

# TDR

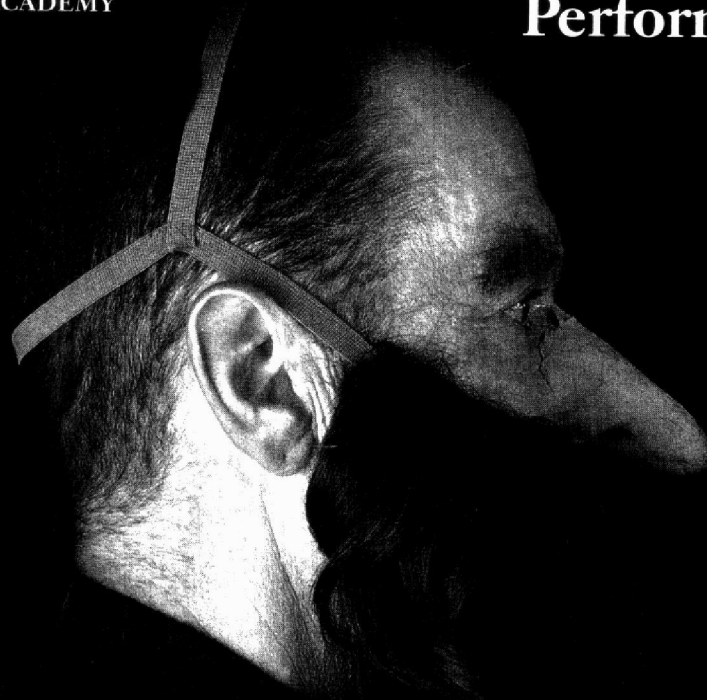
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

BROWN UNIVERSITY

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

SHANGHAI THEATRE ACADEMY

**Jewish  
American  
Performance**



**Consortium Editors  
Jill Dolan and Stacy Wolf  
Princeton University**

*photo essay by*  
Douglas Rosenberg

*articles by*  
Alisa Solomon, Jessica Hillman, Rebecca Rossen,  
Naomi Seidman, Lauren Love, Stefanie Halpern,  
Esther Schor, Sara Felder, Laura Levitt,  
Constance Zaytoun, Jonathan Freedman, Henry Bial,  
Laurie Beth Clark, Deb Margolin

# "This Lovely Land Is Mine"

*Milk and Honey's* Restorative Nostalgia for Israel

Jessica Hillman



*This is the place where the hopes of the homeless and the dreams of the lost combine. This is the land that heaven blessed, and this lovely land is mine!*

—Don Appell and Jerry Herman (1961: act I, scene 3, line 26)

These lyrics—from the title song of the 1961 musical *Milk and Honey*—encapsulate the multi-layered political and cultural implications throughout this seemingly simple Broadway musical. With their call to both the recent and ancient past, and their vigorous claim of ownership in the present, Jerry Herman's words, and the musical as a whole, negotiate a delicate balance between pride and sorrow. With music and lyrics by Herman and libretto by Don Appell, *Milk and Honey* was the first major Broadway musical to take Jews as its central characters, presenting a then unique setting and subject matter: the new state of Israel. Its pioneer status situates *Milk and Honey* as a cultural document revealing American Jewish attitudes toward the young country, and one of the central reasons for its existence: the Holocaust. Through old-fashioned

Broadway escapism and exoticism, *Milk and Honey* superficially glorifies the present and future of an exciting new land. More deeply, as a reaction to sublimated grief and disavowal of the Holocaust, we find "restorative nostalgia" for Israel's roots in the biblical homeland, the titular land of milk and honey.

