nuances and reactionary shifts and may have misinterpreted cultural and national foci in Hebrew music culture.

49. *Burlington Free Press* Staff. "Young Jews Develop Their Own Folk Song," *Burlington Free Press*, 1931, 11.

50. Binder. *New Palestinean Folk Songs: Book II*, 2.

51. Historian Arieh Bruce Saposnik indicates that this phenomenon of appropriating certain aspects of Middle Eastern culture into Hebrew culture was relatively commonplace in Palestine since before WWI. However, it was not until his 1931 trip, that saw the impact of Eastern melody in rooting European Jews to their new home in Palestine, did he want to bring this phenomenon to the US. For deeper analysis of Yemenite and Eastern Jewish culture in Jewish Palestine see Arieh Bruce Saposnik. "Europe and Its Orients in Zionist Culture Before the First World War," *The Historical Journal* 49, no. 4 (2006).

52. Synopses in English of songs 11–20 in Binder's second book. Binder. *New Palestinean Folk Songs: Book II,* 4.

53. Marc Dollinger. *Quest for Inclusion: Jews and Liberalism in Modern America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000, 98.

54. Central Conference of American Rabbis. "Palestine." Central Conference of American Rabbis Resolution on Palestine, 1937 "Columbus Platform." https://ccarnet.org/rabbis-speak/platforms/guiding-principles-reform-judaism/

55. Sarna. *American Judaism: A History,* 276–77.

56. Another such musical engagement occurred in the center of the Reform establishment in 1934, at Cincinnati's Isaac M. Wise Temple. The monthly Sisterhood meeting included a lecture by Cohon about "the significance of the musical heritage of the Jewish people" based on "Cohon's continued efforts to arouse Interest in genuine Jewish music and to spread the knowledge of it" widely known about by "Sisterhood and Council members by her 'Introduction to Jewish Music'." Cohon was joined by "Ruth Gittlesohn (Mrs. Roland) of Cleveland, Ohio, a student of the Hebrew Union College, will present the vocal Illustrations" and Leah Fred of Cincinnati, a singer and choral director, who offered "illustrations of ritual and [Palestinian as well as European Jewish] folk song." The program was opened by a prayer from Sisterhood member "Mrs. James G. Heller" and followed by a business meeting of the group's officers. *Cincinnati Enquirer* Staff, "Jewish Music Studied by Wise Temple Sisterhood," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 08 Apr 1934, 82.

57. Editor of Music Page and Anna Wolfe Margosches. "Music of the Synagogue," *Ottawa Citizen*, 22 Jan. 1938, 29. Numerous accounts of Cohon's work and musical performances can be found across Jewish and secular newspapers in the 1930s.

58. Sarna. "Converts to Zionism in the American Reform Movement," 189.

59. James G. Heller. "Reform Judaism and Zionism." An Address by Rabbi G. Heller. The Isaac M. Wise Temple. Cincinnati, 1944.

60. Gene Currivan. "The Jews Rejoice," *New York Times,* 1948, 3; for insights into Hayim Greenberg as a Zionist figure in America, see Mark A Raider. *The Essential Hayim Greenberg Essays and Addresses on Jewish Culture, Socialism, and Zionism*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2017.

61. *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle Milwaukee* Staff. "Pioneer Women Will Hear Beba Idelsohn," *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle Milwaukee*, 4 Dec. 1936, 3–3.

62. *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* Staff. "Obituary: Anna Zitron," *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, 31 Dec. 1982, 9.

63. Barry Chazan. "Palestine in American Jewish Education in the Pre-State Period," *Jewish Social Studies* 42, no. 3 (1980): 229–48, 235.

64. Gene Currivan. "Big Strike Called by Palestinian News," *New York Times*, 1945, 13.

65. Alfred E. Clark. "Dr. Abraham Franzblau, 81; A Psychiatrist and Educator," *New York Times*, 1982.

66. Abraham Franzblau. *A Curriculum in Jewish Education*. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1935.

67. Franzblau, *A Curriculum in Jewish Education*. Nathan Straus (1848–1931) was a German-born, American Jewish businessman and philanthropic figure in New York.

68. Binder. *New Palestinean Folk Songs: Book II.* Significant to note is the Sephardic accent shown here, whereas the 1926 book was Ashkenazic.

69. Emanuel Gamoran. *A Curriculum for the Jewish Religious School.* Cincinnati: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1942. For additional context about the curriculum, see Barry Chazan. "Palestine in American Jewish Education in the Pre-State Period," 241.

70. Central Conference of American Rabbis. "Palestine." *Central Conference of American Rabbis Resolution*, 22 June 1943, www.ccarnet.org/ccar-resolutions/palestine-1889–1972/; part a result of American Jewish lobbying efforts, President Harry Truman asked the British government to admit 100,000 Jewish displaced persons in Europe into Palestine in August 1945.

71. *News Journal* Staff. "Pioneer Club to Hear of the Life of Palestine." *News Journal*, 5 May 1942, 22.

72. *Wilmington Morning News* Staff. "Activities Mapped by Women Pioneers," *Wilmington Morning News*, 16 Mar. 1939, 8.

73. David A. Jasen, *Tin Pan Alley: An Encyclopedia of the Golden Age of American Song*. Routledge, 2012, ix.

74. Mordy Bauman. "Records: For the Camps," *New York Times,* 1942, 6.

75. Many Jewish musicians working in Tin Pan Alley likewise wrote music for the secular American popular musical world. Musician, author and self-described "Bernstein Disciple," Jack Gottlieb argued that Jews working in the American popular music industry "infused popular music of the United States with melodic elements from Yiddish folk and theater songs and from Ashkenazic synagogue modes and tunes in the twentieth century, which came to be part of the American sound . . . Jews contributed significantly to the music of the mainstream: Tin Pan Alley, Broadway, and Hollywood." Jack Gottlieb. *Funny, It Doesn't Sound Jewish: How Yiddish Songs and Synagogue Melodies Influenced Tin Pan Alley, Broadway, and Hollywood*. Albany: State University of New York in Association with the Library of Congress, 2004

76. See Irene Heskes. "Miriam's Sisters: Jewish Women and Liturgical Music." *Notes* 48, no. 4 (1992): 1193. In this article, Heskes notes that while women in American Jewish music culture were quite prominent, with notable examples, it was the second half of the twentieth century which saw the ascendency of women to higher ranks in the world of Jewish music and arts in general.

77. Mark Kligman. "The Music of Samuel E. Goldfarb, by Mark Kligman." *Jewish American Songster*, August 16, 2015. https://jewishamericansongster.com/the-music-of-samuel-e-goldfarb-by-mark-kligman/

78. Bauman, Mordy. "Records: For the Camps," *New York Times*, 1942, 6.

79. Abraham Wolf Binder. *Pioneer Songs of Palestine: (Shirei Chalutzim)*. New York: Edward B. Marks Music Corporation, 1942.

80. For insights into Edward B. Marks's deep roots in the Jewish sector of the American music industry, see Aaron Manela. "Chosen Cowboy Mazl Tov: Tin Pan Alley and the Wild West Cowboy Jew," *Journal of Jewish Identities* 10, no. 1 (2017).

81. *New York Times* Staff. "Full House Hears Jewish Arts Fete," *New York Times*, 1947, 55.

82. Abraham Wolf Binder. *Variations on a Yemenite Theme*. New York: Leeds Music Corporation, 1948.

83. Binder, *Variations on a Yemenite Theme.*

84. *New York Times* Staff. "School for Cantors Has Formal Opening," *New York Times*, 1948, 66.

85. See Irene Heskes. "Cantors: American Jewish Women." *Jewish Women's Archive*, https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/cantors-american-jewish-women. In her article, Heskes, in providing historic context to events like Ostfeld's hallmark ordination, further notes that "as early as the mid-nineteenth century, women had joined as formal choristers in congregations around the country. Despite heated discussion in the press, restrictions on women's vocal participation were gradually lifted through the efforts of champions for mixed choirs, such as Isaac Mayer Wise." And that by the 1930s, "except at Orthodox synagogues, women sat with men and intoned the prayers in congregational unity. Increasingly, women were featured singers in religious choirs, and synagogue singing was becoming a shared domain with men."

86. Bob Bahr. "First Female Cantor Sings a Difficult Tune," *Atlanta Jewish Times*, 24 Jan. 2020, https://www.atlantajewishtimes.com/first-female-cantor-sings-a-difficult-tune/

Chapter Two

1. *Chicago Tribune* Staff. "Jerusalem Now, Our Dream True, Cry 5,000 Jews: Patriotic Fever High at Three Zionist Mass-Meeting." *Chicago Tribune*, 1917, 3.

