Going Greek

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS USED IN NOTES

AEPhi  Alpha Epsilon Phi sorority archives, Stamford, CT
AEPi Scroll  The Scroll of Alpha Epsilon Pi
AEPi  Alpha Epsilon Pi fraternity archives, Indianapolis, IN
AJA-HUC  American Jewish Archives, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, OH
AJC  American Jewish Committee archives, Jacob Blaustein Library, New York, NY
AJHS-PHIEP  Phi Epsilon Pi Papers, American Jewish Historical Society, Center for Jewish History, New York, NY
Baird  Baird's Manual of American College Fraternities
Columns  The Columns of Alpha Epsilon Phi
Egotist  The Eta Egotist, published by Eta [University of Pennsylvania] Chapter of Phi Epsilon Pi
Fane Papers  Irvin Fane Papers, Manuscript Collection No. 177, American Jewish Archives-Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, OH
HUC  Klau Library, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, OH
Octagonian  The Octagonian of Sigma Alpha Mu
PhiEpQ  Phi Epsilon Pi Quarterly
SAM Bulletin  SAM: The Confidential Monthly Bulletin of Sigma Alpha Mu
SAM  Sigma Alpha Mu fraternity archives, Carmel, IN
SDT  Sigma Delta Tau sorority archives, Indianapolis, IN
ZBTQ  Zeta Beta Tau Quarterly

CHAPTER I

1. For descriptions of the ritual, song, poetry, and general student life of medieval times, see Charles Homer Haskins, The Rise of the Universities (Ithaca:

2. Sheldon, 10–36.


5. Kadimah appears prominently in the historical literature of the Jews of Vienna. For one excellent account of their founding and development, see Rozenblit, 161–166, 171.


9. Rudolph, 145: “Few American colleges were untouched by this movement which so ably characterized the enterprise and initiative of the 19th century undergraduate. Before they quite knew what had happened, most college presidents found that their undergraduates had ushered into the American college community a social system that they had neither invited nor encouraged.”


12. William Raimond Baird (1858–1917), a lawyer and mineralogist by profession and a devotee of fraternities by avocation (he was himself a member of Beta Theta Pi), authored eight editions of A Manual of American College Fraternities between 1879 and 1915. After his death, others edited the publication, but the manual was always given his name.

13. Fraternity Month magazine began publishing in 1934 and ceased in 1971; Banta's Greek Exchange was published from 1912 to 1973.


16. For a classic defense of the usefulness of college fraternities written from the perspective of the Dean of Men at the University of Illinois, see Thomas Arkle Clark, The Fraternity and the College (Menasha, WI: George Banta Publishing Co., 1931).
17. On the relationship between fraternities and college alumni, see Clark, 18–19. That fraternity alumni tended to be disproportionately able and willing to fund their schools generously was an anecdotal observation of long standing among college presidents and administrators. Statistical support for this view, along with abstracts of comparative studies of alumni support from different universities, are available in the text and annotated bibliography of W. Thomas Nelson, Jr., The Undergraduate Experiences of Alumni Who Support Their Alma Mater (Bloomington, IN: Center for the Study of the College Fraternity, 1988). The reference to New York University appears on page 46.


19. Horowitz advances an interesting theoretical structure to explain different segments of the student population. She argues that it is a myth to contend that all “student culture” was monolithic, or that it always conformed to the values of what she calls “college life,” of which fraternities were an important part. In fact, university student populations can be divided into three “contending cultures . . . [which] arose from particular historical contexts and were linked to socioeconomic position and personal style” (11): the “college men and women,” who indulge in football, drinking, fraternity life, extracurricular activities, etc., and who give little thought to studying; the “serious” or “good students,” who have neither the time nor the money to indulge in such things and who attend diligently to their studies and to their professors; and the “college rebels,” those who question the conformity expected of them and challenge the university administration. In any one era, she asserts, “one of these appears to be dominant and catches the public eye: in the 1920s it was college life; in the 1930s, rebellion; between 1948 and 1955, the world of the outsider; from 1955 to 1965, college life again; from 1965 to 1970, rebellion once more; since 1970, the ethos of the New Outsider. Other student worlds did not vanish, however. They were simply less visible or less interesting to reporters.” She argues that in the 1960s, the power of traditional college life was broken (290).


22. For descriptions of the origins of discriminatory clauses as well as specific texts and membership practices, see Alfred McClung Lee, Fraternities Without Brotherhood: A Study of Prejudice on the American Campus (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1955), passim, especially 24, 28–31, 48–52, 63–82, 85–87, 92–95, 124. See also an extensive journalistic investigation by Howard Whitman, “The College Fraternity Crisis,” parts 1 and 2, Collier’s 123, no. 2 (January 8 1949): 9; no. 3 (January 15, 1949): 34, which noted the following restrictive clauses in the constitutions of national fraternities: “Members must be of the Aryan race and not of the black, Malayan, or Semitic race . . . must not be of Mongolian, Malaysian, Negro or Jewish blood. . . . Must be white persons of full Aryan blood.” See also Louis Krapin, “The Decline of Fraternity Bias,”
33. Wechsler, The Qualified Student, 164.
35. See Winton U. Solberg, “The Early Years of the Jewish Presence at the University of Illinois,” Religions and American Culture 2, 2 (summer 1992): 22. My thanks to Jonathan Sarna for bringing this article to my attention.


40. Broun and Britt, 79; also Whitman.


42. Lee, 21.


45. The number of African American students attending colleges and universities doubled between 1970 and 1977. For information on the Black fraternities and sororities, see Baird, 20th ed., I–41 and publications of the National Pan-Hellenic Council, International headquarters, Bloomington, IN.