## Background

In 1960 producer Gerard Oestreicher hired Jerry Herman, then a young composer in his 20s, to write a musical about Israel. Oestreicher was likely inspired by the huge success of *Exodus*, both the Leon Uris novel published in 1958, and the film version released in 1960.<sup>1</sup> Herman, later famous for razzle dazzle Broadway musical spectacles focusing on larger-than-life diva roles (*Hello Dolly* [1964], *Mame* [1966], *La Cage Aux Folles* [1983]) was at this point young, unknown, and eager for his Broadway break. Oestreicher arranged a trip for Herman and librettist Don Appell to Israel so that they could witness the country's 13th Independence Day celebration. He wanted them to soak up the atmosphere and emerge with an idea for a musical with no pre-existing source material. Israel's government treated the authors "like royalty" according to Herman (1996:39). Oestreicher had contacted them, and, says Herman, told them: "[W]e were coming to write this very happy and very positive show about their country. The government was thrilled about the whole idea, of course, because Israel still had an image problem in 1960 and publicity wasn't all that terrific" (39–40).

As Herman remembers, "The Israeli government people were so thrilled that we weren't going to write a play about Israel-embattled-with-gun-in-hand, but rather one that might encourage tourism, that they rolled out the red carpet and had a black limousine at our hotel every morning" (in Citron 2004:48). Disappointed that their tour only included government-approved sections of Israel, Herman snuck away with Appell to tour the country, including its border towns. Herman saw some darker sides to the new state that concerned him, including the Israeli/Arab conflict, but admits that very little that was not positive made it into the final show, calling it a "valentine" to Israel (41).

Herman and Appell decided to center their musical on a second-chance love affair between two American Jews visiting Israel. Ruth, part of a tour group of man-hungry American widows, meets Phil, who is on his way to visit his daughter on a *moshav*, or collective farm, where she lives with her Israeli husband. Ruth and Phil begin an affair and she joins him on his visit to the *moshav*, where they witness the more permissive Israeli lifestyle. Eventually Ruth breaks off their affair because Phil has not yet officially ended his loveless first marriage. *Milk and Honey* opened on Broadway on 10 October 1961 at the Martin Beck Theatre, starring opera singers Mimi Benzell and Robert Weede and Yiddish theatre star Molly Picon. It closed on 26 January 1963.

1. *Milk and Honey*, when completed, resembled *Exodus* in its worshipful and inspirational tone. The lyrics quoted above also echo a song from the *Exodus* soundtrack, "This land is mine, God gave this land to me" (Gold 1960).

Figure 1. (previous page) *Milk and Honey*, 1961. Music and lyrics by Jerry Herman, book by Don Appell, directed by Albert Marre. Photos of the chorus show young, scantily clad male and female dancers in the face of a stormy desert backdrop. (Photo courtesy Photofest)

Jessica Hillman is Assistant Professor at the State University of New York at Fredonia. She received her BA degree in Theatre History from Cornell University and her MA and PhD from the University of Colorado at Boulder. She has recently published articles in *Theatre Topics* and *Studies in Musical Theatre*. Her book on Nazism and the Holocaust on the American musical stage is forthcoming from McFarland Press. [Jessica.Hillman-McCord@fredonia.edu](mailto:Jessica.Hillman-McCord@fredonia.edu)

## Restorative Nostalgia

The definition of "nostalgia" encompasses homesickness and wistful, sentimental longing. With the Diaspora as a defining characteristic of Judaism, the idea of homesickness for Israel has lasted for thousands of years, and wistful or sentimental longing for the biblical past has been elaborated throughout centuries of Jewish literature and culture. The constructed concepts of both Israel and nostalgia, however, are equally intricate and problematic. Svetlana Boym's definitions, in *The Future of Nostalgia* (2001), can help to contextualize *Milk and Honey's* perspective towards Israel. Boym separates nostalgia into two discrete categories, calling her first "restorative," which as the name implies, looks to reestablish the longed-for past and denies itself as nostalgia. Boym argues, "Restorative nostalgia does not think of itself as nostalgia, but rather as truth and tradition" (xviii). She continues: "Nostalgia is an ache of temporal distance and displacement. Restorative nostalgia takes care of both of these symptoms. Distance is compensated by intimate experience and the availability of a desired object. Displacement is cured by a return home, preferably a collective one" (46).

