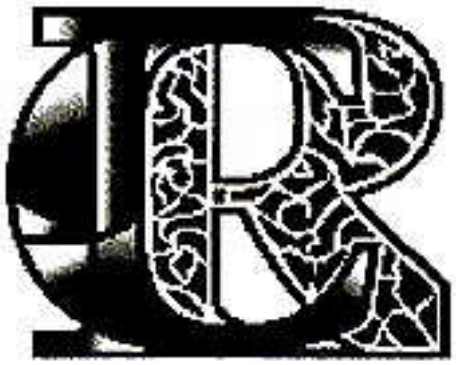

Journal of Religion & Culture

"The Charnukah Being Observed Now": Understanding Hanukkah Through American Newspapers, 1880-1915.

Stein, Blair.

Journal of Religion and Culture, vol. 23 (2012). 39-61p.

The *Journal of Religion and Culture* is a peer-reviewed journal published by the graduate students of the Department of Religion at Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec.

This publication is available online thanks to the support of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec. Neither Concordia University nor its Faculty of Arts and Sciences is liable for any damages, costs, or losses whatsoever arising in any circumstances from these services.

"The Charnukah Being Observed Now": Understanding Hanukkah Through American Newspapers, 1880-1915

Blair Stein

Between 1880 and 1915, Christmas and the Jewish festival of Hanukkah overlapped on the calendar 14 times and only once began on the same day.[1] In 1897, one of the overlapping years, *The Philadelphia Inquirer* published a short excerpt from a talk given by a local rabbi about the "coincidences...in the observances, sentiments, and purposes of the two festivals," especially due to their connection on the calendar ("Festival of Lights" 1897, 3). The trend of asking Jewish religious leaders for their views on Christmas was a popular one, and this particular rabbi was reported as having said that "into the beautiful spirit of Christmas cheer may there be infused some of the spirit of Hanukah heroism," since "the world needs it to-day" (3). In this brief quote, the rabbi was able to connect Christmas and Hanukkah in terms of geniality and goodwill but made the latter more relevant to contemporary times thanks to its spirit of heroism. Between 1880 and 1920, the Jewish population in the United States increased approximately twelve-fold, and Hanukkah became a popular rallying point for American Jews, despite being a minor holiday in terms of religious significance (Sarna 1995, 2).

Hanukkah became an aspect of the creation of American Jewish identity during this period, but why were these celebrators so keen to revive the apocryphal holiday? How did they define it, and how did their non-Jewish neighbours understand what was happening at their local synagogue every winter? This paper examines a variety of American newspaper reports from the turn of the 20th century to shed light on these questions. By analyzing these reports it becomes apparent that local religious leaders helped rebuild a new, revitalized, distinctly American version of Hanukkah, while newspapermen circulated the accounts of this renovated festival. These circulated reports allowed for easy comparisons to be made between Hanukkah and already established holidays such as Christmas and the Fourth of July. The following analysis reveals how Jewish leaders were keen to embrace and emphasize the aspects of Hanukkah that were similar to established American holidays in order to build an accessible and appealing American Jewish festival; newspapermen in turn focused on these renewed practices in their holiday reports and became the medium through which an understanding of Hanukkah reached the greater public.

---

1. Please note that there is no one accepted transliteration of Hanukkah. In order to obtain a sample size of 150 newspaper articles, I searched sixteen different spellings. For the sake of clarity, I will use Hanukkah here unless quoting from a source.

I. AMERICAN JEWS AND A "CULTURAL AWAKENING"

Hanukkah itself is a minor Jewish festival celebrated on the 25th day of the Jewish month of Kislev, which usually corresponds to sometime in November or December. This eight-day celebration commemorates the Maccabean defeat of the Syrians, who repressed and outlawed Jewish customs in Jerusalem in favour of Greek paganism in the second century BCE. The vastly outnumbered Maccabean army, led by Judah Maccabee and his family, triumphed over the Syrian King Antiochus and rededicated the previously desecrated Second Temple at Jerusalem (Heinze 1997, 169). This is known as the miracle of Hanukkah and is commemorated during the holiday through the daily lighting of a nine-armed menorah, or candelabra, in the home. Among the numerous Hanukkah rituals a symbolic spinning-top game known as dreidel, the exchange of gelt, and consumption of oil rich foods are also used to mark the holiday.[2]

The United States experienced a significant influx of Jews between 1880 and 1920, in what has come to be known as the "third migration."[3] (Sorin 1992, 1). In those 40 years, the Jewish population of the United States went from 0.5 per cent, largely of German Reform origin, to approximately 3.5 per cent, many migrating from Europe (58). Hanukkah had all but fallen off the radar in the Reform tradition, but it was still widely practiced elsewhere. In Europe, for example, despite being one of the lesser holidays, it was still current enough to inspire vast celebration and was celebrated widely due to its secular themes of light, freedom, and celebration of military victory.[4] It can be said that at the outset, "third migration" immigrants were already inclined towards a revival and redefinition of Hanukkah because of this preestablish relationship with the holiday. According to historian Jenna Weissman Joselit, Hanukkah "reached its apogee in the 1950s" as a child-centered commercial holiday, not unlike a Jewish version of American Christmas (Joselit 2002, 304). The adaptations of gelt from money for students and teachers to gift exchanges and chocolate coins echos Joselit's observations of the shift in the holiday's persona. The first records of this shift in the holiday are from the early parts of the "third migration" of Jews to the United States (304).

Historian Jonathan Sarna develops this historical shift further to include those already-established Reform Jews in the United States as agents inclined to revive

2. The symbols on the four-sided dreidel stand for "A Great Miracle Happened There," referring to the oil in the Temple. In Israel, dreidels read "A Great Miracle Happened Here."

3. For an excellent detailed analysis of Jewish populations in the United States over time, see Weissbach 1988, 79-98.

4. Many early twentieth-century scholars of Judaism wrote extensively on European holiday practices. For examples of this genre, see Schauss 1938; and Idelsohn 1930.

Hanukkah. The influx of immigrants, while vital to the reshaping of Hanukkah, was alone not enough to trigger what he calls, "a period of religious and cultural awakening, parallel but by no means identical to what Protestantism experienced" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Sarna 1995, 6). Instead, the period was linked to larger transitions faced by the American Jewish community. Mass immigration certainly played a role but so did rising anti-Semitism in the United States, the establishment of organizations like the Young Men's Hebrew Association (YMHA), and growing discomfort with the universalist tendencies of Reform Judaism. All of these factors led to a redefinition of the Jews in the United States as a people rather than a faith; Hanukkah emerged to fit with this new understanding of "Jewish peoplehood." Sarna sees the Hanukkah revival as an important aspect of this cultural awakening (30). Despite these larger transitions faced by American Jews, Sarna also recognizes that the revitalized Hanukkah was "a direct challenge to Reform Judaism, which had renounced national aspects of Judaism as antithetical to the modern spirit" (13). Therefore, the Hanukkah revival was a natural fit with the millions of new Jewish Americans who were more prepared to reject the assimilationist tendencies characteristic of Reform and embraced a Judaism that emphasized historical and religious tradition (15).