### CHAPTER 2

1. In his prologue to *Identity: Youth in Crisis* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1968), 15–22, Erik H. Erikson discusses the twenty-year development and evolution of the term “identity crisis” and quotes material written in 1926 by Sigmund Freud as he reflected upon the difficulties and conflicts posed by his own Jewish identity.


5. Oren, 26; Baird, 11th ed. (1927), s.v. “Pi Lambda Phi”; and Ruder, 31–33. See also Baird, 20th ed., s.v. “Pi Lambda Phi.” The early records of the fraternity have been lost. However, it is clear that between 1895 and 1897, Pi Lambda Phi added nine chapters, most of which became defunct. A new one did not appear on the roll until 1912–1913, with the addition of Penn State. According to Maurice Jacobs of Phi Epsilon Pi, the reborn Columbia chapter of Pi Lambda Phi was responsible for the general revival of the fraternity.

6. See Maurice Jacobs, *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 4 (1941), s.v. “Fraternities, Jewish,” which identifies Pi Lambda Phi’s founders as Jewish, as well as Oren, 26, and Marianne Sanua, “Non-Recognition of Jewish Fraternities: The Cases of Columbia and Brown Universities,” in *American Jewish Archives* 45, 2 (fall/winter 1993): 125–145. Entries in Baird as well as all of Pi Lambda Phi’s accounts of itself insisted that the fraternity was founded by “undergraduates of different faiths” or that the three founders had consisted of a Protestant, a Catholic, and a Jew. However, examination of the class records, yearbooks, and obituaries available at the Manuscripts and Archives
section of the Yale University Library confirms the Jewish identity of two founders and strongly suggests the Jewish origins of the third. Henry Mark Fisher (Yale '97) is openly listed as Jewish in Yale's records and was ordained a rabbi at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati in 1903, whereupon he served in several pulpits and followed a distinguished public career. Frederick Manfred Werner (Yale '98), another founder who prepared for college at the well-known Dr. Sach's Collegiate Institute, whose pupils were primarily German Jews, died in New York City on March 8, 1909, of acute nephritis. His obituary in the Decennial Record: Class of Eighteen Hundred and Ninety-Eight, Yale College (New Haven: Yale College, 1910) specifically notes when describing his untimely passing, "he was of the Jewish faith." The third founder, Louis Samter Levy (Yale '98) born in Forklands, AL, to Maurice Levy and Jennie Samter, reveals no specific religious background at all in his published Yale records, which is itself unusual; however, his entry appears in the 1938–1939 edition of Who's Who in American Jewry, vol. 3, ed. John Simons (New York: National News Association Inc.), 643.

7. "The Fraternity Issue at Brown University; Corporation to Decide; Pi Lambda Phi Chapter Disbands," Jewish Daily Bulletin, Friday, May 3, 1929, 6. A clipping of this article appears in the American Jewish Archives, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, OH [hereafter cited as AJA-HUC], Mss. Coll. 1, Intercollegiate Menorah Society, Folder: "Fraternities." For related material, see Box 70, Folder 14, "Brown University, clippings."

8. Oscar Hammerstein II, one of America's most prolific and best-loved lyricists, was the grandchild of German Jewish immigrants and the son of William Hammerstein, who did not practice his religion and who remained distant from Judaism for most of his life. His mother Alice was brought up as an Episcopalian and had both of their sons baptized in that faith. Oscar himself reportedly never joined a formal religious group nor attended weekly services. However, he was often assumed to be Jewish and suffered because of it. It is perhaps for this reason that the theme of unjust racial discrimination appears so often in his work, most notably in the musicals Show Boat, Carmen Jones, South Pacific, and The Flower Drum Song. He entered Columbia in 1912 and soon afterward joined Pi Lambda Phi. See Hugh Fordin, Getting to Know Him: A Biography of Oscar Hammerstein II (New York: Random House, 1977).

9. In much historical literature on Jews and selective college admissions, as well as in memoirs of students and faculty who taught at Columbia, Nicholas Murry Butler has tended to emerge as an almost villainously antisemitic figure, and his personal friendships with wealthy Jews are ascribed to the mercenary motive of not wishing to cut off a sizable potential source of funds for his university. See the work of Wechsler, especially The Qualified Student, where the reference to "Tzar Nicholas" appears; Marcia Graham Synnott, The Half-Opened Door: Discrimination and Admissions at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, 1900–1970 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979); and Susanne Klingenstein, Jews in the American Academy 1900–1940: The Dynamics of Intellectual Assimilation (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 145–146, who quotes Estelle Gilson, Letter to the Editor, "Butler at Columbia," Commentary (April 1986): 9–10. In Gottheil's surviving correspondence (he or-
dered most of his Columbia papers destroyed before his death), the absence of any complaint or allusion to personal antisemitism he may have suffered at Columbia is notable. However, on at least one occasion he hinted at his difficulties in a letter to Horace Kallen dated September 5, 1914: "Columbia, entre nous, is not a good berth for a Jew, through both Woodbridge and Dewey are quite far from any bias." (Correspondence with Horace Kallen, AJA-HUC, Mss. Coll. No. 1, Intercollegiate Menorah Association Collection, Box 12, Folder 1: "Gottheil, Richard 1914–1918."


11. See Weil, and memoirs of former Columbia students in tribute to Gottheil after his death in a memorial issue of ZBTQ 18, 2, (September 1936). A file on Emma Leon Gottheil, a young Beirut-born Jewish widow with two sons at the time of her marriage to Richard (the Gottheils had no children together), can be found among the Small Collections at AJA-HUC, and obituaries of her can be found there in Mss. Coll. No. 127, Richard Gottheil Papers, Box 1 Folder 11.