The extent of *Milk and Honey's* Israeli patriotism implies a restorative nostalgia for the Promised Land, granted to first Abraham, then Isaac in the book of Genesis.<sup>2</sup> Rather than ache for a distant past, the Israeli characters in the musical fight to restore the conditions of that past, to intimately experience their connection to the land, and thereby to return to a collective home. In the early years of Israel's existence, optimism and collective memory for biblical Israel emphasized that restoration of the biblical past was possible. With pride in their God-given birthright, Israelis worked to make the land green again, bolstered by Jews around the world sending money to plant trees in the desert. *Milk and Honey* reflects this hopeful and industrious atmosphere by aiming to deny memory and instead displaying a resolutely forward-looking surface, hoping to reinstate the glories of the land of Canaan.

*Milk and Honey's* content, as well as its form, argues for restorative nostalgia. The title song's lyrics that opened this essay offer hints of the emotion behind the musical's fervent Israeli loyalty:

This is the land of Milk and Honey  
This is the land of sun and song  
And this a world of good and plenty  
Humble and proud and young and strong and  
This is the place where the hopes of the homeless  
And the dreams of the lost combine.  
This is the land that heaven blessed  
And this lovely land is mine! (1961:I.3.25)

This song acts as an anthem, glorifying the ideas upon which Israel was founded. Its imagery insists on youth, strength, happiness, and moral certitude. Importantly it ends with, "and this lovely land is *mine*" (italics added)—a defiant claim of ownership not to be denied. The lyric, "hopes of the homeless and the dreams of the lost," offers the historical view of Jews, homeless since the Diaspora. The phrase "milk and honey" first appears in the Bible in the book of Exodus 3:8 and refers to the bounty of the land of Canaan, promised to the Jews. Therefore the title itself offers a restorative nostalgic perspective. Early drafts were titled *Shalom*; the shift to *Milk and Honey* cannot be a coincidence. The new title sums up the historically laden thematic concerns. Israel was the land of milk and honey thousands of years ago, and although that agricultural abundance had been lost, *Milk and Honey's* characters—through energy, lust for life,

2. *Milk and Honey* also utilizes Boym's second category, "reflective nostalgia," through echoes of the dying New York Yiddish Theatre, ghosted on the stage through star Molly Picon's performance. Herman's musical complicates Boym's discrete categories by exhibiting both restorative and reflective nostalgia, interacting in surprising ways.



and hard work—find the road back to that ancient success. Israel offers an active site of nostalgia, despite its temporal remove of thousands of years. This historical distance offers no impediment to the restorative nostalgic argument: we do not have to long for the past; instead, we can rebuild it.

*Milk and Honey's* choice of language offers an example of restorative nostalgic practices. The show makes frequent use of Hebrew, an ancient biblical language restored by Zionists in Palestine, largely as a symbolic break with their traumatic recent history. The musical opens with an extended argument in Hebrew (first in dialogue, then in song) between a porter and a Yemenite boy who wants to bring his sheep into the street. The second song, titled "Shalom," takes as its purpose translating Hebrew:

Shalom, Shalom,  
You'll find Shalom  
The nicest greeting you know;  
It means bonjour, salud, and skoal  
And twice as much as hello. (1961:I.1.6)

We hear Hebrew throughout the score and the spoken text. It is used for religious purposes in an elaborately staged Yemenite wedding ceremony scene, and a reprise of "Shalom" takes pride of place as the central theme in the musical's finale.