Thanks to both a groundswell of revival and the mass immigration of a group of Jews whose idiomatic possibilities lent themselves to celebrating national holidays, the earliest popular celebrations of American Hanukkah took place in the 1880s. Contemporary newspapers are quick to define Hanukkah as a nascent holiday, practiced only by the most devout, reflecting the slowly growing Orthodox Jewish population in the United States. "This custom was formerly very generally observed," wrote a reporter for *The Daily Picayune* from New Orleans in 1880, "but is now wholly confined to those who still keep the faith with the strict devotion of their fathers" ("The Feast of Chanukah" 1880, 11). This is an obvious reference to the already-established Reform population in New Orleans who had slowly been americanizing their religious practices. Newspapers throughout the sample refer to Hanukkah as an Orthodox tradition but an increasingly popular one among all sects. *The Hartford Courant*, for instance, reported in 1902 that for Hanukkah, "special services are held in all the synagogues, though the orthodox Hebrews make more of the festival than the reformed Hebrews do" ("Holiday of Chanukah" 1902, 4). The identification of Hanukkah as an Orthodox holiday can be found in a large number of these reports.

During the later part of the nineteenth century, reports indicate that reporters writing on Hanukkah attended some sort of holiday celebration or at the very least talked to a Jewish community leader. These reporters often describe synagogue decor and occasionally include excerpts from holiday sermons. An article from *The Dallas*

Weekly Herald hints at this process; the reporter personalizes his story by mentioning the moment that he entered the synagogue and lamenting the fact that he "could not at this time get the names of neither the eloquent children nor the beautiful recitations" from the service ("Channukah, or Feast of Dedication" 1882, 5). However, by the early 20th century, the picture of holiday reporting changes substantially. Starting around 1910, the Jewish Holidays Press Notice Bureau (JHPNB) began sending out bulletins with a generic description of the holiday to major press outlets.[5] There is little literature on the Bureau, but what can be gleaned from the newspaper articles is that the Bureau was based in New York City, and writers there would create and circulate bulletins outlining the history and practice of various holidays to major city newspapers. As a result, after 1910, reports on Hanukkah become more and more standardized with less geographic variation. These bulletins were meant to be read by non-Jewish audiences and were printed exclusively in secular newspapers. The Jewish Holidays Press Notice Bureau created a specific version of Hanukkah that was shared across the country.

II. HANUKKAH AND CHRISTMAS

Direct comparisons of Hanukkah to Christmas are not explicit until the mid-1880s, when commercial Christmas efforts became exponentially more frenzied. Christmas consumption experienced something akin to a revival in this period, a revival sparked by a mix of Victorian sensibilities of intimacy and family as well as what historian Leigh Eric Schmidt calls the "usual suspects" of reform, industrialization, and Christianization (Schmidt 1995, 123). For 19th-century reformers concerned with Christmas, this revival was best exemplified in terms of gift giving, especially to children. Gift giving, according to Schmidt, was a natural fit for the Biblical story of the Three Wise Men and the benedictions of angels, and was therefore re-purposed from an adults only New Year's practice to a Christmastime family tradition (Schmit 1995, 124-125). By the 1880s, when "third migration" Orthodox Jews were experiencing American Christmas, the holiday had exploded in popularity; Santa Claus had become an established symbol, department stores were producing extravagant displays, and the hearth had all but usurped the church as the primary place of Christmas worship. Christmas had become an American holiday rather than a Christian one. This national sentiment was echoed by new American Jews.

5. This regulation of Hanukkah articles is evident in the 1 December 1915 edition of the *Charlotte Daily Observer*, where an "account of the festival and its celebration [was] sent out from the JHPNB of New York, and [was] prepared by special writers ("Feast of Lights Begins Tomorrow" 1915, 7). Around 1910, the same article about Hanukkah was printed in up to ten different newspapers from disparate states; it can be assumed that some sort of centralized press bureau was responsible for these reports.

The most obvious similarity between Christmas and Hanukkah outside the calendar is the use of lights, either on the Christmas tree or menorah. Newspapers, whether informed by a local rabbi, reporter, or the JHPNB, were quick to point out these parallels. One report, printed in a 1909 *Seattle Star* (potentially written by the JHPNB) begins with the matter-of-fact statement that "light is the predominating feature of the festival of Chanukah" ("Story of Chanukah, Festival of Lights, Which Begins Today" 1909, 4). Furthermore, in his 1908 sermon, Philadelphia rabbi Henry Berkowitz was reported to have pointed out this similarity by saying that "while Christmas trees are ablaze in Christian homes, the homes of Jews are illumined with the lights that recall the joyous dedication of the altar in Jerusalem" ("Christmas is Topic of Rabbi" 1908, 2). Berkowitz used this comparison, according to *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, to point out the parallel Christian and Jewish devotion to the "beautiful ethics" of both holidays (2). Newspaper reporters, with the help of religious leaders like Berkowitz, drew on these accessible connections to highlight the sentimental aspects of both festivals.

According to the JHPNB, Christmas and Hanukkah include similar practices of candle lighting because the two holidays share common roots. The writer of one 1888 report in the upstate New York *Suffolk County News* suggests that Christmas trees are lit because the Nativity was around the 25th day of Kislev, when "every Jewish house in Bethlehem and Jerusalem was twinkling with lights" ("How Came the Lights on the Christmas Tree?" 1888). This article was printed almost annually in the *Suffolk County News* until as late as 1905 and is emblematic of the popular conflation of the origins of the two holidays. Furthermore, it became increasingly common to connect both festivals to earlier pagan winter solstice celebrations. An article from the JHPNB, first circulated around 1912, postulated "a theory that even before the historical event which Chanukkah celebrates, the feast had been observed...as the beginning of the winter solstice...and the Roman Saturnalia which occur at about the same time and are likewise celebrated by the lighting of lights and the interchange of gifts" ("Chankkah Feast of Dedication" 1912, 1). According to a reporter at the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, the winter solstice, which he considered the inspiration for both Christmas and Hanukkah, "was a season of rejoicing that the sun had not cast the people off forever" ("The 'Feast of Lights'" 1891, 4). It becomes clear from secular newspaper reports, informed by rabbis, that Christmas is indebted to Jewish tradition and that both holidays are given legitimacy, even by the Jewish press, through their ancient pagan connections. Because the festivals were considered similar due to their home based practices, newspapers used these metaphors with abandon, building a version of Hanukkah that lent itself to easy-to-understand idioms.