2. Likewise, according to his obituary in the *New York Times,* Koenig served as "member of the National Commission on Hebrew Language and Culture, and the Commission for the Study of Jewish Education in the United States and on the council of the Yivo Institute for Jewish Research. In 1950 he studied cultural trends in Israel under a grant from the Social Science Research Council." *New York Times* Staff. "Samuel Koenig Sociologist, Dies," *New York Times*, 31 Dec. 1972, 37.

3. Koenig, Samuel. "The Social Aspects of the Jewish Mutual Benefit Societies," *Social Forces* 18, no. 2 (1939): 268–74, 273–74.

4. Seroussi, Edwin. "Hatikvah: Conceptions, Receptions and Reflections,"

Yuval 9 (2015). https://jewish-music.huji.ac.il/sites/default/files/Seroussi%2C%20Hatikvah.pdf

5. Koenig posits that Jewish fraternal organizations in the 1930s were affiliates of national, non-Jewish organizations, yet separate Jewish branches were formed as "Jewish members were not accorded opportunities to rise to leadership equal to those enjoyed by Gentile members." No doubt a desire to be among their own people and thus feel more at ease, to enjoy things done their own way, and to contribute towards the preservation "of Jewish group life is another important motive." Samuel Koenig. "The Social Aspects of the Jewish Mutual Benefit Societies," *Social Forces* 18, no. 2 (1939): 268–74.

6. David B. Starr. "This Is Only the Fact, but We Have the Idea: Solomon Schechter's Path to Zionism," *Jewish Political Studies Review* 9, no. 1 (1997): 15–32, 20.

7. Daniel Judah Elazar and Rela M. Geffen. *The Conservative Movement in Judaism: Dilemmas and Opportunities*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000, 14.

8. See Jonathan D. Sarna. "The Question of Music in American Judaism: Reflections at 350 Years," *American Jewish History* 91, no. 2 (2003): 195–203, 200–201.

9. Pamela Susan Nadell. *Conservative Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook (Jewish Denominations in America)*. Santa Barbara: Greenwood Group, 1988, 225–26.

10. See Herbert Parzen. "Conservative Judaism and Zionism (1896–1922)," *Jewish Social Studies* 23, no. 4(1961): 223–47, 245.

11. Solomon Schechter. *Zionism: A Statement*. New York: Federation of American Zionism, 1906, 12–13.

12. Historian, Pamela Nadell offers a helpful analysis of Schechter's outlook—"Schechter's presidency was not without its difficulties . . ."she notes. ". . . The small group of affluent . . . anti-Zionist directors became further alienated after Schechter's open espousal of Zionism in 1906. . . . Sensing an urgent need to extend his base of support, Schechter began to seriously consider what he had hoped to avoid, founding a third federation of synagogues to support the Seminary and its policies . . ." Nadel suggests that like his hesitations with Zionism, his hesitations to strike out on his own institutionally were ultimately disregarded in the name of what Schechter felt was most suitable to allowing his vision of American Judaism to thrive and not necessarily what he saw as most pragmatic or easy to execute. Pamela Susan Nadell. *Conservative Judaism in America,* 226.

13. It is significant to note that Schechter's colleague and successor as president of JTS, Cyrus Adler, was not outspokenly supportive of Zionism like Schechter. Indeed, a result of his background and views, Adler saw political Zionism as a threat to American Jews' acceptance into "Americanness." Yet, political Zionism and its implications for Jewish statehood in Palestine was for Adler a different matter than supporting Jewish life in Palestine. See David G. Dalin. "Cyrus Adler, Non-Zionism, and the Zionist Movement: A Study in Contradictions," *AJS*

Review 10, no. 1 (1985). Yet, the conservative movement worked to combat such views in America, even among their own leaders like Adler.

14. Nadell. *Conservative Judaism in America,* 171–72.

15. Nadell. *Conservative Judaism in America,* 1.

16. Nadell. *Conservative Judaism in America,* 221.

17. Nadell. *Conservative Judaism in America,* 267.

18. Nadell. *Conservative Judaism in America,* 265.

19. Parzen. "Conservative Judaism and Zionism (1896–1922)," 235.

20. *American Israelite* Staff. "Who Shall Teach Our Children?" *American Israelite*. Cincinnati, 16 Mar. 1922, 1.

21. Nadell. *Conservative Judaism in America*, 273.

22. Israel Goldfarb and Samuel Goldfarb. *The Jewish Songster*. Brooklyn: Religious Schools of Congregation Beth Israel, 1920, 3. Highlighting this perceived void and the songster's ability to fill it, they posit in their foreword that ". . . Those who have had anything to do with Jewish School music have no doubt experienced the difficulties and handicaps under which the music teacher labors because of the lack of a suitable handbook of song texts that should meet the requirements of the average religious School . . . the 'Jewish Songster' will" be their answer.

23. It is unique to note that when I was a child, my father served as a rabbi at Temple De Hirsch Sinai in Seattle, WA, the same synagogue where Samuel Goldfarb found a permanent professional home. As such, I attended Hebrew school, programs for Jewish holidays, social activities and services at that synagogue throughout my adolescence. Zionism, Israeli culture, and Israeli music were ubiquitous throughout.

24. See Samuel Goldfarb, Joseph Cohen, and Meta Buttnick-Kaplan. "Mercer Island, Washington Interview with Samuel Goldfarb." Seattle: University of Washington Library, 1971. University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections Repository. Howard Droker Collection, Accession No. 2220–002.

25. Ashkenazic pronunciations and spelling of words were common in American Hebrew of the time. We will see in later publications those JTS educated musicians would follow Hebrew cultural trends to Sephardic pronunciations and spelling of words, even the same holiday.

26. See Jonathan Krasner. *The Benderly Boys and American Jewish Education*. Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 149.

27. Israel Goldfarb and Samuel Goldfarb. *The Jewish Songster*, 15.

28. As noted, Tu'Bshvat and Hebrew song will be discussed in greater detail further into this chapter—the *Jewish Songster*'s inclusion of these songs within a dedicated section though is a strong indication of not only its Zionist intentions, but the boundaries it was pushing in American Judaism.

29. See Krasner. *The Benderly Boys and American Jewish Education*, 202.

30. Israel Goldfarb and Samuel Goldfarb. *The Jewish Songster*, 46.

31. See Dalin, "Cyrus Adler, Non-Zionism, and the Zionist Movement," 58.

32. See Eliezer Schweid. *The Idea of Modern Jewish Culture*. Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2010, 118.

33. "Rabbi Israel Goldfarb." *The Synagogue Journal Shabbat Vayishlach*. Issue 49 December 8, 2006 https://kanestreet.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/02/binder49_rabbigoldfarb.pdf

34. *Brooklyn Citizen* Staff. "Jewish Music in Palestine Discussed by Zionists." *Brooklyn Citizen*, 1924, 2.

35. Israel Goldfarb and Samuel Goldfarb. *The Jewish Songster*, 47. https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=150

36. *Philadelphia Inquirer* Staff. "Early Jewish Life Depicted in Pageant," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1925, 2.

37. Naomi W. Cohen. *The Americanization of Zionism, 1897–1948*, 48–49.

38. David Cesarani. "Anti-Zionist Politics and Political Antisemitism in Britain, 1920–1924," *Patterns of Prejudice* 23, no. 1 (1989), 30–31.

39. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* Staff. "Oldest Synagogue in Boro Does Honor to Rabbi On 20 Years," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 1925, 4.

40. See Parzen. "Conservative Judaism and Zionism (1896–1922)," 235–36.

41. *Asbury Park Press* Staff. "Jewish Music Recital," *Asbury Park Press*, 1927, 4.

42. Thelma Goldfarb. *Echoes of Palestine: Hede Ha-Arets*. Hebrew Monotype Press, 1929. Eight recordings of songs contained in Goldfarb's book can be found at: https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/book.asp?id=150

43. *Times Union* Staff. "Spurs Jewish Youth," *Times Union*, Brooklyn, 3 Nov. 1930, 20.

44. See Mark A. Raider. "'Girded for the Superhuman Task': American Jews and the Trope of the Zionist Pioneer, 1925–1956," American Jewish History 103, no. 3, 323.

45. Israel Goldfarb and Samuel Goldfarb. *The Jewish Songster*, 2.

46. Correctly speaking of Benderly and his disciples' ("The Benderly Boys") influence, Chazan remarks that "For the most part, the success of American Jewish schooling relied on the talents of a few select individuals in a few select places: in the early twentieth century" and of these individuals, Benderly and his disciples "went on to establish a network of bureaus and departments of Jewish education in cities nationwide" and comprised an "elite group of outstanding pulpit rabbis and rabbi-educators who served large, noteworthy congregations across the country." See Barry Chazan, et al. *Cultures and Contexts of Jewish Education*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, 97. Benderly's musical disciples discussed in this chapter were central to the early evolution of Hebrew music as a pedagogical tool in American Jewish Zionist education nationally, in part enabled by the BJE system.