The creative team's efforts to provide immediacy, "liveness," and authenticity in *Milk and Honey's* production served to glorify and celebrate modern Israel's progress towards restoring the biblical past. For example, in several work dances Donald Saddler's choreography aimed to represent the spirited, though backbreaking work involved in rejuvenating the land. Stage directions for the dance break in the title song read, "*Suddenly ALL burst out into song as several men carry on three enormous trees representing the planting of the desert*" (I.3.30). The inhabitants of the moshav exhibit a nostalgic need to return dry and barren Palestine to the fertile and bountiful land God promised, and the musical, with its eponymous anthem, cheers them on. Elements of extreme scenic realism also contribute to the musical's goal of authenticity. The inclusion of live animals, including a goat milked onstage, a genuine tractor, and bales of hay were bits of business for novelty, but also served to demonstrate the musical's robust immediacy and realism.

Critics, perhaps representative of audiences, certainly seemed to embrace this presumed authenticity. Most reviewers found the novelty of the musical's milieu to be its most effective and intriguing element. John Chapman of the *New York Daily News* called the setting a "picturesque 'new' locale, Israel" (1961:238). As Richard Watts Jr. said in the *New York Post*, "Although the book is a minimum of help to *Milk and Honey*, the drama of Israel is always there intriguingly in the background" (1961:240). In fact, in at least two reviews, perhaps not coincidentally by Jewish theatre critics, Israel as a country seemed to be more under consideration than the show itself. The *New York Times's* Howard Taubman declared, "The brighter flame is fed by the spirit of affirmation represented by Israel and its dedicated people, who are working to make real the ancient dream of a land of milk and honey" (1961:239). Similarly, Norman Nadel, of the *New York World Telegram*, spends at least a third of his article discussing the state of Israel, with no mention of the musical. He ends his review by arguing, "It makes you understand why people believe in Israel, and love the country. As this proud, fierce love comes through, *Milk and Honey* is as its bright best" (1961:241). These two critical reactions, contrasted with their non-Jewish peers, demonstrate what we might expect, that Jewish reactions to the show were more personal, and more determinedly laudatory towards Israel.

Audience demographics seemed to mirror the critical reaction. Ken Bloom, editor of Jerry Herman's *Lyrics*, summarizes the musical's run, "The mainly Jewish audience took the show to heart and kept it running for 543 performances" (2003:18). Preview audiences offered clues to audience trends. Star Molly Picon recounts that in Philadelphia the show attracted large crowds, with blocks of tickets bought by groups such as Friends of Mt. Sinai and Israeli El Al

Airlines (1980). So while the musical also encourages genteel audiences to support Israel, most potently, the show aims at a specifically Jewish audience. For these audiences, *Milk and Honey*'s emphasis on authenticity could act as a signpost of a forward-looking world that has no need of the past, in the face of a vibrantly exciting future, thereby denying itself as nostalgia. But despite attempts to sell the exciting liveness of the country, on a deeper plane the musical encompasses restorative nostalgia for Israel's biblical past.

### Postmemory

But why this urge for restoration over remembrance? The deliberately positive aesthetic of *Milk and Honey* emerges from a memory-laden place. New beginnings in this world are impossible; they will always be burdened with history. Why might audiences crave restorative nostalgia? What exactly were they nostalgic for? According to sociologist Fred Davis, "Mass collective nostalgia is most likely to occur after times of severe cultural discontinuity" (1979:97). The Holocaust served as just such a severe discontinuity in the Jewish community, encouraging the restorative nostalgia we find in *Milk and Honey*. Boym does not discuss restorative nostalgia as a reaction to trauma, but in *Milk and Honey* the loss, pain, and agony of the Holocaust function as the central, if obscured, argument for restoration. The characters work hard to restore the conditions of biblical Israel to return not just a land, but also a people, out of agony, to glory.

Through the wish to disavow the pain of the Holocaust, trauma can be sublimated into cultural achievement—making Israel green again. Disavowal disclaims any association with, or responsibility for, a traumatic event, and with sublimation, loss becomes channeled into artistic or cultural achievement, thereby serving a higher purpose. Instead of dwelling in pain, Israelis fight to return to a better time, before trauma. *Milk and Honey*, a product of a period in which Americans were just beginning to grapple with the Holocaust, demonstrates this process. The musical's celebratory tone results directly from the disavowal and sublimation of the Shoah. This sublimation demands "valentines to Israel," as Herman called the musical. In the early 1960s, in reaction to pain, Israel and its people could be portrayed, without ambivalence, as morally justified, exciting, strong, healthy, virile, and young. The musical takes part in creating a mythic structure, morally unambiguous and comforting, an image worthy of being restored.