Newspaper reports made clear, however, that the potential commonality with Saturnalia or other pagan festivals did not put Hanukkah and Christmas on equal terms; Hanukkah both predated and was considered responsible for Christmas. Because the Maccabean battle was over 150 years before the birth of Christ and was considered a struggle for the preservation of the Jewish nation, hypothetical situations detailing what might have happened had the battle of Hanukkah not taken place were extremely common. "Suppose," one rabbi posited in the *Houston Daily Post*, "Antiochus had succeeded in his wild attempt to Hellenize Judea; the whole current of the world's religions would have been changed" ("The Feast of Hanukkah" 1897, 6). Hanukkah was described as the catalyst for the establishment of world religions, including both Christianity and Islam. "Had the Assyrian force destroyed Judaism," one San Francisco rabbi was quoted as saying in 1907, "there would have been no Christianity and no Mohammedism, both of which owe their existence to the bible and Judaism" ("Hebrews Celebrate the Hanukah Festival" 1907, 12). This theme is repeated in sermons described in newspapers throughout the sample; the fate of the world depended exclusively on the heroism of the Maccabees, and without them, Christmas, complete with its gifts and coniferous trees, would not have existed.

In a *Boston Daily Globe* article from 1911, the reporter mentions that Hanukkah "is also becoming a holiday of gifts, coming as it does close to the Christmas holidays" ("Jews Observe the Chanukah Festival" 1911, 2); outside of the deep temporal connections, gifts and children were the primary elements seen to link the two festivals. Buying and spending were representative of American abundance, which is described in great detail by historian Andrew Heinze. Heinze looks mainly at the role that consumption has played in the creation of Jewish American identity, especially in terms of what he calls "the adaptation of immigrants to the 'perspective of abundance'" (Heinze 1990, 3). Jewish immigrants, he argues, saw material things as evocative aspects of American culture, and Hanukkah became a conduit for their desire to acculturate. "Through the winter rite of consumption," according to Heinze, "the majority of newcomers found the easiest way to incorporate an American attitude into Chanukah"; purchasing gifts for children was an attempt to fuse American traditions with old-world Jewish practices (1990, 78). This is evident in secular press articles devoted to Jewish customs. For instance, after performing songs and recitations in a 1894 Hanukkah service at Temple Ohabei Sholom in Boston, "every child present, and there were some pretty big ones, found his way up on the platform and received a box" of candy; nearly 500 pounds had been distributed to the children of the community by the end of the ceremony ("Feast of Lights Begins" 189, 6). Newspapermen saw these child-centered practices not as what Heinze calls "an effort to embrace the American spirit," but as an

easy link between Hanukkah and Christmas that their readership would understand (Heinze 1990, 76).

Even though rabbis and reporters point out repeatedly that Hanukkah's origins are not necessarily child-centered, children were becoming more involved in Hanukkah at home and in the synagogues thanks to Christmas and the steady revival of this Jewish holiday. Even before gift giving became overwhelmingly common, the excitement of Jewish children during the holidays was highlighted. For example, an 1891 report in *The Wheeling Register* stated that Hanukkah is "a feast which makes the old Jewish folks look back to their childhood days and young ones flutter with excitement" ("Chanucah" 1891, 5). The article makes no mention of gifts but simply of Jewish children's hearts fluttering in anticipation of feasting, storytelling, and laughter. Beginning around the turn of the century, giving gifts became just as important to the Hanukkah spirit as lighting candles, both of which took place almost exclusively in the home. For instance, an 1894 report in the *Boston Daily Globe* describes Hanukkah practices in one sentence: "It is a season of joy, which finds expression principally by illumination of the houses and synagogues of the faithful, and by special ministrations to the happiness of the little ones, one feature of the celebration being the bestowal of gifts after the manner of the Christians' Christmas" ("Feast of Lights Begins" 1894, 6); certainly gift giving, which was rapidly becoming one of the defining features of Christmas celebrations, was also noticed by reporters as a feature of Hanukkah. Gift giving, child-centeredness, and home practice were seen as increasingly important aspects of American religious piety. In the words of historian Margaret Lamberts Bendroth, religion in the home was becoming, "deputized...as an arm of the church without any clear historical, biblical, or theological warrant" (Bendroth 2002, 59). A similar sentimental home practice found its way into Hanukkah celebrations and, in accordance with Bendroth's argument, was less dictated by religious leaders. Still, reporters saw it as a valuable way to explain the joyous spirit of the geniality present in both winter holidays. In a 1903 article *The Atlanta Constitution* explains how the "Jewish feast of the Charnukah" was observed, the reporter wrote that since the "faraway time" of the rededication of the Temple, Jews have "gather[ed] about their fire-sides [to] go through this same ceremony" ("Jewish Feast of the Charnukah Being Observed Now in Atlanta" 1903, 10). According to the reporters, the ancient Hanukkah practices were transmuted into home celebrations illuminated by the glow of the symbolic flame.

Connections between ancient Hanukkah celebrations, Christmas candles, and menorahs were continually used as justifications for why both festivals centered around children and gifts; newspaper reports also suggest that this borrowing of traditions was considered mutual. A 1909 newspaper report in the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* by famous

rabbi Emil Hirsch makes the point that "not until the early part of the nineteenth century did the lights on the tree come in vogue," indicating that there was at least a basic understanding that public celebrations of both Hanukkah and Christmas were not based particularly on biblical traditions (Hirsch 1909, 6). Therefore, exercises in syncretism were defining features of Christmas-Hanukkah comparative reports. One 1908 report from the *Duluth News-Tribune* makes similar connections when it says that Hanukkah "is somewhat similar to the old orthodox Christmas feast, and many Jews believe that the Christmas idea was taken from it" ("Christmas Spirit in Jewish Homes" 1908, 14). A 1904 *Boston Daily Globe* article goes so far as to say, "as the Christian world had borrowed its beautiful Christmas from Judaism, so did the latter go to Christianity for its most delightful festival of Chanukah" ("Holiday of Chanukah" 1904, 3). It seems as though this borrowing was deemed mutual by reporters and even American Jews; a Fort Worth synagogue was reported to have featured "a tree, illuminated with the Chanukah lights" ("Hebrew Festival Day to be Celebrated" 1902, 4) and in Duluth, "the majority of the smaller [Jewish] children have a firm belief in Santa Claus" ("Christmas Spirit in Jewish Homes" 1908, 14).