13. Progress Reports and Descriptions of Richard Gottheil's early Zionist activity and travel in the United States and Europe can be found in AJA-HUC, Mss. Coll. No. 127, Gottheil Papers, Box 1, Folder 1: "Actions Committee Vienna 1898–1903."

14. See Weil, 14. Gottheil's desire to bring Jewish college men directly into the Zionist fold through their organization into a Zionist student society is evident in his correspondence with the Actions Committee in Vienna (see AJA-HUC, Mss. Coll. No. 127, Gottheil Papers, Box 1, Folder 1: "Actions Committee, Vienna 1898–1903," See also Ritterband and Wechsler, which contains discussion of Gottheil's career at Columbia and in particular his relationship to Zeta Beta Tau on 88–89.


16. The idea that ZBT was formed from a reorganization of the Young American Zionists, of which Ehrenreich was a leader (he served as the first Recording Secretary of the Federation of American Zionists) is suggested in Byron L. Sherwin's monograph, "Portrait of a Romantic Rebel: Bernard C. Ehrenreich, 1876–1955," *Turn to the South: Essays on Southern Jewry*, ed. Nathan M. Kaganoff and Melvin I. Urofsky (Charlottesville: American Jewish Historical Society and the University Press of Virginia, 1979), 3.


19. A.A. Brill apparently did not remain in close contact with ZBT after his graduation from New York University and Columbia. However, he remained on the membership rolls and the fraternity did not lose sight of one of its most distinguished early graduates. At the annual Zeta Beta Tau Old Timer’s Day Ball held in New York City in the winter of 1939, Brill was presented with their Alumni Achievement award. See ZBTQ 21, 1, (June 1939): 3.


23. Weil, 17. For a fascinating account of student life at the Jewish Theological Seminary during this period, see Mel Scult, Judaism Faces the Twentieth Century: A Biography of Mordecai Kaplan (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1993), 38–51.

24. For a description of the City College merger and ZBT’s transformation, see Slade, 27–28. According to Weil (17), the local fraternity Omicron Epsilon Phi was established at City College in 1902. On February 2, 1903, Bernard Robinson, the “Arxon” or president of the group, authored the resolution merging the two fraternities.


27. Zeta Beta Tau Fraternity, Esoteric Rituals, pamphlet (n.p., March 2, 1920), 14. My thanks to the national officers of the fraternity for permitting me to see this document.

28. See “Minutes of the Supreme Beth Din, known as the Supreme Council, of the Zeta Beta Tau Fraternity, October 21, 1906,” manuscript, in the archives of the Zeta Beta Tau National Office, Indianapolis, IN.


30. On the origin and development of the Menorah, see Joselit’s fine study, 133–154. Also helpful is a brief discussion of the founding of Menorah and the Hillel Foundations in Sachar, 417–418.

31. Richard Gottheil, “Our Proper Position,” ZBTQ 2, 3 (April 1916): 197, quoted in Ruder, 41. See also Richard Gottheil, “The True Basis of Zeta Beta Tau,” ZBTQ 3, 1 (March 1917): 14–15, quoted in Ruder, 40. Gottheil’s attitude toward the Menorah Society, however, was not entirely without reser-
vations. In a letter to Horace Kallen on July 22, 1915, after a visit to the ZBT chapter at Tulane University in New Orleans, Gottheil wrote, “I must say there is an earnestness and a quota of leadership among our boys that I find lacking in the hot air of the Menorah. I wish we could somehow capitalize that leadership more effectively” (correspondence with Horace Kallen AJA-HUC, Ms. Coll. No. 1, Intercollegiate Menorah Association Collection, Box 12, Folder 1: “Gottheil, Richard 1914–1918”).

32. Henry Hurwitz, “ZBT and Menorah,” ZBTQ 4, 3 (March, 1920): 9–10, quoted in Ruder, 40. Ruder’s 1976 B.A. Honors Thesis at Harvard College appears to be one of the only sources for the earliest issues of the Zeta Beta Tau Quarterly, which contain extensive coverage of the Gottheil/Menorah/fraternity undergraduate struggle along with reports of Gottheil’s resignation in 1920. At the fraternity’s national office, all issues of ZBTQ published before September 1922, as well as those appearing between 1924 and 1927, are missing.


37. Letter to the Editor, ZBTQ 4, 2 (December 1919): 13, quoted in Ruder, 43.

38. Weil, 54. More details of Gottheil’s resignation presumably appeared in that year’s quarterlies.

39. Letter to the editor, ZBTQ 4, 3 (March 1920): 28–30, quoted in Ruder, 44.


42. According to Baird, 20th ed., s.v. Phi Epsilon Pi was officially established on November 23, 1904. The fraternity’s own records (AJHS-PHIEP) sometimes state that they had been in existence, perhaps on an informal basis, since 1902.

43. This declaration appears in the first issue of the Phi Epsilon Pi Quarterly [hereafter cited as PhiEpQ] 1, 1 (December 1915): 41.

44. The crest of Phi Epsilon Pi went through great evolution in the space of a few years, all traceable within the pages of the fraternity’s quarterlies, which appeared from 1915 to 1923. The first step, as insisted upon by secretary and leader Maurice Jacobs, was to change the star to the correct shape; thereafter, he called for changing the crest altogether, and eliminating the cross and the religious symbols. After brief experimentation with substituting a Jewish Scroll of the Law, it was decided that the final crest would contain the more neutral figures of a sailing ship and a rising sun.