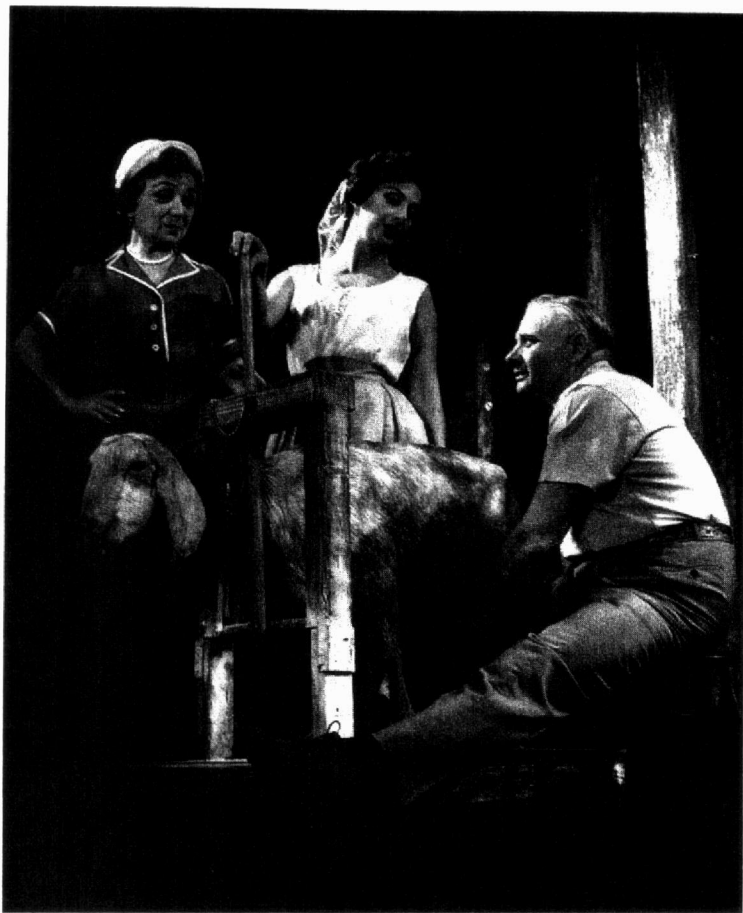


Figure 2. *Milk and Honey*, 1961. Elements of extreme scenic realism contribute to the musical's goal of authenticity, including a goat milked onstage. From left: Molly Picon, Mimi Benzell, Robert Weede. (Photo courtesy Photofest)

Herman's musical opened on Broadway at a time of quickly shifting attitudes towards Jewish assimilation and the Holocaust. Jewish studies scholar Andrea Most's work (2004) describes the assimilationist task taken on by musical theatre writers of the first half of the century. As she explains, expounding on ethnic concerns ran counter to the aim of "melting" into society. Instead, Jewish authors in this era offered veiled portraits of otherness, addressing outcasts from society, but never specifically Jewish characters. Additionally, as John Bush Jones argues, "There was also a tacit assumption around Broadway that explicitly Jewish musicals had no chance of commercial success" (2003:206). Add to this the climate engendered by the HUAC blacklists, McCarthy hearings, and the Rosenberg trials, making explicitly Jewish themes too risky for the commercial stage. And yet, in these same years, many Jewish Americans began the process of embracing their ethnicity. The push to the suburbs, large-scale construction of new synagogues and temples, and a "Jewish Renaissance" in literature, the arts, and popular culture all flowered in the 1950s and early '60s.