47. Edward Moore. "Maude Runyan Wins Applause in Her Concert." *Chicago Tribune*, 1930, 33.

48. Solomon Schechter. *Zionism: A Statement*, 12–13.

49. Irene Heskes. *Passport to Jewish Music: Its History, Traditions, and Culture*. Milwaukee: Hal Leonard, 2002, 211.

50. Krasner. *The Benderly Boys and American Jewish Education*, 149; Michael A Meyer. *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998, 299.

51. See Jonathan D. Sarna. *American Judaism: A History*, 251.

52. For insights into the experiences of certain Conservative educated clergy more broadly that accepted positions in Reform institutions, see Michael R. Cohen. *The Birth of Conservative Judaism: Solomon Schechter's Disciples and the Creation of an American Religious Movement*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012, 45–46.

53. It should be noted that "Jewish Arbor Day" is referenced twice in the 1922 *Curriculum.* Alter F Landesman. *A Curriculum for Jewish Religious Schools*, 112, 136. For other unique insights into *Tu B'shvat's* origins in this period and the role of Benderly and his cohort in shaping it, see Jonathan Krasner. "A Recipe for American Jewish Integration: The Adventures of K'tonton and Hillel's Happy Holidays," *The Lion and the Unicorn* 27, no. 3 (2003).

54. In 1896, the United States Department of Agriculture published a guide on Arbor Day, titled *Arbor Day; Its History and Observance.* In it, it is described that "Arbor Day, from being only a humble expedient of one of our Western States a few years ago, has become a national holiday and one of our important institutions. Its original design has been modified since its observance has become associated with our schools. It is now not only a day for tree planting for economic and aesthetic purposes, but its observance has been made the means of securing much valuable knowledge regarding plant and tree life, of cultivating in the young the powers of observation, and kindling in their minds an interest in natural objects which will be a lifelong source of benefit and pleasure. Is it too much to hope, also, that this Arbor Day festival, engaging our children in its observance so generally and so pleasantly with songs, recitations, and the planting of trees and shrubs around the schoolhouses and along the streets or in public parks and other places, may have the effect of developing in coming generations a keener appreciation of the value and the beauty of trees than has hitherto been felt in our country . . ." N. H. Egleston. *Arbor Day: Its History and Observance*. Washington: US Government Printing Office, United States Department of Agriculture, 1896, 4.

55. Of course, American Jews were involved with settling the Western United States. See Shari Rabin. *Jews on the Frontier*. New York: NYU Press, 2017.

56. We see numerous songs contained in this book that appear in other American Zionist, Hebrew songsters of the 1920s in addition to "Na'aleh L'artzenu," "Palestine Spring Song," and "Nigun Bialik," and others.

Harry Coopersmith. *Little Book of Jewish Songs: Palestine Arbor Day*. New York: Educational Stationary House, 1928.

57. Coopersmith. *Little Book of Jewish Songs: Palestine Arbor Day*, 4.

58. Krasner remarks that Harry Coopersmith, while serving as a summer camp director helped many Jewish students "learn to sing Hebrew and English Zionist songs," showing some of Coopersmith's early venues for his books were likely religious schools and Jewish summer camps. Krasner further notes that "in the 1920s and early '30s, the noble Indian savage had his analogue in the Arab Bedouin" and that Samuel Goldfarb likewise utilized this imagery. Jonathan Krasner. *The Benderly Boys and American Jewish Education*, 317–319.

59. Coopersmith. *Little Book of Jewish Songs: Palestine Arbor Day*, 14.

60. For unique insights into American Jewish understandings of Zionist pioneerism, see Raider. "'Girded for the Superhuman Task': American Jews and the Trope of the Zionist Pioneer, 1925–1956." As we know, today, Coopersmith and Gamoran's hopes for *Tu B'shvat*'s regular inclusion in both Reform and Conservative Judaism in America indeed endured, whereas Wolsey's certainly did not. Yet, today, the overt Zionist references have faded.

61. See Sarna, "Converts to Zionism in the American Reform Movement," 274–75.

62. Krasner. *The Benderly Boys and American Jewish Education*, 354.

63. Harry Coopersmith. "The Teaching of Jewish Music," *Jewish Education* 2, no. 1 (1930), 25.

64. One example of these types of works from the 1930s was his 1937 publication, "Ovinu Malkenu" (As Sung in Palestine). Published by Metro Music in New York, NY, the score for the single liturgical song was "arranged for Mixed Chorus" and was intended to be performed "Slow with expression." Harry Coopersmith. *Ovinu Malkenu*. New York: Metro Music, 1937.

65. Heskes. *Passport to Jewish Music: Its History, Traditions, and Culture*, 211.

66. Krasner. *The Benderly Boys and American Jewish Education*, 331.

67. *Morning Call* Staff. "N.Y. Jewish Youth Meeting Affirms Faith in Democracy." *Morning Call*, Allentown, 1940, 29.

68. Betty D. Greenberg and Althea O. Silverman. *The Jewish Home Beautiful*. The National Women's League of the United Synagogues of America, 1941. Foreword and Table of Contents.

69. Greenberg and Silverman, *The Jewish Home Beautiful,* 75.

70. Greenberg and Silverman, *The Jewish Home Beautiful,* 77–81.

71. For example, in July 1942, *Songs of Zion* is listed in the *Baltimore Sun* as one of dozens of books acquired that week by Baltimore's Pratt library—listed in the Miscellaneous Section. Kate Coplon. "Pratt Library: New Books of the Week," *Baltimore Sun*, 1942, 39. Of course, Baltimore had a large and established Jewish community in the 1940s, which explains the local demographic/market interest for that book.

72. Coopersmith. "The Teaching of Jewish Music," 25. For insights into Coopersmith's views on Jewish musical education two decades later, see Harry Coopersmith. "Jewish Music Education in the Hebrew Schools of New York," *Jewish Education* 19.2 (1948): 23–27, 23.

73. Harry Coopersmith. *Songs of Zion*. New York: Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1942. (Foreword)

74. Michael R. Cohen provides unique insights into Schechter's long-lasting impacts on American Judaism and those divergences between Reform and Conservative Jewish communities during this period of American History. Cohen. *The Birth of Conservative Judaism*, 125–36.

75. Coopersmith. *Songs of Zion* Introductory Notes, (Foreword), Table of Contents.

76. See Motti Regev. "To Have a Culture of Our Own: On Israeliness and Its Variants," 229.

77. Coopersmith. *Songs of Zion*, 2. https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=442

78. Coopersmith. *Songs of Zion*.

79. Hillel Halkin. *Yehuda Halevi*. New York: Nextbook, 2010, 1–5.

80. Coopersmith. *Songs of Zion*, 11.

81. Krasner. *The Benderly Boys and American Jewish Education*, 196.

82. Coopersmith. *Songs of Zion*, N/A, Introductory Notes.

83. Coopersmith. *Songs of Zion*, 120.

84. *The American Jewish Yearbook*, September 18, 1944, to September 7, 1945 / 5705, Vol. 46, 108–29, 122.

85. Harry Coopersmith. "Jewish Music Education in the Hebrew Schools of New York." *Jewish Education* 19, no. 2 (1948): 23–27.

86. See Motti Regev and Edwin Seroussi. *Popular Music and National Culture in Israel*, 28.

87. These statistics came from a study conducted in 1945–46, where "questionnaires were mailed to 466 cities," and replies "were received from 135 communities, including most of the larger cities. These communities were distributed over 36 states and had an aggregate Jewish population of 3,516,450, or 73.7 per cent of the total Jewish population in the country." Uriah Z. Engelman. "The American Jewish Year Book 5707 (1946–47), Vol. 48." *Jewish Social Studies*. New York: Conference on Jewish Relations, April 1, 1947, 136, 145.

88. Coopersmith. *Songs of Zion*. Foreword.

89. Heskes. *Passport to Jewish Music: Its History, Traditions, and Culture*, 211.

Chapter Three

1. *Morning News* Staff. "Tales of Beauty in Her Songs." *Morning News*, Wilmington, 1924, 2.

2. Sarna, for example correctly argues that reform Judaism by the 1930s in fact displayed "the influence of Mordecai Kaplan" in part through the "retention and development of such customs, symbols and ceremonies as possess inspirational value, the cultivation of distinctive forms of religious art and music[,] and the use of Hebrew, together with the vernacular, in our worship and instruction." Jonathan D. Sarna. *American Judaism: A History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019, 253. Kaplan's interest in Hebrew national culture, the arts and music are well known, likewise the deep impact he and his students—part of the greater JTS cohort—had on changing interdenominational, non-Orthodox Judaism in America. Hebrew music is just one piece.

3. See Melvin Scult. "Mordecai M. Kaplan: Challenges and Conflicts in the Twenties," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 66, no. 3 (1977): 401–16, 401–2.