47. Jesse Acker to Louis Zimmerman, January 12, 1916, AJHS-PHIEP, Box
16, Folder: “Early Fraternity Correspondence, 1916.” Philip Weisberg was Phi Epsilon Pi’s contact at the University of Michigan. A member of the fraternity, he had recently graduated from the University of Pennsylvania (Phi Epsilon Pi’s Eta chapter), was then attending law school at the University of Michigan, and through the efforts of the local “Eta Club,” was helping to form another chapter of the fraternity at his new campus.


49. Philip Weisberg to Jesse Acker, May 14, 1916, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 16, Folder: “Early Fraternity Correspondence, 1916.”


51. Ruder, 47.

52. Ralph Dubin (Secretary of Alpha) March 20, 1917, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 21, Folder: “Alpha” [City College].

53. Dean Bernard Loeb to Alfred Reineman, April 5, 1916, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 16, Folder: “Early Fraternity Correspondence, 1916.”

54. Jesse Acker to Al Reineman (in Louisiana, Missouri) May 9, 1916, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 16, Folder: “Early Fraternity Correspondence, 1916.”

55. Norton J. Lustig, Secretary, Extension Division, University of Missouri, Columbia, to Alfred Reineman, Louisiana, Missouri, May 26, 1916, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 16, Folder: “Early Fraternity Correspondence, 1916.”


CHAPTER 3

5. "And It Came To Pass In Those Days," 12. The following passage describes precisely the different techniques by which the bounds of the fraternity were spread: "Beta (Cornell) was started by five Brooklyn men who were initiated in the summer of 1911 before returning to Cornell for the fall term. Gamma (Columbia) was sponsored by the famous Charlie Nadler who was also responsible for Delta (Long Island), Epsilon (Columbia Medical), and Theta (Penn). Beta started Eta (Syracuse), Theta was responsible for Kappa (Minnesota) and Iota (Kentucky), and Iota started Omicron (Cincinnati). Omicron and Kappa started Rho (Illinois), Lambda and Pi (Harvard and Yale) were started by missionaries, Murry Horwood of Alpha started Xi (M.I.T.), Eta and Beta men started Nu (Buffalo), and so we grew."
11. Herman "Heinie" Klein to Jesse Acker, January 16, 1916, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 16, Folder: "Early Fraternity Correspondence, 1916."
13. "Chapter Roll," Pledge Manual for 1945 (February 1, 1945), 47, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 46A, Publications, Folder: "Pledge and Rush Manuals." This list includes both the founding dates and the names of the local societies from which the chapters of Phi Epsilon Pi were formed. They were: Pittsburgh (Alpha Kappa Pi, 1913), Dickinson (Phi Kappa Delta, 1914), Rutgers (Theta Phi, 1915), Georgia (Eay Daleth Sigma, 1895), Tufts (Delta Phi Delta, 1916) Maine (Lambda Sigma Pi, 1916) Rhode Island State (Sigma Rho, 1916) Connecticut (Kappa Beta Iota, 1916), Carnegie Tech (Sigma Delta Chi, 1916), Syracuse (Delta Psi Epsilon, 1917), Northwestern (Lambda Club, 1920), Illinois (Theta Club, 1920), Dartmouth (Alpha Omega, 1920), Michigan (Cacique Club, 1921), Minnesota (Pi Club, 1923), Wisconsin (Tri Phi Club, 1925), Harvard (Phi Club, 1926), South Carolina (Troubadour Club, 1928), University of Miami (Pi Kappa Mu, 1929), Ohio State, Muhlenberg, and Boston University (formed from defunct chapters of the former Jewish national Sigma Lambda Pi, 1932), Western Reserve (Phi Delta Gamma, 1933), Louisiana State (Sigma Kappa Phi, 1933), Ohio University (Phi Upsilon, 1933), and University of Mississippi (Alpha Mu, 1935).
14. Phi Epsilon Pi Pledge Manual for 1945, 47, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 46A, Folder: "Pledge and Rush Manuals." The name "Eay Daleth Sigma" is problematic,
since "Eay" does not correspond to either a Greek or a Hebrew letter. It is quite possible that, as frequently happened with Jewish fraternities who attempted to include Hebrew in their symbolism and rituals, through lack of familiarity with the language the words and letters were misspelled, mispronounced, or improperly transliterated.