This potentially mutual borrowing of Christmas and Hanukkah traditions, whether they be lights, trees, or gifts, sparked a great deal of debate among various American Jewish communities, in terms of both the grand narrative of the holiday and the more intimate home celebrations. Many rabbis spoke to their congregations and local newspapers concerning how to best approach Christmas and which Christmas symbols were safe to incorporate into Jewish winter celebrations. Historian Jenna Weissman Joselit suggests that the trend of rabbis being more "inclined to experiment with Christmas" was extremely widespread (Joselit 1994, 230). Joselit's research highlights the difference of perspective on the celebration of Hanukkah in the twentieth century United States between the Jewish American community and their secular observers. Based upon an almost exclusive reliance on Jewish sources, Joselit suggests that Jewish leaders may have been concerned about the fate of Hanukkah in there communities. They welcomed new practices in an attempt to steward the future of that holiday and the Jewish community in general. Conversely, secular newspapers identified a clear rise in the celebration of Hanukkah, attributing this growth of practice to similarities between that holiday and other modern American holidays.

American Jews made use of certain Christmas traditions, albeit more secular ones like Christmas trees and gift giving. Many holiday sermons given by local rabbis were reported on as comparing the two holidays and making judgments on whether incorporating Christmas symbols, mirth-filled or not, was a legitimate choice for Jews. One Boston rabbi was asked about the "lost cause" of Hanukkah as a unique holiday

separate from Christmas. His answer further emphasized the Jewish understanding of a secular sort of Christmas: "Christmas has a double aspect, a social and a theological side. The Jew can and does heartily join in the social Christmas, but he must...[refuse] to accept the theological Christmas" ("Jews Share in Christmas" 1910, 9). According to this statement, Jews were welcome to join in the traditions of shopping and the spirit of "peace on earth," but embracing the reasons for celebrating Christmas was dangerous. As one New York rabbi told his congregation in 1894,

> The similarity is even more marked by the fact that merry-making, music and the interchange of presents are customary on both festivals. These common observances, as well as the coincidence of date, have caused confusion in the minds of many Jews...[and] the habit of vacillation should be strenuously resisted ("Christmas or Chanukah?" 1894, 1).

These sentiments and concerns are echoed throughout this period and are reported on by newspapers especially keen to point out that the rapidly expanding commercial holiday efforts were a common language understood by those of all faiths.

Newspapers also became keen to find what the *New York Times* called in 1889 "a Jewish view of Christmas" (Isaacs 1889, 15).[6] Generally these reporters called upon local rabbis to make a statement about Christmas, most often during years when Christmas and Hanukkah overlapped. The "Jewish view" remains strikingly similar throughout the 35-year period; as New York rabbi A. Isaacs wrote, "we Hebrews, disguise it as we may, cannot but feel the genial influence of the Christmastide" (15). This is certainly reflexive of the Jewish acceptance of abundance as American identity, since Christmas had come to represent shopping and family. Rabbi Emil Hirsch was continually called upon for his "Jewish view of the holiday" (Hirsch 1900, 37). Hirsch, like Isaacs, concerned himself with the genial Christmas spirit. Hirsch, however, saw American Jews as all but forced into the sentiment of "peace on earth," writing that "the Jew living under Western surroundings finds himself confronted...[and] cannot escape the influences dominant in his environments"(Hirsch 1900, 37). Hirsch is especially worried that American Jews would become too embroiled in the Christmas spirit to remember that, "they have a holy season of their own almost concurrent with the calendar fixation of Christmas" (37). As newspapers sought out a Jewish interpretation of the holiday season, community leaders like Hirsch and Washington-based rabbi Loeb who wrote of the "renegades...who commingle with the merry jingle of the Christmas bells," used their print space to warn their Jewish readership of the dangers of adapting Christmas symbols ("Fooleries of the Pagan" 1903, 12). Although the readership of these

6. For example, in the year Isaacs was contacted for the above citation, 1889, the last night of Hanukkah was Christmas Eve.

newspapers was not primarily Jewish, these views seem to be directed at Jewish readers or, at the very least, designed to explain the holiday dilemma faced by local Jewish populations.

III. HANUKKAH AND AMERICAN NATIONAL HOLIDAYS

Although scholars like Joselit and Heinze have identified Christmas as an American holiday in the minds of American Jews, other American holidays like Thanksgiving, Labour Day, and the Fourth of July were also considered valuable tools in the construction of American Jewish identity. For example Heinze suggests that Labour Day fit the "organizational flare of Jewish workers" evidenced in their fairly widespread involvement in labour movements (Heinze 1990, 72). In her recent work , *History Lessons: The Creation of American Jewish Heritage*, Beth Wenger considers public celebrations, such as Labour Day, as a common way in which American Jews developed a group heritage and inserted themselves into the American narrative. She indicates that Jewish celebrations of American holidays allowed for "public retellings of a variety of historical narratives...about both America and the Jews" (Wenger 2010, 59). Although she deals mostly with Reform groups, it is easy to imagine that immigrant Orthodox Jews fleeing persecution in their home countries would be as eager to insert themselves into the American story; Wenger points out that Jewish scholars saw the mass immigration as a new dynamic chapter in Jewish history (Wenger 2010, 76). Adapting national holidays as their own allowed American Jews to assert their allegiance to the United States "while also expressing their vision of what the nation should be" (59).

Atlanta-based Rabbi Reich's 1891 holiday sermon was titled "Hanukah or Christmas -- Which?" but Despite having Christmas in its title, Reich promoted Hanukkah as partnered with a truly American holiday: the Fourth of July ("Jewish Festival" 1891, 7). Linking these two holidays was quite common among late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century newspapers and was a better fit with American Jews self-identifying as a historical people than as a religious group. Rabbi Reich's justification for building Hanukkah as a national rather than religious holiday was that it is "replete with memories of heroism and the gaining of hard-fought-for rights" (7). These themes of battle memory, revolution, heroism, and rights (especially freedom of religion) were common reasons that Jewish leaders and subsequently newspaper reporters made links to the Fourth of July. Hanukkah "is the Jewish Fourth of July instead of Christmas," wrote a reporter for the Duluth, *Minnesota Sunday News Tribune*, and has "a patriotic as well as a religious significance and is now becoming a children's festival" (*Jewish Fourth of July* 1893, 8). The conflation of Hanukkah with the Fourth of July, patriotism with religion, and children's festivals with military victories allowed American Jews to build

a Hanukkah with a deeper significance than the commercial hullaballoo that Christmas had become.[7] Unlike comparisons to Christmas, which were instantaneous with the first rumblings of popular Hanukkah celebrations, Fourth of July links developed more gradually. Despite highlighting the perseverance of the "warrior Jews," for instance, one 1899 report in *The Sun* from Baltimore indicated that "in recent years the ideal end striven for has become the glory of the nation, not the heroic means by which that end was accomplished" ("Hebrew Feast of Hannukkah" 1899, 12). It becomes clear over time that, for Jewish readers, the nation whose glory is celebrated in the performance of Hanukkah rituals is the American nation and not necessarily the Maccabean.