4. See Noam Pianko. *Zionism and the Roads Not Taken: Rawidowicz, Kaplan, Kohn*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010, 95–146.

5. Mel Scult, ed. *Communings of the Spirit: The Journals of Mordecai M. Kaplan*, 48.

6. In a January 25, 1914 journal entry, titled "Zionism and Judaism," which

provided an abstract of a speech he gave that day, Kaplan expressed that ". . . there is one indispensable condition which must be fulfilled for religion to be at all possible, and it is this: that religion can only exist in a social group the members of which possess something else in common besides religion . . . a common history, a common national life, economic interest in common, or a culture to which all are attached and from which they draw their spiritual nourishment . . . And insofar as Zionism has been seeking to create this something [in common] it has been preparing the ground for religion and thus assuring a future to Judaism. With the fostering of an element like common nationality in Palestine, or of a common culture based on the Hebrew language, the very ground and cause for the question why remain a Jew will be removed." Mordecai Kaplan, "Judaism as a vital force: Kaplan Journal," January 26, 1914; Judaism as dynamic: *Menorah Journal* 1:210.

7. See Michael R. Cohen. *The Birth of Conservative Judaism: Solomon Schechter's Disciples and the Creation of an American Religious Movement*, 93–96.

8. Peter Steinfels. "Judith Eisenstein, 86, Author and Composer," *New York Times*, 15 Feb. 1996, B16.

9. Steinfels, "Judith Eisenstein."

10. Mordecai M. Kaplan. "4th Session." *Summary of the Conference*. Proc. of "Reorienting Zionist Education Today," Congregation B'nai Jeshrun, New York, NY, 1948, 72–73.

11. Mordecai M. Kaplan. *The Meaning of God in Modern Jewish Religion*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995, 249–50.

12. See Mel Scult. *Judaism Faces the Twentieth Century: A Biography of Mordecai M. Kaplan*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994, 121; One early and grand example occurred in 1922, "Coincident with the celebration of Passover, the national Jewish holiday of liberation, the Jews of New York city begin to-day the campaign to raise $3,000,000 for the rebuilding of Palestine as the Jewish national homeland. The campaign" started "with a demonstration . . . at Carnegie Hall." Speakers at the event included "Nachum Sokolow, chairman of World's Zionist Executive Committee; Vladimir Jabotinsky, hero of the Jewish Legion that fought in Palestine . . . Dr. S. Benderly [and] . . . Dr. Mordechai M. Kaplan . . ." helped organize the Zionist rally. *New York Herald* Staff. "Jews Want $3,000,000 For Palestine Fund," *New York Herald*, 1922, 20.

13. See Jonathan Krasner. *The Benderly Boys and American Jewish Education*, 4.

14. The evolution of the Reconstructionist movement in Judaism is an important part of Kaplan's legacy; however, it is not a focus of these analyses. For a concise overview of Reconstructionist Judaism's roots and Kaplan's role in laying them see Jonathan D. Sarna. *American Judaism: A History*, 243–55.; also, for a unique perspective from the movement's evolution in the 1970s, see Charles S. Liebman. "Reconstructionism in American Jewish Life," *The American Jewish Yearbook* 71 (1970): 243–55, 33–39.

15. James Loeffler. "Do Zionists Read Music from Right to Left? Abraham Tsvi Idelsohn and the Invention of Israeli Music," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 100, no. 3 (2010): 387.

16. *New York Times* Staff. "Organizer of Department at the Hebrew Union College Dies," *New York Times*, 1938, 165.

17. Idelsohn spent his final day in South Africa where he died in August 1938.

18. Jehoash Hirshberg. *Music in the Jewish Community of Palestine, 1880–1948: A Social History*, 11.

19. See Loeffler. "Do Zionists Read Music from Right to Left?," 388.

20. Loeffler, "Do Zionists Read Music from Right to Left?," 17–18.

21. Motti Regev. "To Have a Culture of Our Own: On Israeliness and Its Variants," 238.

22. The opera that Hill refers to is ostensibly "Yiftah," which Edward Foley and Mark Bangert claim was completed in 1922. See Edward Foley and Mark Bangert. *Worship Music*. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2000, 153. In 1916, the American weekly music trade publication *Musical America* reported on "Yiftah"'s evolution, and their article included an interview with Idelsohn. In it, Idelsohn remarked that the Opera "is founded upon the Biblical story of Jeptha's daughter. My idea in the writing of the text was to give picture of the life and works of the Israelites in their earliest youth. It is intended to portray primitive life in its earlier Oriental-Semitic form . . . the Music is absolutely Oriental-Jewish. Only to-day, after ten years of undivided and strenuous endeavor in this one direction, have I succeeded in grasping the true idea of the Oriental-Semitic music." *Musical America* Staff. "Ancient Hebraic Themes Covered in Opera," *Musical America* 24 (July 22, 1916): 3–4. Loeffler and Seroussi offer archival accounts of Idelsohn's daughter and her memories of the Opera's conception. James Loeffler and Edwin Seroussi. "A Recovered Voice from the Past: The Memoire of A. Z. Idelsohn's Oldest Daughter Shoshanah," Hebrew University Jewish Music Research Centre, N/A. https://jewish-music.huji.ac.il/content/22890

23. Murray Hill. "The Music Trades Company." Letter to Avraham Zvi Idelsohn. 2 Aug. 1915. MS. New York, New York. Abraham Zvi Idelsohn archive, 1899–1979. [archival material] Sub-series F7: Various letters and addenda (2004), National Library Israel.

24. For example, Loeffler argues that while Idelsohn was indeed focused on "nationalist self-definition in opposition to the European Jewish experience," he remained strongly tied to European ideals of "a universal Western culture" rooted partly in "the Haskalah's reverence for European art as a force of cultural edification." James Loeffler. "Do Zionists Read Music from Right to Left? Abraham Tsvi Idelsohn and the Invention of Israeli Music," 402. In this sense, Idelsohn's reverence for western music culture of course informed his work in developing Hebrew music and fit into a broader context of Jewish intellectuals, religious scholars, and cultural figures working to balance modern European and American liberalism with notions of Jewish religious, national, and cultural uniqueness in the first half of the twentieth century. This occurred throughout the western Jewish world. After Israel's establishment, Jews of Muslim lands that immigrated to Israel were forced to reconcile their own Eastern Jewish culture, music, and religious practices with those which were created in their image by a European movement prior to their

mass arrival in the 1949–1960 period—Idelsohn was of course a major contributor to those Eurocentric visions of middle Eastern Jewish culture and music that dominated Hebrew cultural evolution pre-1948.

25. James Loeffler. "Richard Wagner's 'Jewish Music': Antisemitism and Aesthetics in Modern Jewish Culture," 19–20.

26. Paul R. Mendes-Flohr. *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, 327.

27. Of course, Hill's letter, beyond showing the place of prominent anti-Semites in defining popular music, is one example of the types of subtle (and overt) ingrown antisemitism present in American culture that informed American Jewish culture writ large and its focus on fitting into American norms while retaining a sense of uniqueness and/or choosiness. As an analogy, Sarna highlights, for example that New York's most ornate and exceptional synagogue of the time "was portrayed in its 1847 dedication (a dedication, by the way, where much music was performed) as a place where a Jew felt himself Israelite . . . a place where chosen was made manifest in the sight of Gentiles." Jonathan D. Sarna. "The Question of Music in American Judaism: Reflections at 350 Years,." 200.

28. See Ruth HaCohen. *The Music Libel against the Jews*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013. His antisemitic views were indeed nuanced and complicated; HaCohen argues they are in fact deeply rooted in his own personal and professional insecurities and vanity.

29. Loeffler. "Do Zionists Read Music from Right to Left? Abraham Tsvi Idelsohn and the Invention of Israeli Music," 393.

30. George Albert Cooke. "Letter of Support from G.A. Cooke from Oxford University in Support of A.Z. Idelsohn's Work." Oxford, 1921. Abraham Zvi Idelsohn archive, 1899–1979. [archival material] Sub-series F7: Various letters and addenda (2004), National Library Israel.

31. See Loeffler and Seroussi. "A Recovered Voice from the Past: The Memoire of A. Z. Idelsohn's Oldest Daughter Shoshanah."

32. *Fresno Morning Republican* Staff. "Jewish Song Recreator to Give Lecture and Recital Here Tonight," *Fresno Morning Republican*, 1923, 18.

Musicologist Judah Cohen in a study of Idelsohn's work in America notes that "Idelsohn made little secret of his intention to use his lectures to interest potential donors in funding his Thesaurus"—Of course there is no reason to assume this is not the case—scholars engage in public scholarship to promote their work all the time. Yet, even if he intended to solicit donations during all these engagements, he still offered novel notions of Judaism, Jewish nationalism, Zionism, and Hebrew music to diverse audiences—helping to spread his notions of Hebraic musical and national legitimacy at a time of their soon to change infancy in America. Almost all elements of Jewish life in America were funded privately—a struggling scholar, often asking for money to fund his work, Idelsohn saw the potential for members of the American Jewish community to help fund it. Judah M. Cohen. "Rewriting the Grand Narrative of Jewish Music: Abraham Z. Idelsohn in the United States," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 100, no. 3 (2010), 426.