In this period, the Holocaust as a subject appeared more or less off-limits. In America, the 1960s were a transitional period for attitudes towards the Holocaust. Postwar Americans largely preferred not to discuss or think about the horrors of WWII, including the death of European Jews. A marked silence prevailed on the subject after the initial shock of the death camps, until at least a decade later. The segment of the American population that might have been expected to keep the matter alive, American Jews, now including the Holocaust survivors who had managed to make it to the United States, were busy with the new integrationist possibilities open to them and were not necessarily eager to stir up the specter of anti-Semitism. In the late 1950s and '60s a shift took place, a change attributed to factors including Vietnam, the civil rights movement, Israel's Six-Day War, television and filmic representations of the Holocaust, and the pivotal Adolf Eichmann trial. These events, together with a new US concern with increasing anti-Semitism, helped to make awareness of the Holocaust more central. A corresponding shift in artistic and popular culture representations—in theatre beginning in the mid-1950s with *The Diary of Anne Frank* (1955)—demonstrates that the perception of the Nazi era was changing, and that the Holocaust was attaining a more central role in the US cultural imagination. *Milk and Honey* thus arrived on Broadway at a time of seething change. The musical uneasily rides the waves of those changes by tentatively beginning to approach the realities of the Holocaust while persisting in deep denial, sublimating the pain into restorative nostalgia.

The creation of Israel owes itself in large part to the revelation of the horrific facts of the Holocaust. As Lenni Brenner says, "Much of Western opinion felt that the creation of a Jewish state would be the belated silver lining after the black cloud that was the Holocaust" (1986:87). Fear of massive immigration to America in the absence of a national homeland offers a slightly less beneficent motivation for support of the country. According to Brenner, "A mixture of deep shock, feelings of guilt, and perhaps even a touch or more of anti-Semitism led to the support of the U.S. Army for Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe to a country the Jews wanted to build up as their own" (88). In 1961, as *Milk and Honey* was being created, one of the most pivotal events in the history of Israel's relationship to the Holocaust occurred: the capture of Eichmann by Israeli agents in Argentina and his subsequent trial. According to Peter Novick, the use of the term "Holocaust" "first became firmly attached to the murder of European Jewry as a result of the trial" (1999:133). Eichmann's capture from Argentina by the Israeli Mossad incurred public debate, and the subsequent playing out of the trial, with its detailed description of the horrors of the Holocaust, occurred in full view of a fascinated world public. Hannah Arendt's series of articles about the trial in *The New Yorker*, later published as the book *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (1963), also contributed to the furor surrounding the trial. Her thesis, centered on the very ordinary nature of institutionalized evil, confronted an America not quite ready for the bleak view of human nature it implied. Finally, the very sensationalism of the Eichmann story, including his final evasion of the death sentence by committing suicide, helped to put the Holocaust on the cultural map. The trials occurred between 11 April 1961 and 31 May 1962, and *Milk and Honey* opened on 10 October 1961. These events

must have had an impact on both the shaping of the production and its reception, affecting the view of Israel presented in and taken from the musical.

On the surface, *Milk and Honey* ignores the existence of the Holocaust. The only direct reference occurs in a scene in a Tel Aviv café, where a widow asks one of the patrons, "Mrs. Weinstein, tell me, were you born here or are you a refugee?" (1961:II.2.9). Certainly, many of the inhabitants of Israel would have been refugees or survivors, although the widow's line offers the only direct acknowledgement of that fact in the entire text. But a glancing reference to the Holocaust appears in the title song, which, as I have noted, offers, "This is the place where the hopes of the homeless / And the dreams of the lost combine" (I.3.25). Although these lines, especially the term "homeless," resonate with the historical Jewish Diaspora, more specifically they encompass Holocaust imagery, most concretely with the simple word: "lost." The Shoah had made very clear that European homes, in the true sense of the word, no longer, or had never truly, existed for Jews. Jewish survivors made their way to Israel for solace and new beginnings. Peter Grose argues, "Israel has succeeded in its primary mission: providing a home and a refuge for those of its people in need" (1983:316). By acknowledging those in need and the reasons why Israel was created, *Milk and Honey* would have encouraged the most positive sense of restorative nostalgia, nonetheless tinged with sorrow, loss, and pain. The song continues after these lyrics: from a quicker jubilant pace it suddenly slows to offer, "For this is a state of mind we live in / We want it green, and so it's green to us / For when you have wonderful plans for tomorrow / Somehow even today looks fine" (1961:I.3.27). These lines offer solemn hope for survivors living in Israel: *even today* will be fine with the glorious future ahead. The presence of these Holocaust resonances in the eponymous song indicates the relevance of these ideas, bubbling beneath the surface of the seemingly straightforward musical.