17. I have been unable to trace the existence of any institution named Dwight Memorial Hospital. It is possible that "Dwight" was an in-group reference to a particularly antisemitic hospital official who was known to deny positions to Jews.
19. For one general discussion of the historically important German-Russian Jewish "uptown-downtown" tensions that resulted in the Mt. Sinai/Beth Israel Hospital dichotomy in New York City, see Gerald Sorin, A Time for Building: The Third Migration, 1880–1920, vol. 3, The Jewish People in America (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 98.
22. According to Baird, 6th ed. (1905), 125, Delta Phi Sigma was founded at Columbia "upon a non-sectarian basis, that is, providing for the admission of Christians and Jews," In Baird, 11th ed. (1927), the defining statement confined invitations to candidates "whose ideals and beliefs are those of a modern Christian civilization" (85). This information is noted in Johnson, 43–44.
24. Kappa Nu Ritual, n.p., n.d. [c. 1930s] (mimeographed), Zeta Beta Tau archives. Shown to me with the kind permission of Zeta Beta Tau Fraternity.
27. Sidney Dunn, Executive Director Alpha Epsilon Pi, interview with the author, Indianapolis, IN, Fraternity national headquarters, May 24, 1992.
31. Gloria Ansell Krulik, interview with the author, January 10, 1999, Boca Raton, FL. "They never called themselves 'Japs,' and the term wasn't popular. We were not affluent. We were supposed to be just a plain sorority... not snobs, nothing special about us." On the disbanding of Iota Alpha Pi, see Baird, 20th ed., s.v. "Fraternities That Are No More."
32. Between 1922 and 1926 Delta Phi Epsilon added three Canadian chapters: McGill, University of Toronto, and University of Manitoba, in Winnipeg. The chapter at the University of British Columbia was added in 1946. See Baird, 20th ed. (1991), s.v. "Delta Phi Epsilon."
33. Memoirs of a former student's days in the SATC and the tendency to refer to it as a "tea club" or "safe at the college" are found in an article by Dr. Maurice Smith, "The Development of the Bay Window," ZBTQ 15, 3 (June 1931): 17; its effects on college life at the time are recalled in an editorial by Lee Dover upon the outbreak of World War II, ZBTQ 21, 2 (October 1939): 3.
34. Percy Pachtman, Secretary, Phi Epsilon Pi 1919 Convention Committee, to Fraters, November 22 and December 9, 1919 (convention newsletters), AJHS-PHI EP, Box 6, Folder: "1919."
35. Percy Pachtman to Fraters, November 17, 1919, AJHS-PHI EP, Box 6, Folder: "1919."
36. Minutes of Phi Epsilon Pi Grand Council Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, January 21, 1920, 4-6, AJHS-PHI EP, Box 6, Folder: "1919."
37. Isaac Y. Olch to Jesse Acker, February 23, 1916, AJHS-PHI EP, Box 31, Folder "Sigma" (Brown University). See also Sanua, "Non-Recognition of Jewish College Fraternities," 125-145. Students of those days recalled secret meetings that broke up in confusion when they heard sounds at the door and feared that they had been discovered.
38. Until after World War II Gentile and Jewish fraternities at the University of Pennsylvania were listed as being either in the "Class A" or "Class B" group, while the 1915 edition of Baird's included the national Jewish fraternities only under the heading "Second Division" (Baird, 8th ed. [1915], 356).
39. Richard Gottheil to Felix Warburg, November 1, 1912, AJA, Felix Warburg Papers, Box 163 Folder 19, (copy of resolution attached to letter). See also Sanua, "The Non-Recognition of Jewish College Fraternities."
41. Richard Gottheil to Felix Warburg, November 21, 1912, AJA, Felix Warburg Papers, Box 163, Folder 19.
42. Louis Zimmerman to Jesse Ackerman, January 11, 1916, AJHS-PHI EP, Box 16, Folder: "Early Fraternity Correspondence, 1916."
43. Philip Weisberg to Jesse Acker May 14, 1916, AJHS-PHI EP, Box 16, Folder: "Early Fraternity Correspondence, 1916."
44. Cited in a letter from David Paull, executive secretary, to Lt. Charles A. Tepper, March 21, 1945, AJHS-PHI EP, Box 15, Folder: "WWII Correspondence, 1945."
45. Naomi W. Cohen offers some interesting insights into this phenomenon in chapter 3, “The Proper American Jew,” esp. the section entitled “Manners and Virtues,” 110–114. She writes:

A lasting effect of emancipation was to make the now legally free Jewish citizen more self-conscious than ever before. As long as the premodern Jew had accepted a way of life divorced from the dominant society... he worried little about the image he projected. His religious literature taught him how a proper Jew behaved toward his God, fellow Jews, and even faceless political authorities. He knew the dangers to himself and his community were he to cause a scandal in his dealings with Christians, but he never really believed that consistently virtuous deportment on his part would endear Jews to their host country or significantly alter the course of Jewish-Christian relations. Only when the modern Jew strove for social integration did the thought “Mah yomru ha-goyyim?” (“What will the gentiles say?”) become well-nigh an obsession, coloring his behavior both within the Jewish community as well as within the larger society. The figure he cut by his manners and morals loomed all-important. (109)

46. Jesse Acker to Al Reineman, May 19, 1916, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 16, Folder: “Early Fraternity Correspondence, 1916.”
47. Art W. Ager [name unclear] to Jesse Acker, February 20, 1916, Western Union Telegram, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 16, Folder: “Early Fraternity Correspondence, 1916”: “Just wired Kline to cut off relations with local at Connecticut Agricultural College do not consider the college of high enough rank to warrant our establishing there at the present time.”
49. Editorial, PhiEpQ, 9, 1 (September 1923): 85.
55. Turchinksy.

**Chapter 4**

1. Paula S. Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920's* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 124, 130, 407. For further background and statistics on the growth of student populations in the 1920s, see Horowitz, 8; Rudolph; and Veysey.
3. Fass, 144. On the importance of college fraternities and their resilience through economic collapse and a second world war, Horowitz has written:

One element remained constant: from the 1920s through the 1950s the fraternity dominated American colleges. With their prestige confirmed by official under­graduate organizations, recognized by the administration, and broadcast in the student newspaper, fraternity men had powerful instruments for ruling the campus. It was they who had defined and continued to control the major social events of the college year: the proms, student plays and musicals, elections, freshman hazing. Their activities had strong appeal, especially the football games. As the expanding universities built larger stadiums, the Saturday afternoon game became the symbolic event that bound together all students, past and present (131).


6. The popularity of fraternity membership, as opposed to membership in Jewish religious, cultural, literary, or Zionist groups which were also active on campuses at the time, is confirmed by the other organizations's constant complaints that the Jewish fraternities were taking members away from them. This appears most markedly in the records of the Intercollegiate Menorah Association, whose leaders tended to blame the fraternities for their own demise. See Joselit, especially pages 136, 140, 145–149, for a discussion of the antagonistic relationship between Menorah and the Jewish fraternities.