33. Cohen. "Rewriting the Grand Narrative of Jewish Music," 424.

34. Edward N. Calisch. "Letter of Invitation to A.Z. Idelsohn to Speak at 1923 CCAR National Conference." Richmond, 1923. Abraham Zvi Idelsohn archive, 1899–1979. [archival material] Sub-series F7: Various letters and addenda (2004), National Library Israel. Cohen notes that his talk was well received and helped him secure his place amongst the ranks of American Reformers. Judah M. Cohen. "Rewriting the Grand Narrative of Jewish Music," 428.

35. Calisch, "Letter of Invitation to A.Z. Idelsohn," 427.

36. Cohon, Irma. "Idelsohn: The Founder and Builder of the Science of Jewish Music—A Creator of Jewish Song." *Yuval*, V, 1986, 36–45. https://jewish-music.huji.ac.il/yuval/22914

37. Edwin Seroussi and James Loeffler. "The Secret History of 'Hava Nagila'." *Tablet Magazine*, New York, 2019. https://www.tabletmag.com/sections/arts-letters/articles/secret-history-hava-nagila

38. *Modern View* Staff. "Jewish Folk Music." *Modern View*, St Louis, 1925, 9.

39. See Cohen. "Rewriting the Grand Narrative of Jewish Music," 440–42.

40. Max Rhoade. "Avukah American Student Zionist Federation." Letter to Avraham Zvi Idelsohn. 11 Dec. 1927. MS. Washington, D.C. Correspondence with institutions: Avuka. American Student Zionist Federation—A. Z. Idelsohn (manuscript) 1927, December Original printed catalog: Washington. Avuka. American Student Zionist Federation. [E.]. 11. 12.

41. Various letters: [Azriel] Imprimerie Ariel, Jerusalem—A. Z. Idelsohn (manuscript) Original printed catalog: [Azriel] Imprimerie Ariel, Jerusalem. [H.]. n. d. (Alexander Aharinson). National Library of Israel. Translation by Roni Eshel, Emory University, 2017.

42. Cohen. "Rewriting the Grand Narrative of Jewish Music," 442–43.

43. Cohen, "Rewriting the Grand Narrative of Jewish Music," 430.

44. A. Z. Idelsohn. *Jewish Music: Its Historical Development*, iii.; Cohen correctly notes that "Idelsohn's narrative of Jewish music as the progenitor of Christian chant offered a strategy for the Reform movement to engage in a public response to anti-Jewish allegations, encouraging open religious identification and emphasizing the attractiveness of the movement's approach to Jewish religious practice." Cohen. "Rewriting the Grand Narrative of Jewish Music," 430. Indeed, the Reform movement at this time was interested in utilizing aspects of Hebrew musical culture to help Jews integrate in American society and build interest in the denomination, they just did so differently than the Goldfarbs and Coopersmith who focused on melding Zionism with American Jewish patriotism. The reform movement was more interested in the implications of Hebrew music culture's biblical roots to ease certain Christian American senses of Jews being outsiders and foreigners. However, by the late 1930s, as Reformers began to embrace notions of Jewish peoplehood and Zionism as part of Jewish life, this type of work was less relevant to HUC's mission to help Jews integrate into Americanness.

45. *Morning Call* Staff. "'The Romance of a People' Mighty Drama." *Morning Call*, Allentown, 1934, 12.

46. Curtis L. Katz. "Isaac Van Grove—Chanukah, Romance, and The Eternal [Rail]Road," *Chicago Jewish History*, 2004, 4–7, 5. Scholar Lauren Love notes that Jewish Day at the Chicago World's Fair was "a day designated at the Century of Progress World's Fair just as other days had been focused on celebrating other national ethnic collectives that summer, such as Swedish Day on 19 June 1933, the first day of a week devoted to celebrating Scandinavian peoples, and Polish Day, held on 22 July 1933, which also culminated in a spectacular pageant." Lauren Love. "Performing Jewish Nationhood: 'The Romance of a People' at the 1933 Chicago World's Fair," *TDR: The Drama Review* 55, 5no. 3 (October 1, 2011): 57–67, 60.

47. See Jeffrey Shandler. "Producing the Future: The Impresario Culture of American Zionism before 1948," in *Divergent Jewish Cultures*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

48. See Judah M. Cohen. "Whither Jewish Music? Jewish Studies, Music Scholarship, and the Tilt Between Seminary and University," *AJS Review* 32, no. 1 (2008): 29–48, 36.

49. Sheldon Feinberg. *Hava Nagila! The Story behind the Song and Its Composer*. Beaufort: Hava Nagila Publishers, 1988, 9. In their essay, "The Secret History of 'Hava Nagila,'" Loeffler and Seroussi argue that ". . . his notebooks, six in number, in which he registered the melodies he collected as his fieldwork was moving along in Ottoman Palestine, starting in 1907, mixed with his own compositions. One of the notebooks, 'I4a' in the original catalog, contains what apparently is the earliest and original notation of the melody that would eventually become the song 'Hava Nagila.' This notebook, unlike the others, is not dated but it includes one song from 1906. However, it appears that Idelsohn added materials to it in subsequent years . . ." Edwin Seroussi and James Loeffler. "The Secret History of 'Hava Nagila.'" *Tablet*, 19 Sept. 2019. https://www.tabletmag.com/sections/arts-letters/articles/secret-history-hava-nagila

50. See Feinberg. *Hava Nagila! The Story behind the Song and Its Composer*.

51. Feinberg, *Hava Nagila!*, 29–35.

52. Feinberg, *Hava Nagila!*

53. *Times Union* Staff. "Brooklyn Needs Palestine Call: Local Women Organize for Campaign to Be Launched by Zionists," *Times Union*, Brooklyn, 1923, 2.

54. Moshe Nathanson. "To My Teacher and Champion A.Z. Idelsohn, Greetings and Blessing." Received by A.Z. Idelsohn, 2 May 1934. Various letters: [Azriel] Imprimerie Ariel, Jerusalem—A. Z. Idelsohn (manuscript) Original printed catalog: [Azriel] Imprimerie Ariel, Jerusalem. [H.]. n. d. (Alexander Aharinson). National Library of Israel. Translated from Hebrew.

55. For example, an October 6, 1930, *New York Times* article reported that "If the declaration of the British Colonial Office Secretary should stand, Palestine will become nothing but a jail, declared B. Charney Vladeckm Socialist Candidate for Congress in the Eight District, Brooklyn, and Manager of The Jewish Daily Forward in a radio Speech over Station WMCA yesterday." *New York Times* Staff. "British Colonial Office," *New York Times*, October 6, 1930.

56. Sheldon Feinberg. *Hava Nagila! The Story behind the Song and Its Composer*, 70.

57. Feinberg, *Hava Nagila!*, 102.

58. For Zionists like those who attended the 1933 farewell dinner (or any number of Nathanson's many Hebrew or liturgical musical performances in the 1930s) for the Brooklyn Herzl Club President and Secretary Morris Lande—"who was Leaving for Palestine where he will take up a permanent residence," and enjoyed the musical entertainment with "Cantor Moshe Nathanson, accompanied by the American Kademah Orchestra"—the radio show, regularly advertised in the same newspaper that covered the dinner, would be a likely welcomed way to hear those songs and associate them with the excitement of Zionist programming that they might attend otherwise, possibly with Nathanson or other musicians performing Hebrew music. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* Staff. "Zionist Plan Farewell Fete," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, February 3, 1933, 43.

59. *Morning Call* Staff. "Today's Radio Features." *Morning Call*, Patterson, NJ, March 4, 1933, 4.

60. *Herald-News* Staff. "Radio Programs." *Herald-News*, Passaic, NJ, 1937, 5. Advertisements like these for "The Voice of Jerusalem" on WMCA are found across the tri-state area in secular newspapers throughout the 1930s. They provide varying degrees of information, but often list the name of the show, Nathanson's name, and showtime.

61. *The Record* Staff. "Hour by Hour Radio." *The Record*, Hackensack, NJ, 1938.

62. Jane Corby. "Many Rallies Tonight, $25 Luncheon Monday Marks Celebration." *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Brooklyn, 1937, 12. Nathanson was a regular, performing in a variety of regional Hadassah programs and fundraisers throughout the 1930s and 40s.

63. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* Staff. "Hadassah Chapter Celebrates Jubilee." *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 1937, 11.

64. Feinberg. *Hava Nagila!*, 75. Beth S. Wenger. *History Lessons: The Creation of American Jewish Heritage*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012, 146.