Subsequent events in Israel influenced American conceptions of the Holocaust. In 1967, the Six-Day War contributed to the changing understanding of the Holocaust. Jewish concern with what first looked like the imminent end of the Jewish state at the hands of its Arab neighbors, relieved by exultation with the dramatic Israeli victory, generated a new attitude towards Jewish victimization. Novick argues that the war brought Jewish identity full circle, that the brave and triumphant Israeli Jew offered a "salvation myth" when combined with the events of the Holocaust (1999:150). When *Milk and Honey* premiered in 1961, the Six-Day War was six years away. Therefore the patriotic celebration of Israel in 1961 was more precarious, having not yet attained the completion of victory in war.

The restorative nostalgia in *Milk and Honey* therefore looks back towards a golden era, when Yehovah promised the Jews the rich land of Canaan and made them his chosen people. It remembers a time when Jews successfully led kingdoms, when they were a political power in the region, and when the land offered its riches to them, flowing with the milk and honey of the title. *Milk and Honey*, by referencing history thousands of years old, demonstrates the possibility of restoring biblical conditions, by emphasizing powerful modern Jews reclaiming that glorious time through the sweat of their own brows. Alisa Solomon points out that the musical echoes the tenants of central Zionist figure Max Nordau, and his belief in a "muscular Judaism" which, with its emphasis on physical rigor and strength, would help to counter the stereotype of the weak, scholarly Jew (2007). Nordau was writing before the helpless Jewish victim label engendered by the Holocaust irreversibly multiplied this stereotype. *Milk and Honey* actively fights this negative imagery by including many native Israeli, or Sabra characters: strong, virile fighters who have defeated the odds to beat back their enemies and win their own country. The character of David in *Milk and Honey* presents the ultimate Sabra figure. When his father-in-law Phil wants him to come to America, David and his wife Barbara counter:

DAVID: But your son-in-law happens to be an Israeli.

BARBARA: And a third generation Sabra at that! (1961:I.3.25)



When Phil asks him the difference David replies, "Pride. In myself. In my country" (1.3.25). David, handsome, virile, and strong, loves his country deeply. Powerful warrior Jews like David were an image worthy of grasping, an image to hold up against the conflicting pictures of victims helpless in the face of evil, the embodiment of health, wealth, and power to contrast with the death camp photos still fresh in people's minds. David is not alone in his physical beauty and power. Photos of the chorus show young, scantily clad male and female dancers in the face of a stormy desert backdrop. Critic Norman Nadel, in a sexualized review not likely to make it to press today, illustrated this scene:

The men are indeed handsome, muscular and virile. The girls have strong, healthy, glowing bodies, beautifully formed, with long lithe legs and the best of all other requirements. You are permitted to see this, as they dance in work shorts and halters or twirl in short, full skirts. (1961:241)

This imagery of strong, tan dancers' bodies acts as a visual counter to images of the Holocaust. The musical's insistence on health, vitality, and strength offers a welcome contrast to images of Jews as victims, helpless in the face of evil. If, as the malignant stereotype presented, Jews could not fight back against the Nazis, and largely went unresisting to the slaughter, the people of Israel resisted, won the land that was their God-given birthright, and would not be seen as victims again. *Milk and Honey* glorifies the restoration of the land and of its people.