8. According to Fass, the vast majority of youths on college campuses in the 1920s had adequate support from home to meet most of their expenses. Although at least one half of the men and one quarter of the women students worked to earn some outside money during their college years, much of this income fell under the category of “pocket money.” Only 15 percent of all college students were completely self-supporting (134–35). Her figures are taken from Walter J. Greenleaf, “Self-Help for College Students,” U.S. Bureau of Education Bulletin 2 (1929): 59–60.


10. Alfred B. Engelhard, “Ulysses Universitatis; or, Four and Twenty Hours from the Life of a College Youth,” ZBTQ 12, 2 (December 1927): 17. The body of water in question was Madison’s Lake Mendota.


18. “Report of the Committee on Standards of Membership,” Minutes of the Supreme Council, Zeta Beta Tau, New York City, September 9, 1924 (ZBT archives in Indianapolis, IN). Richard Loeb (1905–1936) a member of the University of Michigan chapter, was indicted and convicted for the murder along with Nathan Freudenthal Leopold (1904–1971), a University of Chicago graduate. Both were the sons of wealthy Chicago Jewish families. Leopold and Loeb, who were defended by Clarence Darrow in what became one of the most sensational murder trials in the United States up until that time, were both sentenced to life imprisonment plus ninety-nine years. While in jail, the two men developed a correspondence school for the inmates of nineteen penitentiaries. In 1936 Loeb was murdered by a fellow inmate.
20. Interview with James E. Greer, Executive Director, Zeta Beta Tau, New York City, April 6, 1996.
22. Minutes of Zeta Beta Tau Supreme Council, September 9, 1924; I am indebted to my colleague Ava F. Kahn for pointing out the latter implication of Cunard’s offer to me.
28. Eustace Meyers, letter to the editor, August 12, 1929, ZBTQ 14, 1 (October 1929): 4. Eustace Meyers, of Kingston, Jamaica, was the son of Horace V. Meyers, also a ZBT member.
30. See Feingold, “Investing in Themselves.”
33. Minutes of the Supreme Council of Zeta Beta Tau, November 13, 1924, ZBT Archives, Indianapolis, IN.
34. “Eta Man Works in German Plant: Son of American Millionaire Receives
Fifty Cents a Day,” *The Eta Egotist* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania [Eta] Chapter of Phi Epsilon Pi) [hereafter cited as *Egotist*] 3, 2 (May 1923): 1. The Bamberger family was only one of the prominent American Jewish families engaged in the manufacturing and department store business. For an interesting and humorous view of these families and the impact they had on their communities, see Leon Harris’s popular history, *Merchant Princes: An Intimate History of Jewish Families Who Built Great Department Stores* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979).  

35. *Egotist* 3, 2 (May 1923): 1  
39. “Here’s the Dope on Phi Ep’s Biggest and Best,” convention flyer, September 1927, AJHS–PHIEP, Box 6, Folder: “1927.”  
40. “Phi Ep’s Biggest,” convention flyer.  
43. *SAM: The Confidential Monthly Bulletin of Sigma Alpha Mu* [hereafter cited as *SAM Bulletin*] 12, 7 (November 15, 1928): 1. The issue mentioned special celebrations in honor of the fraternity’s eighteenth anniversary that year. The letters for the word “life” in Hebrew also represent the number eighteen.  
44. *SAM Bulletin* 13, 8 [Convention Number] (December 15, 1929).  
46. Luhrs.  
47. Report of Sigmund H. Steinberg, Supreme Master, Minutes of the 13th Annual Supreme Council of the Alpha Epsilon Pi Fraternity, Hotel McAlpin, NYC, December 26, 1929, Alpha Epsilon Pi archives, Indianapolis, IN [hereafter cited as AEPi].  
48. *The Scroll of Alpha Epsilon Pi Fraternity* [hereafter cited as *AEPi Scroll*] 2, 2 (April 15, 1921). The archives of the Alpha Epsilon Pi national office contain a touching montage of summer photographs taken at the Edgemere house during this period; these have since been enlarged and have been placed on the walls of the fraternity’s present national offices in Indianapolis, IN.  
49. *AEPi Scroll* 1, 4 (April 1920), 1.  
50. Address by Nathan Wolf, Supreme Master of Alpha Epsilon Pi, minutes of the December 1920 convention, 50, Minute Book, AEPi Archives, Indianapolis, IN.  
51. “Beta Entertains,” *AEPi Scroll* 1, 4 (April 1920), 1–2. The article includes the full names and addresses of all the visitors to Ithaca; almost all resided in Brooklyn, NY.  
52. For example, Western Union would not hire Jewish boys, nor could Jews hope to become bank tellers or salesclerks in non-Jewish stores. The New York Telephone Company claimed that it could not employ Jewish women as operators because their arms were supposedly “too short to handle the switch-

**Chapter 5**

1. The term "counterrevolution" is used by Rudolph in reference to changes in U.S. higher education that took place between 1890 and 1910 (443). For another discussion of liberal culture and the "New Humanist" movement of the 1920s, see also Veysey, 180–251.


4. Discussion of this phenomenon appears widely in the historical literature. For some examples, see Dinnerstein, "Education and the Advancement of American Jews" and Feingold, "Investing in Themselves," 530. The sociologist Glazer has noted that between 1920 and 1940 American Jewry underwent "a phenomenal advance in their social position," transforming themselves from a largely proletarian group to a middle-class one, a movement which was achieved by intense education and a shift in occupational patterns (81). See also Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1970), who note that Jews rose to the middle class far earlier than other groups of the 'new immigration.' For a similar conclusion, see Thomas Kessner, The Golden Door: Italian and Jewish Immigrant Mobility in New York City 1880–1915 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), esp. xi–xvii.