65. Nathanson in fact served for a period as music director of the New York BJE's Hebrew language summer camp, Camp Achva. This camp was an important project for Benderly, and likely informed Nathanson's pedagogical approaches as he worked with many Zionist youth in America. For information about the camp and its place in the broader context of American Jewish camping, see Krasner. *The Benderly Boys and American Jewish Education*, 270–75; Jonathan Mark. "Legends Of Jewish Music Remembered," *New York Jewish Week* 230. January 19, 2018.

66. Samuel Blumenfield. "Adult Zionist Education." National Conference on Adult Jewish Education. New York, 1948.

67. Moshe Nathanson. *Shirenu: A Selection of Hebrew Songs and Chants, Old and New, Religious and Secular*. New York: Hebrew Publishing Company, 1939, 1. (Introduction translated by Roni Eshel, Emory University, 2016.)

68. Nathanson, *Shirenu*, 2.

69. Nathanson, *Shirenu*.

70. See Nina S. Spiegel. *Embodying Hebrew Culture: Aesthetics, Athletics, and Dance in the Jewish Community of Mandate Palestine*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2013, 17–18.

71. Nathanson. *Shirenu*, 3. https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=15204

72. Nathanson. *Shirenu*, 10.

73. https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=583&perf_id=17587

74. Nathanson. *Shirenu*, 15. https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=2596&perf_id=5350

75. Nathanson. *Shirenu*, 24. https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=838

76. Oded Erez and Nadeem Karkabi. "Sounding Arabic: Postvernacular Modes of Performing the Arabic Language in Popular Music by Israeli Jews." *Popular Music*, 38, no. 2 (2019): 298–302.

77. Eisenstein, Judith Kaplan. *The Gateway to Jewish Song*. Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1939. Introduction.

78. The Ira and Judith Kaplan Eisenstein Reconstructionist Archives Finding Aid for Collections https://www.rrc.edu/files/eisenstein_archives_finding_aid.pdf

79. *Courier News* Staff. "City Zionists Observe Balfour Day." *Courier News*, Bridgewater, 1943, 5.

80. *The Record* Staff. "Jewish Music to Be Featured." *The Record*, 23 Jan. 1945, 19.

81. Moshe Nathanson and Avraham Ellstein. "Sing Palestine." New York: Metro Music Company, 1946. Vinyl recording. Mention of ". . . *Sing Palestine*, with Moshe Nathanson singing songs of that land (Metro Records, four ten-inch disks) . . ." even appeared in the music reviews section of the February 2, 1947, Sunday edition of the *New York Times*.

82. *The Gazette* Staff. "On Jewish Music," *The Gazette*. Montreal, 1947, 6.

83. Feinberg. *Hava Nagila!*, 94.

84. Paula Eisenstein Baker. "Judith Kaplan Eisenstein." *Jewish Women's Archive*, https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/eisenstein-judith-kaplan

Chapter Four

1. Jewish National Fund. "NF-USA Kicks Off Jewish New Year in Spectacular Fashion with a Day of Giving from Coast to Coast." Jewish National Fund, August 24, 2021. https://www.jnf.org/menu-3/press-releases/press-release-stories/august-4–2021

2. This press release is just one example of many contemporary JNF programs that feature Israeli music.

3. Dan Lainer-Vos. *Sinews of the Nation: Constructing Irish and Zionist Bonds in the United States*. Cambridge: Polity, 2013, 2.

4. During these years, the JNF similarly produced Hebrew musical publications in the *Yishuv*. While there are many parallels between materials produced for Palestine and those for the diaspora, each group had different needs and contexts,

thus the materials were tailored accordingly. We can see music as being central to all pursuits. The Youth Department of the JNF headed many of these cultural endeavors. As Natan Shahar, one of the few scholars that has worked with these primary sources, argues, "Over the years JNF fund-raisers found themselves appealing to diverse [diaspora] audiences that ranged from schoolchildren, members of Zionist youth movements, women's circles and trade unions to synagogue-goers and participants in special Zionist gatherings." Shahar clarifies though that "It also became clear that the Jewish settlement in Palestine (the *Yishuv*) differed from that of the diaspora, such that appropriate forms of appeal and promotional tools had to be tailored for each group of potential contributors . . . to enhance the efficiency of educational and indoctrination activity among diaspora youth movements. This department began to make use of the Eretz Israel (land of Israel) song," then in its formative stage, as a promotional tool and instrument for Zionist indoctrination. Natan Shahar. "The Eretz Israeli Song and the Jewish National Fund," *Studies in Contemporary Jewry* (1993): 78–79.

5. Marco Martiniello and Philip Kasinitz, eds. *Music, Immigration and the City: A Transatlantic Dialogue*. Routledge, 2021.

6. See Kenneth W. Stein. *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917–1939*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985, 4–12.

7. Head Office of the JNF. *The JNF and Its Object: Translated from the German, and Published by the Head Office of the JNF*. (London, 1908), 4. National Library of Israel, SN 990012634970205171

8. Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America. *Hadassah in America and in Palestine 1912–1915*. Hadassah Women's Zionist Organization of America, 1915. National Library of Israel, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem Israel, reference number: 990020053470205171

9. *American Israelite*. "American Federation of Zionists: 22nd Annual Convention in Chicago." *American Israelite*, 25 Sept. 1919, 1.

10. *Los Angeles Times* Staff. "Concert and Mass Meeting Planned for Trinity Auditorium," *Los Angeles Times*, 1919, 17.

11. *Los Angeles Times* Staff. "Flag Day Planned for Jewish Fund," *Los Angeles Times*, 1923, 28.

12. Eric Engel Tuten. *Between Capital and Land: The Jewish National Fund's Finances and Land-Purchase Priorities in Palestine, 1939–1945*. New York: Routledge, 2015, 15.

13. Stein. *The Land Question in Palestine,* 65–66.

14. Julius Berger. *Propaganda for the JNF (with Special Consideration for That of America)*. World Headquarters of the JNF, (Jerusalem, 1925), 1. National Library of Israel, SN 990012806760205171

15. Berger, *Propaganda for the JNF*, 4.

16. Indeed, Hadassah agreed. In June 1930, the *Stockton Independent*, covering a Stockton, CA Hadassah event, reported that, "hot meals are furnished to the children at a very low charge, as part of the child welfare program of Hadassah." Further, the article notes that "youngsters [in the Palestinian Kindergartens] are

taught to form and conduct choirs of their own" to sing songs in "The Hebrew language, long reckoned, like Latin and Greek, among the classical, but dead languages" which "has taken new life and has become, the living, everyday language of the people." *Stockton Independent* Staff. "Allied Jewish Campaign Restoring Jewish Culture to War Torn Europe." *Stockton Independent*, 25 June 1930, 3.

17. For unique insights into Julius Berger's role in encouraging German Jews to immigrate to Palestine during this period see Lilo Stone. "German Zionists in Palestine before 1933," *Journal of Contemporary History* 32, no. 2 (April 1, 1997): 171–86.

18. Central Zionist Archives, Box KKL10, JNF Directorate Meeting, 6 December 1937. Translated from Hebrew by Roni Eshel, Emory University. Significant to note is that while pressure was exerted by members of the Jewish community on US politicians to allow Jews' entry, Palestine as a destination became a less controversial position to lobby for—America first mentalities pervasive in the American political landscape in fact made Palestine a more palatable cause in seeking destinations for homeless Jews without shifting American demography.

19. Winder, Alex. "The 'Western Wall' Riots of 1929: Religious Boundaries and Communal Violence," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 42, no. 1 (2012): 6–23.

20. *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* Staff. "Hadassah Annual Meeting in Atlantic City," *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, 8 Nov. 1929, 1.

21. *Los Angeles Times* Staff. "Einstein Attends a Concert," *Los Angeles Times*, 1931, 19.

22. Historian Yoram Bar-Gal notes that "Films and other materials made with enormous effort to draw the attention of the Jewish and non-Jewish public to the JNF" and that "propaganda and information material was primarily developed with a view to 'the middle circle'" which included "donors, teachers, youth movements, schoolchildren, women's organizations [like Hadassah]." These materials supplemented prior modes like the blue boxes, and were utilized by the JNF for decades. "Other means were encouraged during the period under discussion: games, short films, lectures, and series of books and pamphlets on Eretz Yisrael. At this time the JNF even became the biggest publisher of songbooks to spread the music of Eretz Yisrael, and it was the only national institution to manage this concern between 1927 and 1948." In his book, Bar-Gal only mentions music and this songbook production in this one passage yet references Natan Shahar's work on the subject. Yoram Bar-Gal. *Propaganda and Zionist Education: The Jewish National Fund, 1924–1947*. Rochester: University of Rochester, 2003, 58. It is important to note that both *Shirenu* and *Songs of Zion* as publications are not more extensive than any of the single JNF songsters produced for the American market at this time. Undoubtedly though, the JNF's market reach was far vaster with overlap between Jewish communities in Europe, Palestine, and America.