Religious leaders equated the Maccabean struggle for religious freedom to the founding principles of the United States, the war for independence, and the pantheon of historical war heroes created thereafter. Jewish leaders and institutions like the JHPNB framed the Maccabean war for independence as a precursor to the American battle for independence, as well as one of the great battles of history. Historian Beth Wenger goes so far as to say that the Fourth of July, in the eyes of American Jews, "commemorated the freedoms granted both by Jews and to Jews" (Wenger 2010, 76). Moments in biblical history, like the battle of the Maccabees or the Exodus, were the precursors to the American struggle for independence and American independence conversely gave American Jews their national freedoms. By using dramatic language, comparisons to Revolutionary War heroes, and the occasional glance at contemporary world events and community leaders, reporters built a Hanukkah that was equal parts Biblical story and American allegory. Attempts to insert religious and national identities into an American framework were not uncommon among immigrant groups, including Catholics from the same regions as "third migration" Jews; inserting their stories into the American narrative was a way for these immigrant groups to establish themselves as both unique and belonging (Dolan 2002, 73).

Concerns about religion and nationality certainly were weighing on the minds of immigrant Jews, but they were quick to lean towards nationality as a defining principle by using patriotic and dramatic rhetoric to equate the struggle for Jewish survival at the Battle of the Maccabees with the fight for American independence. Patriotic language was an increasingly important tool used to describe the Maccabean battle in American terms, and therefore, making comparisons to the Fourth of July. One report, likely sent out by the JHPNB, was reprinted in a variety of newspapers starting in 1910. What makes this particular report stand out is the language used to describe the Jewish uprisings in Syria that led to the battle for Hanukkah.

7. Schmidt indicates that there was discontent even among Christians concerning the commercialization of Christmas (Schmidt 1995, 175).

> Driven by the frenzied idea that political unity was dependent on one religion and one language...the mad king proceeded to force Greek customs, gods, speech and worship upon Judea. Spanish and Russian persecution finds here its stupid and suicidal prototype. The king failed to count upon the valor and resistance of his enemy. The gauntlet was thrown down. The issue was drawn. The Jew rushed to arms. It was a fight for existence. It was a fight for freedom to worship God. It was a fight of Jove against Jehovah...of polytheism against monotheism. The spiritual destinies of the world were hanging in the balance. The Jew was fighting the battle for humanity (*Hanukkah, Feast of Lights, Great Jewish Holiday* 1910, 1).

The report's grand conclusions about the holiday are that although it had become largely a children's festival, those children should be inspired by the bravery of the Maccabees and "devote themselves, unstintingly, to the glory of their God and country" (*"*Hanukkah, Feast of Lights, Great Jewish Holiday" 1910, 1). This one article has many typical elements of the Fourth of July comparisons without explicitly mentioning the holiday; the abundance of patriotic terms makes the comparisons easy to identify. First, there is the understanding that Hanukkah, like the Fourth of July, celebrates "one of the most momentous periods and victories in...universal history" (1). Then there are hints of the religious pluralism and freedom to worship, a key aspect of American identity, that the "mad king" was too tyrannical to allow his followers. Finally, alongside the idea that the battle for Hanukkah allowed the establishment of Christianity and that children have a role to play in holiday celebrations, there is a glance at other periods of Jewish persecution. These elements are repeated consistently in newspapers across the sample, and they all establish Hanukkah as a Jewish Fourth of July worthy of fireworks.

Even the religious and military heroes described in Jewish and American historical texts become conflated in newspaper reports. This is most common when the elements of American identity and child-centeredness come together; since America's heroes are meant to be revered by American children, Jewish heroes must hold a similar place. For example, Rabbi Kleeberg is described by a reporter from *The New Haven Evening Register* as saying "that we too, like all other nations, have had our heroes"("Chanuka Celebration" 1886, 4) and Kleeberg continues on, equating Judah Maccabee with the great founding fathers and American revolutionary warriors in his Hanukkah sermon. However, "Americanism" usurps Judaism in this scene, since Kleeberg goes on to say that "all [heroes] should not fill such a place as [George] Washington or [Ulysses S.] Grant,"(4) and the American child must reserve a special reverence for these heroes. The Jewish-American child should do the same but use the heros' accomplishments as models by which to "strive to elevate the Jewish faith" (4). Historian Beth Wenger isolates George Washington specifically as a common rallying point that "neatly paralleled biblical history and American history" in a way that created a pantheon of role models that could serve the dual purpose of inspiring

patriotic pride and religious fervour in the American context (Wenger 2010, 59). One rabbi was reported in the *San Francisco Call* as explicitly calling Judah Maccabee "the Washington of Palestine" ("'Chauncha' or 'Feast of Lights'" 1898, 5). Washington conjured up many of the same sentiments as Judah Maccabee (Wenger paints them both as "brave soldiers and national liberators"), and American Jews drew upon these connections to make implicit links between the American and Jewish stories (Wenger 2010, 82).

Characterizing Hanukkah as a national holiday allowed Jewish community leaders, and subsequently newspapers, to give the festival more relevance to contemporary conflicts alongside historical ones. This conceptualization allowed Hanukkah to emerge as a relevant, and even military, holiday.

The conflations of Maccabean heroes and battles with those of world and American history were extrapolated upon further and compared to contemporary struggles in Jewish history. Although not directly allowing for connections between Hanukkah and the Fourth of July, these links allowed reporters, to highlight the relevance of the holiday in terms of militancy and nationalism. At a Hanukkah event for new immigrants in New Orleans in 1881, one community leader was reported as saying that "the time when the Jew is persecuted on account of his religion was not yet over," and all one needed to do to truly understand the pain of oppression was to go "where the Jewish emigrants [sic] were quartered" ("Celebrating the Chanukah" 1881, 2). The story of Hanukkah - one of freedom from tyranny - was clearly salient to these new immigrants whose life in Europe, in the words of historian Gerald Sorin, "had no present...[only hope] for an improved future" (Sorin 1992, 15). These immigrants and their historical and contemporary counterparts overseas were considered by Jewish leaders and secular reporters to be among the most irrepressible peoples. According to Omaha Rabbi Frederick Cohn, as reported in the *Morning World-Herald*, "the Jews have been the most heroic of all nations for centuries in the face of all sorts of persecutions" ("Omaha Jews Celebrate the Feast of Lights" 1905, 12). By focusing on Rabbis' characterizations of the Jews as a resilient people and the Syrian persecution that led to the Hanukkah uprising as one in a long line of subjugations, reporters equated the Hanukkah story with the then current plight of American Jews, making it a relevant and applicable holiday.