American Jewish reactions to Israel remain unstable, volatile, and challenging. In view of the highly complicated political and moral questions Israel engenders today, *Milk and Honey*, with its trademark Jerry Herman sincerity and simplicity, looks quaint, idealistic, and highly naive. Most importantly, however, through its innocence, *Milk and Honey* offers a window into early attitudes toward Israel—how they came about and how they are maintained. The ways the musical packages Israel are meant to encourage Jewish pride, and offer a tribute to and advertisement for the country and Jewish culture as a whole in the face of unthinkable loss. By glorifying the vibrant new society through restorative nostalgia for ancient Israel, *Milk and Honey* offered Jewish audiences a source of community and counteracted the horrifying implications of the Holocaust that were only just beginning to be explored.

#### References

- Appell, Don, and Jerry Herman. 1960. *Shalom: A Musical Play*. Early draft of *Milk and Honey*. Author's personal collection.
- Appell, Don, and Jerry Herman. 1961. *Milk and Honey: A Musical Play*. New York: Tams-Witmark Music Library, Inc.
- Arendt, Hannah. 1963. *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. New York: Viking Press.
- Boym, Svetlana. 2001. *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books.
- Brenner, Lenni. 1986. *Jews in America Today*. Secaucus: Lyle Stuart, Inc.
- Chapman, John. 1961. "An Old Pro, Molly Picon, Puts Zip Into Interesting 'Milk and Honey.'" Review of *Milk and Honey*. *New York Daily News*. In *New York Theatre Critics Reviews*, Rachel W. Coffin ed., vol. 22:238–41. New York: Critics Theatre Reviews, Inc.
- Citron, Stephen. 2004. *Jerry Herman: Poet of the Showtune*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Davis, Fred. 1979. *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia*. New York: Free Press.
- Gold, Ernest. 1960. *Exodus: Original Soundtrack*. RCA Records 1058-2-R-CD.
- Grose, Peter. 1983. *Israel in the Mind of America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Herman, Jerry, and Ken Bloom. 2003. *Jerry Herman, The Lyrics: A Celebration*. New York: Routledge.
- Herman, Jerry, with Marilyn Stasio. 1996. *Showtune: A Memoir by Jerry Herman*. New York: Donald I. Fine Books.



- Jones, John Bush. 2003. *Our Musicals, Ourselves: A Social History of the American Musical Theatre*. Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press.
- Most, Andrea. 2004. *Making Americans: Jews and the Broadway Musical*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Nadel, Norman. 1961. "New Israel Portrayed In 'Milk and Honey.'" Review of *Milk and Honey*. *New York World Telegram*. In *New York Theatre Critics Reviews*, Rachel W. Coffin ed., vol. 22:238–41. New York: Critics Theatre Reviews, Inc.
- Novick, Peter. 1999. *The Holocaust in American Life*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Picon, Molly, with Jean Grillo. 1980. *Molly!: An Autobiography*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Solomon, Alisa. 2007. "Innocents Abroad: Jerry Herman's musical ode to the land of milk and honey." *Tablet Magazine*. 17 December. [www.tabletmag.com/arts-and-culture/theater-and-dance/1096/innocents-abroad/](http://www.tabletmag.com/arts-and-culture/theater-and-dance/1096/innocents-abroad/) (16 November 2010).
- Taubman, Howard. 1961. "Theatre: All 'Milk and Honey' at the Martin Beck." Review of *Milk and Honey*. *New York Times*. In *New York Theatre Critics Reviews*, Rachel W. Coffin ed., vol. 22:238–41. New York: Critics Theatre Reviews, Inc.
- Watts Jr., Richard. 1961. "Musical Play of Life in Israel." Review of *Milk and Honey*. *New York Post*. In *New York Theatre Critics Reviews*, Rachel W. Coffin ed., vol. 22:238–41. New York: Critics Theatre Reviews, Inc.