23. See Carly Beckerman-Boys. "The Reversal of the Passfield White Paper, 1930–1: A Reassessment," *Journal of Contemporary History* 51, no. 2 (2016).

24. Stein. *The Land Question in Palestine,* 116.

25. Yoram Bar-Gal. "The Blue Box and JNF Propaganda Maps, 1930–1947,"

Israel Studies 8, no. 1 (2003): 1–19, 1–2. The JNF likewise sold stamps and "Golden Books" see Bar-Gal. *Propaganda and Zionist Education*, 58.

26. See Yaacov Shavit and Shoshana Sitton. *Staging and Stagers in Modern Jewish Palestine: The Creation of Festive Lore in a New Culture, 1882–1948*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004, 14–15.

27. Head Office of the JNF. *Programme for Purim*. Jerusalem: Jewish National Fund, 1931, 2, National Library of Israel, SN 990035322750205171, 3.

28. Head Office of the JNF, *Programme for Purim*.

29. Head Office of the JNF, *Programme for Purim,* 1. Rosowsky was born in Riga where he went on to establish the first Jewish Conservatory of Music. Rosowsky then immigrated to Palestine in 1925, where he worked as a composer of music for the Hebrew theater Ohel and helped establish the Haganim Music Society, part of an effort to continue the work of the St. Petersburg Society for Jewish Folk Music in Palestine. Rosowsky accepted a faculty position at the Palestine Conservatory of Music in Jerusalem (now the Rubin Academy of Music). JMRC Staff. "Solomon Rosowsky 1878–1962." *Jewish Music Research Center at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem*, Mar. 2021, https://jewish-music.huji.ac.il/content/solomon-rosowsky. Mailamm had a dedicated base of donors amongst American Jewish Women's groups.

30. Head Office of the JNF, *Programme for Purim,* 9.

31. Historian Nina Spiegel provides significant insights into how and why the hora was already an important component of American Jewry's expressions of Zionism. See Nina S. Spiegel. *Embodying Hebrew Culture: Aesthetics, Athletics, and Dance in the Jewish Community of Mandate Palestine*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2013, 7. Raider notes that Zionist folk dance "played a pivotal role in stimulating cultural contact between Jews in the United States and the *Yishuv*. The combination of song and dance, adapted to suit specifically American Jewish needs and purposes, brought an important experiential dimension of haluziyut to the New World." Mark A. Raider. "'Girded for the Superhuman Task': American Jews and the Trope of the Zionist Pioneer, 1925–1956," *American Jewish History* 103, no. 3 (2019), 325.

32. *New York Times* Staff. "Jewish Celebration of Purim Is Started." *New York Times*, 1936.

33. See Hizky Shoham. *Carnival in Tel Aviv: Purim and the Celebration of Urban Zionism*. Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2014, 138–46.

34. JNF. *Programme for Purim*, 9.

35. Stein suggests that "The enormous competition for decreasing amounts of unoccupied land [in the 1930s] drove up prices. The increase in small-landowner and land-broker involvement in land sales complicated the land-sale process. Additional British laws and regulations in Palestine forced the development of creative means to circumvent the legal intent such as those for the protection of tenants' rights." Stein. *The Land Question in Palestine: 1917–1939*, 173.

36. Israel Goldstein. "President's Message Delivered by Dr. Israel Goldstein." Jewish National Fund Conference. Published in *Jewish National Fund to the Fore!* Jewish National Fund of America, Philadelphia, PA. 1934.

37. *Hadassah Chapter Instructions*, December 1933 Series XI-No. 3, 4. National Library of Israel, Hadassah Pamphlets, 1930–1933 Notes Loose leaves in portfolio. Reference number: 990025138150205171.

38. Mira Katzburg-Yungman. "Hadassah in the United States." *Jewish Women's Archive*, June 23, 2021. https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/hadassah-in-united-states

39. Head Office of the JNF. *Hanucah Program*. Jerusalem: Head Office of the JNF, (Jerusalem, 1935), N/A, Foreword. National Library of Israel, SN 990037664010205171; Bar-Gal significantly notes that "JNF propaganda was blended into the ceremonies . . . In fact, the different practices arose from the same motives: raising funds to carry out missions, to ensure the organization's survival, and to nurture the prestige of the institution, its heads, and its activists." Within this context, the Hebrew songs were intended to help make the ceremony more pleasant, fun, entertaining, inclusive and certainly not onerous or boring, but for the JNF's bottom line—to raise money and do so in perpetuity. To do so, they knew that a strong sales pitch was necessary and that there needed to be an intriguing, long term value add by way of entertaining programs, cultural experiences, and a sense of inclusion in an exclusive Zionist institution—an outlook strongly echoed in the August 2021 fundraiser press release, featuring A-list Israeli musicians. Bar-Gal. *Propaganda and Zionist Education,*, 105.

40. The debate prompts were "1. The fight of the Jews against the Greeks is the same as that of Zionism against assimilation. 2. The failure of the Maccabees seemed a foregone conclusion—their victory was a miracle. 3. It would have been better for the Jews had they accepted Hellenism. 4. The Jews refused to accept the Greek religion because they did not understand it. 5. Hanukah has no meaning for the Jews today. 6. The festival of Hanukah—contrary to the spirit of Judaism, because it glorifies War—should be abolished." Head Office of the JNF, *Hanucah Program,* 14.

41. Head Office of the JNF, *Hanucah Program,* 7–8.

42. See François Guesnet. "Chanukah and Its Function in the Invention of a Jewish-Heroic Tradition in Early Zionism, 1880–1900," in *Nationalism, Zionism and Ethnic Mobilization of the Jews in 1900 and Beyond*, ed. Michael Berkowitz. Leiden: Brill, 2004, 227–45.; Bar-Gal notes, in reference to the origins of the JNF's use of *Hanuca* related Hebrew cultural output in the diaspora that "a Hanukah party in a Köln [Germany] Hebrew School where six hundred children and their parents and relatives saw the sights [of Palestine in JNF slide shows occurred] for the first time . . . [participants] listened to the lecture about the lives of fellow Jews on lands acquired by the JNF and in other settlements in Eretz Yisrael." It was viewed by the JNF that the Hanukah program in "Köln could be done in the hundreds of Jewish educational institutes and schools throughout the world. By means of the moral value that exists in presenting the pictures, they are bound to bring in considerable concrete aid to the institution of redemption." Singing songs about the holiday's celebration the *Yishuv* required less exotic equipment than the 1909 slide show (a piano or other instrument to accompany vocalists) yet served a very similar function of building national excitement and cohesion around imagin-

ing *Hanukah* celebrations in Palestine, the JNF's role in enabling those celebration through diasporic funds. As we will see shortly, visual depictions and film technology too is utilized by the JNF in America. Bar-Gal. *Propaganda and Zionist Education*, 75–76.

43. https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=1250

44. https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=373&perf_id=794

45. Guesnet, "Chanukah and Its Function," 78.

46. Rev. John Evans. "Film Portrays Modernization of Palestine." *Chicago Tribune*, 1936. *The Land of Promise* received wide circulation and was part of a greater body Zionist propaganda films of the time—see Hillel Tryster. "'The Land of Promise' (1935): A Case Study in Zionist Film Propaganda," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 15, no. 2 (June 1, 1995): 187–217.

47. *The Land of Promise* is available to stream on YouTube through the Steven Spielberg Jewish Film Archive, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QDoD6W2z01s

48. Anita Shapira. *Israel*. The Schusterman Series in Israel Studies. Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2012, 85–89.

49. See J.C. Hurewitz. *The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics, British-French Supremacy, 1914–1945*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979, 532–38.

50. Irene Heskes. "Shapers of American Jewish Music: Mailamm and the Jewish Music Forum, 1931–62." *American Music* 15, no. 3, 1997, 305–20, 305–6.

51. "Mailamm to Donor." Received by Mrs. Zusner, New York, 26 Feb. 1941, New York. Friends of the Palestine Conservatory Association, Reference Number: MUS 0054 F 244.

52. Mrs. Frank Cohen. "Letter from Mailamm to JNF Director Granovsky." Received by Avraham Granovsky, 1 June 1939, New York, NY. National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, Israel, Palestine Conservatory archive, Series F: Friends of the Palestine Conservatory Association, Reference Number: MUS 0054 F 244

53. Haddash New York Office. "Donor Letter." Received by Mrs. De Sola Pool, Haddash New York Office, 23 Feb. 1941, New York, NY. National Library of Israel, Palestine Conservatory archive (Jerusalem), Series F: Friends of the Palestine conservatory association, Reference Number: MUS 0054 F 006

54. In my archival research at the National Library of Israel's Archive of Song and Sound I uncovered dozens of letters—in the files which contained the above mentioned—between American women involved with Mailamm, Hadassah and The Friends of the Palestine Conservatoire, many of which accounted for large sums of money that were donated to the Conservatoire and other musical projects. While Cohen's frank assessment that refugee settlement eclipsed American Jewish philanthropic interest in the arts in Palestine was indeed correct, my research indicates that monies continued to flow from across the US to Palestine to help build the Conservatoire throughout the 1940s. The conservatoire was indeed completed on a permanent plot of land and still exists in Jerusalem as the Jerusalem Academy of Music and Dance.