Rabbis and reporters used similar tactics even when the contemporary conflicts at hand did not involve the Jewish people. In the same article from the *Morning World-Herald*, Rabbi Cohn equates the tenacity of the vastly outnumbered Maccabees to "the little Japanese in their war against the powerful Russian empire"(12). Expanding further on Hanukkah's relevance, rabbis' sermons, directed at their congregations but printed

for a wider audience, made connections between Hanukkah and world affairs, once again describing the holiday in relevant terms, easily understood. Rabbi Cohn, for instance, indicates that like the Maccabees, each Japanese solider "was fighting for his home, and naturally his spirit was in it. It is this spirit that makes heroes" (12). Granting the same qualities to Maccabean and Japanese soldiers allowed for easy insertions of the Hanukkah story into contemporary narratives, making the holiday an extremely pertinent one. During a sermon delivered by the already-mentioned Rabbi Berkowitz in 1897, for example, he was reported to have said:

> The nations stand with drawn swords ready to spring at each other's throats. Millions are spent in armaments. China is to be parceled out by those with whom might is right. The Jew feels keenly the sham of the Christmas peal, 'Peace on earth, good will to men,' for in the midst of this Christian civilization he scarcely has a safe home. The world needs more of the moral heroism of the Maccabees that we may have less sham and more truth, less preaching and more practicing of...'Peace on earth, good will to men.' ("Festival of Lights" 1897, 3)

Slight hyperbole aside, this demonstrates both the Jewish approach to Americanizing Hanukkah, and the journalistic approach to describing it. This excerpt published in *The Philadelphia Inquirer* was nearly the entirety of Berkowitz's answer to a question concerning similarities between Christmas and Hanukkah. Not only did Berkowitz imply that Hanukkah is a nobler holiday because of its militant undertones so relevant to contemporary issues, but the newspaper printed only that portion of his speech, actively emphasizing that aspect of his larger answer.

Still, the majority of military comparisons made by Jewish leaders and newspapers were to American struggles and the freedom to worship guaranteed by those struggles. Rabbi Stern, from Washington, D.C., told his young congregation in 1900 that they "lived in a country where they were free to believe or not, to believe and to worship God in their own way" ("Festival of the Lights" 1900, 4). This, he continued, was because of the struggle of the Maccabees who pioneered battles for religious freedom. Titles of sermons reflected these ideas of freedom and religion: "Hanuka For the World" printed in 1902, *New York Tribune*; "Our Debt to the Maccabees" delivered in 1905 in Omaha; and "For Religious Freedom" composed in 1912 in Boston. A rabbi from Boston was quoted as saying, "freedom has been spoken with a Hebrew accent." This, he points out, was ultimately due to the battle of the Maccabees because "to fight for religion...was then a new thing" ("For Religious Freedom" 1912, 8). Jewish leaders, and subsequently reporters, were increasingly comfortable with crediting the Hanukkah story as the inspiration, albeit indirectly, for the establishment of an American national identity. The sermons may have been directed at Jewish congregations, but the chosen excerpts and summaries printed in newspapers had a much wider readership. Drawing

allusions to the well-known American story not only allowed Jews to situate themselves within the established narrative but also allowed a wide spectrum of readers to grasp a new holiday using parameters they could easily understand.

It is evident that around the turn of the century, Jewish leaders were not only unafraid to use the Hanukkah story to draw parallels to the American story of freedom but were using that story to place American Jews within contemporary society. In 1900, the *Dallas Morning News* reprinted the Hanukkah sermon of one Rabbi Cohen who tells the story of the Maccabees with a decidedly patriotic twist; he opened his sermon with "we sing the praises of the heroes who in the hours of deepest despair arose to fight for their country, their people, and their religion" ("The Feast of Dedication" 1900, 10). However, he extrapolates from the story substantially, placing the historical bravery of the Maccabees within a contemporary American context. This was not uncommon for religious leaders at the turn of the century looking to carve out a niche for their congregations in the American narrative. As Beth Wenger states in *History Lessons*, American Jews used national holidays as "regular occasions for them to champion the essential compatibility of Jewish and American values and to establish a Jewish presence within American culture" (Wenger 2010, 59). Cohen's successor in Dallas, Rabbi Greenburg, inserted Jews next to Theodore Roosevelt and his team of Rough Riders, and as both Confederate and Union soldiers, claiming that "from the beginning of the American Republic the Jew has taken a worthy part in military and civil life" ("Observe Festival Hanukkah" 1913, 4). The Spanish-American and Civil Wars were recent ones, and the role Jews played was emphasized. In an earlier sermon, Rabbi Cohen had urged his congregation to be "patriotic and devoted citizens" because the Jews "are now recognized as integral parts of...this land of liberty" ("The Feast of Dedication" 1900, 10). Liberty, represented generally as freedom of religion, has been demonstrated to be a universally recognized link between the Maccabean struggle and American founding principles, but Rabbi Cohen makes the two one and the same when he tells his congregation that "with the inspiring notes of the ancient Chanukah melody we have blended the stirring harmony of the national anthem of America" (10).

These stirring theoretical calls for patriotism often manifested themselves physically in Hanukkah practices. As early as the 1890s, tableaux of American history were featured in Hanukkah pageants, including one in San Francisco called *Young America*. Tellingly, the reporter writes that several dramatic pieces were performed but only mentions *Young America* by name to highlight the "telling points" brought forward by the piece ("Feast of the Candles" 1896, 1). An 1898 service in Butte, Montana was reported to have opened with the song "America" and closed with the national anthem, and the walls of one Chicago synagogue were reported as being "hung with American

flags" ("Joy Ruled the Feast" 1898, 6; "Tots at Hanukah Feast" 1896, 3). The Hanukkah activities that took place in 1904 at the Congregation Ahavath Sholom in Fort Worth are even more telling, especially in terms of decorations. Not only did the song "My Country" close the ceremony, but "the synagogue was decorated with red, white and blue electric lights, with ribbons of the same colors. The American flag, the Stars and Stripes, the Maccabee black, red and white, with the word Maccabee on it, and the Zion flag...with the word Zion on it in the double triangle, floated about in honor of the day so joyously commemorated" ("Chanukah Feast is Celebrated" 1904, 11).

IV. CONCLUSION

There may have been debate about how much of the Christmas spirit local Jews should be prepared to embrace, but there were no qualms with putting the American flag on par with the Maccabean nation or the still-nascent call for a national home for the Jews in the form of Zion. Synagogues were decorated with national memorabilia, Maccabean heroes were compared to George Washington, and rhetoric associated with the Revolutionary War was used extensively. In 1905, for example, *The San Francisco Call* reported on a sermon made by Rabbi Nieto called "Lighting the Fires of Liberty," where he "made each separate light symbolize the progressive step of humanity toward the ideal goal -- liberty" ("Rev. Dr. Nieto Lectures on Festival of Hanukkah" 1905, 4). Liberty, as mentioned, is a word with a particularly American significance and reporters often capitalized on these terms to explain Hanukkah. By infusing ideas of liberty and freedom into their sermons, American rabbis ensured that a particular characterization of Hanukkah couched in Fourth of July patriotic terms was distilled and disseminated to a wide readership through secular newspapers. This built an understanding of Hanukkah that fit directly into the American narrative.