5. Wechsler, The Qualified Student, 133–136, 144–175.

6. Feingold, "Investing in Themselves," 540. The epithet "College of the Circumcised Citizens of New York" appears in many other articles and books dealing with Jewish college students as well.

7. In his memoirs In Memory Yet Green: The Autobiography of Isaac Asimov, 1920–1954 (New York: Doubleday, 1979) the scientist and author recalls applying to Columbia College as a teenager and being shunted instead to Seth Low Junior College in downtown Brooklyn, which only offered a three-year program. The highest degree Seth Low granted was the Bachelor of Science degree; the college did not grant Bachelor of Arts degrees. When Brooklyn College, a branch of the City University of New York, opened in 1936, Seth Low Junior College allowed its students to finish their courses, then closed its doors in 1938. For discussion of Columbia president Nicholas Murray Butler's opposition to a Brooklyn University and the establishment of Seth Low, see Wechsler, The Qualified Student, 191–194. See also "Columbiana," Columbia University Archives, New York, Subject Folder: "Seth Low Junior College."
8. Stephen Steinberg, *The Academic Melting Pot: Catholics and Jews in American Higher Education* (New York: 1974), 19–20, and Synnott, *The Half-Opened Door*, 11 ff. Jews were less than 3.4 percent of the American population in 1934, but they supplied 10 percent of the national student population and even more in Jewish population centers. By 1957, 28.5 percent of Jews had graduated from college as opposed to 10 percent of the general population. In 1935 Jews supplied three times as many students as their proportion in the population. In the professional schools, and particularly in medicine, they were especially conspicuous. In 1923 the Jewish enrollment at Columbia's College of Physicians and surgeons was as high as 50 percent. By 1939, it had been cut to less than 7 percent. Rejected Jewish candidates turned to dentistry, podiatry, optometry, osteopathy, pharmacy, chiropractic, and veterinary schools, or else went abroad for their medical education.

9. Dr. A. A. Roback (Department of Psychology, Harvard University), “Must Your Son Go to College?” *Jewish Tribune*, June 5, 1925, 8.

10. See Higham, 159. There are numerous references and descriptions of specific techniques throughout American Jewish memoirs and historical literature. For examples of methods used to weed out Jewish students, see the work of Wechsler, in particular *The Well-Qualified Student*; Synnott, *The Half-Opened Door*; and Broun and Britt in their discussion on Jews in college, 102. Oren notes that Jewish boys from the Boston area in 1922 were offended that Harvard required an applicant to state his color, religious preference, father's birthplace, and whether or not he or his father had ever changed their name (47).


13. A. Lawrence Lowell became president of Harvard in 1909 against the wishes of Charles W. Eliot, who had served as president for forty years and who had been responsible for many of the liberalizing reforms that had turned the college into a major university. Lowell’s conflicts with Eliot, his efforts to remake Harvard, and his successful attempt to limit the number of Jews admitted are discussed in Steinberg, *The Academic Melting Pot*, 19–31; Wechsler, *The Well-Qualified Student*, 161–162; and Synnott, *The Half-Opened Door*, 25–124. The scandal was complicated at first by charges that Jewish students themselves had “leaked” the story to the press and thus were in part guilty of spreading lies and slander about their alma mater. See Harry Starr, “The Affair at Harvard: What the Students Did,” *The Menorah Journal*, no. 5 (October 1922): 263–76.


15. William T. Ham [most likely a pseudonym], “Harvard Student Opinion on the Jewish Question,” *The Nation* 115, no. 2983 (Sept. 6, 1922): 225–27. Reprinted in *ZBTQ* 7, 1. The article was based on a final examination essay question given by Dr. Richard C. Cabot of Harvard’s Department of Social Ethics at the end of the school year in 1922. Of 83 men examined, 41 expressed the belief that “race limitation” on admissions was justified; 34 held
that it was not, including 7 Jews, and 8 expressed no clear opinion either way.


19. Harold Riegelman, Speech in New York City, reported in the New York Times, January 22, 1923, sec 5, 1. For a full chronology, explanation, and analysis of President A. Lawrence Lowell's actions during the Harvard affair of 1922–1923, see the works of Steinberg, Wechsler; and Synnot, The Half-Opened Door, 27. See also Oren, 45–48; Sachar, 328–331; and Feingold, A Time for Searching, 1920–1945, v. 4, 1 and 13–24. An interesting account of the Harvard affair and subsequent ill-feeling between Lowell and American Jewish leaders appears in From the Diaries of Felix Frankfurter, ed. Joseph Lash (New York: Norton, 1975). A close friend of Frankfurter, who was a professor at Harvard Law School at the time, told the author that the quota controversy had brought about a "vitriolic correspondence" between the Boston Brahmin Lowell and the Jewish Frankfurter—"Nobody but me has seen that exchange and it really was vitriolic" (37). The animosity developed even further in 1927 when Frankfurter became one of the leading advocates of the anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti, while Lowell headed the government commission whose report justified the execution of the two men. At that point, Frankfurter was asked whether he would resign from the Law School. "Why should I resign?" he reportedly answered. "Let Lowell resign" (124).


22. See Toll, "Colleges, Fraternities, and Assimilation," 97. The one possible exception to this was Amherst, since there apparently existed a chapter of the nonsectarian Pi Lambda Phi there from 1927 to 1931. See Baird, 20th ed., s.v. "Campuses and Their Fraternities."

23. Letters of refusal of recognition from university officials, as well as extensive discussions and speculations on the reasons for such refusal and possible strategies for overcoming it, are found in the early records of all Jewish fraternities and sororities. See especially AJHS-PHIEP Collection, passim; also Louis Marshall correspondence in the American Jewish Committee Archives, Blaustein Library, New York City [hereafter cited as AJC] Folder: "Fraternities."