55. Tuten. *Between Capital and Land,* 35, 50–51.

56. 1942 was a pivotal point in American Zionism and Jewish life more broadly. As American Jews were exposed to the atrocities of the Holocaust, Zionist sentiment increased. For context about American and international response to news of the Nazi's "Final Solution" see Walter Laqueur. *Terrible Secret: Suppression of the Truth about Hitler's "Final Solution."* New York: Routledge, 2017.

57. Shapira further reminds us that Biltmore's "importance lay first in its declaration of these aims as the war objectives of the Jewish people"—which is a remarkable commentary on the state of Zionist support in America at the time—and, "second [arguably more significant than the policy platform itself] in its being a joint statement by all American Zionist organizations. Supporting the *Yishuv* politically and financially was already a significant part of American Jewish efforts to try and save the remnants of European Jewry and engage in Zionist activities—but it was not long since the Reform establishment and others publicly abhorred the sentiments echoed at the Biltmore. The Platform enumerated the views of many interdenominational American Jews and their leaders' parallel to American Jewry's growing interest in supporting the Zionist cause and increasing access to wealth throughout the 1940s." Shapira, *Ben-Gurion*, 123–24.

58. See Shahar. "The Eretz Israeli Song and the Jewish National Fund," 78–91.

59. See Sandra F. Fox. "Tisha B'Av, 'Ghetto Day,' and Producing 'Authentic' Jews at Postwar Jewish Summer Camps," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 17, no. 2 (2018), 156–72.

60. See Krasner. *The Benderly Boys and American Jewish Education*, 258–322; Camp *Massad*, founded in 1941 in the Poconos region of the northeastern US, was an entirely Zionist-focused camp, intended to create a feeling of being in the *Yishuv* for campers while away from home—an alternative to the Zionist *Camp Achva*, where Nathanson worked as a music director (noted in the previous chapter). Lainer-Vos notes that *Massad* "was Hebrew speaking; its geography was modeled after Israel; and campers engaged in such communal Zionist practices as agricultural work, singing, and hiking." See Dan Lainer-Vos. "Israel in the Poconos: Simulating the Nation in a Zionist Summer Camp." *Theory and Society* 43, no. 1 (2013): 93. While *Massad* was unique in its extreme Zionist and Hebrew foci, many American Jewish camps brought staff that had spent time in Palestine, taught Hebrew and sang Hebrew songs as part of a greater focus on fostering a sense of excitement about and inclusion in Zionism in these unique Jewish communal spaces. Leonard Saxe remarks that "By the 1930s summer camp had become a mass phenomenon with widespread appeal throughout the Jewish community." Further, that "summer camp was a particularly good fit for Zionists . . . Zionist camping arrived on the scene in the 1930s and spread during the 1940s and 1950s. To this day these camps maintain strong Zionist education, a preference for rustic living, and a kibbutz-like feel." Leonard Saxe. "*How Goodly Are Thy Tents*": *Summer Camps as Jewish Socializing Experiences*. Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2003, 25.

61. Shahar. "The Eretz Israeli Song and the Jewish National Fund," 78–91, 87.

62. JNF. *Classified Palestine Songs: Camp Issue,* 1.

63. JNF, *Classified Palestine Songs: Camp Issue,* 2. https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=3665

64. See Lainer-Vos. "Israel in the Poconos," 97.

65. JNF. *Classified Palestine Songs: Camp Issue,* 15–16.

66. Some of these summer camps prior to 1948 were "community based," and not necessarily part of a Jewish denominational movement, some were indeed part of growing denominational educational arms, and some were certainly Jewish but more secular in their focus or associated with different youth movements. See Saxe. *"How Goodly are Thy Tents,"* 24–28. Yet, observing aspects of Jewish religious practice in some way was common amongst camps—of course with great variation, depending on affiliation.

67. While this study only analyzes pieces from the first three (of the five) books in the series, the last two books *Classified Palestine Songs: Nature Festivals* (1944) and *Classified Palestine Songs: Shabbat and Pesach* (1946) continue to use Hebrew songs and Jewish holidays, like we saw with holiday programs in the 1930s to twin Zionism with Jewish religious rituals common in America.

68. Overseas Youth Department of the Head Office of the Jewish, National Fund. *Classified Palestine Songs: Valour and Heroism*. Jerusalem: Overseas Youth Department of the Head Office of the Jewish National Fund, 1943. National Library of Israel, SN990034067870205171; Heskes. "Shapers of American Jewish Music: Mailamm and the Jewish Music Forum, 1931–62," 306–7. https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=2513

69. Zerubavel. "The Politics of Interpretation: Tel Hai in Israel's Collective Memory," 134–35.

70. JNF, *Classified Palestine Songs: Valour and Heroism*, 13.

71. The Overseas Youth Department of the Head Office of the Jewish, National Fund. *Classified Palestine Songs: Children's Songs*. Jerusalem: The Overseas Youth Department of the Head Office of the Jewish National Fund, 1943. National Library of Israel, SN990034067870205171

72. https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=3150

73. Overseas Youth Department, *Classified Palestine Songs,* 8.

74. https://www.zemereshet.co.il/m/song.asp?id=711

75. Tuten. *Between Capital and Land*, 124.

76. Cohen, *The Americanization of Zionism, 1897–1948*, 178.

77. Tuten. *Between Capital and Land,* 124.

78. See Eric J. Fleisch. "Israeli NGOs and American Jewish Donors: The Structures and Dynamics of Power Sharing in a New Philanthropic Era." Dissertation on Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy, Brandeis University, The Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences Brandeis University Department of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies, 2014.

79. L L. Gildesgame of the American Friends for the Palestine Conservatoire, "American Fund for Palestine Institutions." Received by Mr. I Norman, 13 June 1946, New York, NY. National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, Israel, Palestine Conservatory archive, Series F: Friends of the Palestine conservatory association, Reference Number: MUS 0054 F 244.

80. Congregation Beth Israel. "Our History," N/A. https://www.congregation-beth-israel.org/about/our-history/

81. *Daily News* Staff. "New Officers Installed at Meeting of Hadassah," *Daily News*, Wed. May 19, 1948, 7.

82. "Meeting of the Directors of the Jewish National Fund." *JNF Protocol*. Jerusalem, 1945. C.Z.A., Protocol of the Jewish Agency Executive, 25 March 1945. Translated from Hebrew.

83. "Plant Trees." Jewish National Fund-USA, https://shop.jnf.org/collections/plant-trees?_gl=1%2A1uiffex%2A_ga%2ANjQxODg2MDczLjE2NjkxNjk4NzQ.%2A_ga_CK2ZE2TTQR%2AMTY2OTE2OTg3NC4xLjEuMTY2OTE2OTk3OS42MC4wLjA.&_ga=2.58268520.397715684.1669169874–641886073.1669169874

Epilogue

1. See Philip Roth. *The Plot Against America*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2004.

2. Edwin Seroussi. "Music: The 'Jew' of Jewish Studies," Mada'e ha-Yahadut (World Union of Jewish Studies), no. 46 (2009): 3–84.

3. Su Zheng. *Claiming Diaspora: Music, Transnationalism, and Cultural Politics in Asian/Chinese America*, 15.

4. Thomas Salomon. "Theorizing Diaspora and Music," *Lidé města* 17, no. 2 (2015): 201–19, 206.

5. Jonathan D. Sarna. *American Judaism: A History*, 205–6.

6. Martin Goodman. *A History of Judaism: From Its Origins to the Present*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018, 435.

7. Marc Meistrich Gidal. "Catholic Music in Lusophone New Jersey: Circum-Atlantic Music, Intergroup Dynamics, and Immigrant Struggles in Transnational Communities," *American Music* 34, no. 2 (July 1, 2016): 180–217.

8. See Mark A. Raider. "'Girded for the Superhuman Task': American Jews and the Trope of the Zionist Pioneer, 1925–1956," 35–36.

9. Ben Dumbauld. "Worship Music and Cultural Politics in the Chinese-American Church," *Ethnomusicology Review* 17, (2012): 5.

10. Ryan Torok. "Celebrating Israel—at a Drive-In." *Jewish Journal*, April 20, 2021. https://jewishjournal.com/news/335734/celebrating-israel-in-a-drive-in/

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