Today, little of the blatant insertion of Fourth of July values into Hanukkah traditions remains, but comparisons to Christmas in North America are still rampant. In 2005, the most recent year that Hanukkah and Christmas began on the same day, newspapers across the United States were comparing the holidays without reserve. One reporter for the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* wrote that Hanukkah is "actually a minor Jewish holiday," and like her contemporaries a hundred years earlier, asked a rabbi for his perspective on the coincidence of Hanukkah and Christmas. His response was that "the one thing Hanukkah has in common with Christmas is the theme of hope, warmth and light in a season of cold and dark" (Kalson 2005, B1-2). These same sentiments can be found in newspapers from nearly a century and a quarter earlier, but the difference is that in the 19th century these comparisons were new. The 1880s saw a groundswell of American Jews who openly and publicly celebrated Hanukkah. Eventually, the holiday

began to be noticed by secular newspapers. The reporters and editors from these newspapers took hold of the comparisons to Christmas immediately and, spurred by local rabbis, shared the story of Hanukkah with their readers using already understood holiday idioms. The links to the Fourth of July, a decidedly national holiday, further allowed religious leaders to walk reporters through the historical struggles of the Jews and subsequently frame Hanukkah in an American context, building a sense of Jewish people-hood and American Jewish identity, rather than Jewish faith. New immigrants were vital in constructing a patriotic version of the holiday celebrating both the abundance now available to American Jews, and the freedom that allowed them to purchase and receive gifts. Their religious and community leaders were instrumental in initiating this construction. Using already established holidays as springboards for exploring the meaning of Hanukkah for American Jews, newspapers across the United States helped build a holiday, and consequently a Jewish rallying point. When drawn upon, Hanukkah created cultural bridges that nurtured the American Jewish understandings of their own religious and national identity.

WORKS CITED

Primary Sources

"Celebrating the Chanukah." 1881. *The Daily Picayune*, December 17. Accessed January 09, 2012. www.proquest.com.

"Celebration of Jewish Feast Continues for Eight Days." 1905. *Morning World-Herald*, December 22. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://docs.newsbank.com/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/iw.newsbank.com:EANX&rft_val_format=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&rft_dat=1128EF10149A1028&svc_dat=HistArchive:ahnpdoc&req_dat=10497FA79919C158.

"Chankkah Feast of Dedication." 1912. *El Paso Herald*, November 30. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88084272/1912-11-30/ed-1/seq-9/.

"Channukah, or Feast of Dedication." 1882. *The Dallas Weekly Herald*, December 7. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://docs.newsbank.com/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/iw.newsbank.com:EANX&rft_val_format=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&rft_dat=110D19EB36C9F870&svc_dat=HistArchive:ahnpdoc&req_dat=10497FA79919C158.

"Chanucah." 1891. *The Wheeling Register*, December 26. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://docs.newsbank.com/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/iw.newsbank.com:EANX&rft_val_format=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&rft_dat=11261C8FA2027778&svc_dat=HistArchive:ahnpdoc&req_dat=10497FA79919C158

"Chanuka Celebration." 1886. *The New Haven Evening Register*, December 27. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://docs.newsbank.com/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/iw.newsbank.com:EANX&rft_val_format=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&rft_dat=11B5C2859C888508&svc_dat=HistArchive:ahnpdoc&req_dat=10497FA79919C158.

"Chanukah Feast is Celebrated." 1904. *Fort Worth Telegram*, December 11. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://docs.newsbank.com/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/iw.newsbank.com:EANX&rft_val_format=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&rft_dat=1157E4BE8A95CB08&svc_dat=HistArchive:ahnpdoc&req_dat=10497FA79919C158.

"'Chauncha' or 'Feast of Lights.'" 1898. *San Francisco Call*, December 10. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cdnc/cgi-bin/cdnc?a=d&d=SFC18981210&e=.

"Christmas is Topic of Rabbi." 1908. *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 27. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://docs.newsbank.com/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/iw.newsbank.com:EANX&rft_val_format=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&rft_dat=113FF3BD7101C6C0&svc_dat=HistArchive:ahnpdoc&req_dat=10497FA79919C158.

"Christmas or Chanukah?" 1894. *New York Sun*, December 23. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030272/1894-12-23/ed-1/seq-11/.

"Christmas Spirit in Jewish Homes." 1908. *Duluth News-Tribune*, December 25. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://docs.newsbank.com/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/iw.newsbank.com:EANX&rft_val_format=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&rft_dat=11938BD3C4209C30&svc_dat=HistArchive:ahnpdoc&req_dat=10497FA79919C158

"Feast of Lights Begins." 1894. *Boston Daily Globe*, December 24. Accessed January 09, 2012. www.proquest.com.

"Feast of Lights Begins Tomorrow." 1915. *Charlotte Daily Observer*, December 1. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://docs.newsbank.com/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/iw.newsbank.com:EANX&rft_val_format=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&rft_dat=114617F09E6981D8&svc_dat=HistArchive:ahnpdoc&req_dat=10497FA79919C158.

"Feast of the Candles." 1892. *San Francisco Call*, December 19. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cdnc/cgi-bin/cdnc?a=d&d=SFC18921219&e=.

"Festival of Lights." 1897. *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 26. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://docs.newsbank.com/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/iw.newsbank.com:EANX&rft_val_format=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&rft_dat=114672CBD9B567D8&svc_dat=HistArchive:ahnpdoc&req_dat=10497FA79919C158.

"Festival of the Lights." 1900. *The Washington Post*, December 24. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=258942272&sid=17&Fmt=10&clientId=41143&RQT=309&VName=HNP.

"Fooleries of the Pagan." 1903. *The Washington Post*, December 21. Accessed January 09, 2012. www.proquest.com.

"For Religious Freedom." 1912. *Boston Daily Globe*, December 2. Accessed January 09, 2012. www.proquest.com.

"Hanukkah, Feast of Lights, Great Jewish Holiday." 1910. *Paducah Evening Sun*, December 27. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85052114/1910-12-27/ed-1/seq-1/.

"Hebrew Feast of Hannukkah." 1899. *The Sun*, November 28. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://docs.newsbank.com/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/iw.newsbank.com:EANX&rft_val_format=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&rft_dat=1169B67FC2B33150&svc_dat=HistArchive:ahnpdoc&req_dat=10497FA79919C158

"Hebrew Festival Day to be Celebrated." 1902. *Fort Worth Telegram*, December 18. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://docs.newsbank.com/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/iw.newsbank.com:EANX&rft_val_format=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&rft_dat=1155252E1F9E2978&svc_dat=HistArchive:ahnpdoc&req_dat=10497FA79919C158.

"Hebrews and Christmas." 1902. *New York Tribune*, December 28. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030214/1902-12-28/ed-1/seq-3/.

"Hebrews Celebrate the Hanukah Festival." 1907. *The San Francisco Call*, December 2. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cdnc/cgi-bin/cdnc?a=d&d=SFC19071202&e=.

Hirsch, Emil. 1900. "Jewish View of the Holiday." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 23. Accessed January 09, 2012. www.proquest.com.

Hirsch, Emil. 1909. "How the Jew Regards Christmas." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, December 18. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://docs.newsbank.com/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/iw.newsbank.com:EANX&rft_val_format=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&rft_dat=115C2B120A2843F8&svc_dat=HistArchive:ahnpdoc&req_dat=10497FA79919C158.

"Holiday of Chanukah." 1902. *The Hartford Courant*, December 27. Accessed January 09, 2012. www.proquest.com.

"Holiday of Chanukah." 1904. *Boston Daily Globe*, December 2. Accessed January 09, 2012. www.proquest.com.

"How Came the Lights on the Christmas Tree?" 1888. *Suffolk County News*, December 22. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://apa3.olivesoftware.com/Default/Scripting/ArticleWin.asp?From=Archive&Source=Page&Skin=Suffolk&BaseHref=SCN/1888/12/22&PageLabelPrint=3&EntityId=Ar00304&ViewMode=GIF.

Isaacs, A. S. 1889. "A Jewish View of Christmas." *New York Times*, December 29. Accessed January 09, 2012. www.proquest.com.

"Jewish Feast of the Charnukah Being Observed Now in Atlanta." 1903. *The Atlanta Constitution*, December 20. Accessed January 09, 2012. www.proquest.com.

"Jewish Festival." 1891. *The Atlanta Constitution*, December 26. Accessed January 09, 2012. www.proquest.com.

"Jewish Fourth of July." 1893. *The Sunday News Tribune*, December 10. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://docs.newsbank.com/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/iw.newsbank.com:EANX&rft_val_format=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&rft_dat=1162B70AC82CE540&svc_dat=HistArchive:ahnpdoc&req_dat=10497FA79919C158.

"Jews Observe the Chanukah Festival." 1911. *Boston Daily Globe*, December 18. Accessed January 09, 2012. www.proquest.com.

"Jews Share in Christmas." 1910. *Boston Daily Globe*, December 24. Accessed January 09, 2012. www.proquest.com.

"Joy Ruled the Feast." 1898. *Butte Weekly Miner*, December 15. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://docs.newsbank.com/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/iw.newsbank.com:EANX&rft_val_format=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&rft_dat=11A8926B7AA01650&svc_dat=HistArchive:ahnpdoc&req_dat=10497FA79919C158.

Kalson, Sally. 2005. "In a rarity, Hanukkah coincides with Christmas." *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, December 19. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=6V4xAAAAIBAJ&sjid=4HADAAAAIBAJ&dq=in-a-rarity&pg=3181%2C9269791.

"Observe Festival Hanukkah." 1913. *Dallas Morning News*, December 27. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://docs.newsbank.com/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/iw.newsbank.com:EANX&rft_val_format=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&rft_dat=106C4D82D791F51A&svc_dat=HistArchive:ahnpdoc&req_dat=10497FA79919C158.

"Omaha Jews Celebrate the Feast of Lights." 1905. *Morning World-Herald*, December 23. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://docs.newsbank.com/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/iw.newsbank.com:EANX&rft_val_format=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&rft_dat=1128EF1BC9228FE0&svc_dat=HistArchive:ahnpdoc&req_dat=10497FA79919C158.

"Rev. Dr. Nieto Lectures on Festival of Hanukkah. 1905. *San Francisco Call*, December 22. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cdnc/cgi-bin/cdnc?a=d&d=SFC19051222&e=.

"Story of Chanukah, Festival of Lights, Which Begins Today." 1909. *Seattle Star*, December 8. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn87093407/1909-12-08/ed-1/seq-4/.

"The Feast of Chanukah." 1880. *The Daily Picayune*, November 28. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://docs.newsbank.com/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/iw.newsbank.com:EANX&rft_val_format=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&rft_dat=126BA858C18F999C&svc_dat=HistArchive:ahnpdoc&req_dat=10497FA79919C158.

"The Feast of Dedication." 1900. *Dallas Morning News*, December 17. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://docs.newsbank.com/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/iw.newsbank.com:EANX&rft_val_format=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&rft_dat=1070B5D7068D3348&svc_dat=HistArchive:ahnpdoc&req_dat=10497FA79919C158.

"The Feast of Hanukkah." 1897. *Houston Daily Post*, December 27. Accessed January 09, 2012. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86071197/1897-12-27/ed-1/seq-6/.

"The 'Feast of Lights.'" 1891. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 30. Accessed January 09, 2012. www.proquest.com.

"Tots at Hanukkah Feast." 1896. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 7. Accessed January 09, 2012. www.proquest.com.

Secondary Sources

Bendroth, Margaret Lamberts. 2002. *Growing Up Protestant: Parents, Children, and Mainline Churches*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Dolan, Jay. 2002. *In Search of an American Catholicism: A History of Religion and Culture in Tension*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Heinze, Andrew R. 1990. *Adapting to Abundance: Jewish Immigrants, Mass Consumption, and the Search for American Identity*. New York: Columbia University Press.

---. 1997. "Adapting to Abundance: Luxuries, Holidays, and Jewish Identity." In *The American Jewish Experience* (2nd ed.), edited by Jonathan D. Sarna, 165-182. New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers.

Idelsohn, Abraham Z. 1930. *Ceremonies of Judaism*. U.S.A.: The National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods.

Joselit, Jenna Weissman. 1994. *The Wonders of America: Reinventing Jewish Culture 1880-1950*. New York: Hill and Wang.

---. 2002. "'Merry Chanuka': The Changing Holiday Practices of American Jews, 1880-1950." In *The Uses of Tradition: Jewish Continuity in the Modern Era*, edited by Jack Wertheimer, 303-325. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Sarna, Jonathan D. 1995. *A Great Awakening: The Transformation that Shaped Twentieth Century American Judaism and Its Implications for Today*. New York: Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education.

Schauss, Hayyim. 1938. *The Jewish Festivals: A Guide to their History and Observance*. New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

Schmidt, Leigh Eric. 1995. *Consumer Rites: The Buying and Selling of American Holidays*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Sorin, Gerald. 1992. *A Time For Building: The Third Migration 1880-1920*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Weissbach, Lee Shai. 1988. "The Jewish Communities on the Eve of Mass Migration: Some Comments on Geography and Bibliography." *Jewish History* 78.1: 79-88.

Wenger, Beth S. 2010. *History Lessons: The Creation of American Jewish Heritage*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.