24. Excerpt of minutes of National Interfraternity Conference of December 1927 in a letter from Frederic R. Mann, National President of Tau Epsilon Phi, to Louis Marshall, February 14, 1928, AJC, Blaustein Library, Folder: "Fraternities." The excerpt had been obtained by Mann and was attached to his letter to Marshall as an example of the attitudes that Jewish fraternities were facing in the Greek-letter world. It was this letter that prompted Marshall to write to President Faunce of Brown University.

25. Herman "Heinie" Kline to Jesse Acker, January 16, 1916, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 16, Folder: "Early Fraternity Correspondence, 1916."

26. See Sachar, 521. For a description of Viereck's resignation and the desire of Phi Epsilon Pi to strike him from the roll, see Maurice Jacobs to Louis M.
Fushan, July 7, 1934, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 17, Folder: “Maurice Jacobs, 1931–37.” See also correspondence between Pascal Greenberg and Kurt Gruenwald, February 21 and March 1, 1939, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 12, Folder: “Alpa” (City College). A picture, biography, congratulatory letter, and poem of friendship written by George Sylvester Viereck to his Phi Epsilon Pi fraternity brothers appear in the first issue of PhiEpQ (1, 1 [December 1915], 1). Viereck was born in Munich on December 31, 1884 and came to the U.S. at the age of 11. For background on Viereck’s life and pro-German activities, see Susan Canedy, America’s Nazis, A Democratic Dilemma: A History of the German American Bund (Menlo Park, CA: Mark Graff, 1990), 5; Nathan C. Belth, A Promise to Keep: A Narrative of the American Encounter with Anti-Semitism (New York: Times Books, 1979), 120–123; and two full-scale biographies: Nil M. Johnson, George Sylvester Viereck: German-American Propagandist (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972) and Elmer Gertz, Odyssey of a Barbarian: The Biography of George Sylvester Viereck (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1978).

27. Arthur J. Levy (Providence, RI) to Maurice Jacobs, March 8, 1921, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 31, Folder: “Sigma.”

28. Benjamin Rowe (Tufts Chapter, Phi Epsilon Pi) to Emmanuel Wirkman, December 15, 1929, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 31, Folder: “Sigma.” Rowe was writing to inquire why there was no Phi Epsilon Pi chapter at Brown. “There are over two hundred Jewish boys at Brown of which I can say fifty percent are of fraternity caliber. There are star football men, soccer players, swimmers, basketball stars, President and Manager of the orchestra, and many others who are participating in other activities such as the newspaper, etc.”


30. Samuel M. Klivansky to Morris D. Waldman (Secretary, American Jewish Committee) December 27, 1928, AJC, Blaustein Library, Folder: “Fraternities.”


38. Fisher, 608.
39. Fisher, 609. The chancellor’s real name was Elmer Ellsworth Brown.
41. Fisher, “For the Love of Alma Mater,” 611. The real name of NYU’s Dean of Engineering in 1923 was Charles Snow.
42. A copy of the circular, printed in blue ink, headed with the Hebrew letters for “kosher” and with the words “New York University” in place of the pseudonymous “Da-Da,” appears in the New York University Archives, Elmer E. Brown Papers, Box 9, Folder 12, RG.3.0.4, “Bouton, Archibald (Dean, College of Arts and Pure Science) 1922–1927.” Accompanying it is a letter from Dean Bouton to Chancellor Brown, dated March 20, 1923: “I enclose a copy of a circular that was extensively posted on our campus this morning. The campus force was very busy very early in the morning cleaning up things and I think have succeeded. Nevertheless, the material is out. I spoke with a good deal of vigor about the matter in Chapel this morning. . . . I think you should know about the matter. Dean Snow thinks it is likely to bring us publicity. I do not know who is responsible for Mr. Fisher has been extremely active in bringing it to the attention of various people and seems to possess a large number of copies of the document.” The folder also contains a clipping of a front-page New York Herald Tribune article on the matter (March 21, 1923); a copy of the Jewish student resolution authored by the NYU Menorah Society, signed by president Mitchell S. Fisher and vice-president David Cramer.

Chapter 6

2. A partial typescript copy of this study, done in 1926, can be found in AJHS-PHIP, Box 17, Folder: “Council on American Jewish Student Affairs.” 1500 questionnaires were sent to all the fraternities affiliated with the Council, asking the following questions: Does prejudice exist on your campus? If so is it slight, moderate, or intense? Does it exist in the student body, the faculty, or both? What are the causes, and are they controllable? What can be done to eliminate or minimize prejudice? The questionnaire also asked for a detailed statistical survey of the number of Jewish men and women students, the degree of their acceptance in specific institutions, and their level of participation
on varsity athletic teams, debate teams, and publications. The study found that of a total of 160,741 male college students, approximately 18,370 were Jewish; out of 75,653 female college students, 5,930 were Jewish, for a total of 24,217 Jewish students out of a college population of 237,507. Out of a total of 8628 students on varsity athletic teams, the study found 547 Jews, or roughly 7 percent of the total Jewish student population. Despite this respectable showing, in later years Riegelman criticized Jewish college students for being relatively underrepresented in the field of varsity athletics and overly represented in other areas, such as campus publications (20%) and debating (23%). See Harold Riegelman, “The Jewish Collegian: Missionary of Good Will,” ZBTQ 14, 3 (March 1930): 7. Figures were derived as follows: out of a total of 758 on varsity debate teams, 69 were Jewish; out of a total of 4527 on student publications, 928 were Jewish.

Out of 67 colleges and universities reporting, 52 did not admit Jews to Gentile fraternities and sororities at all, while on 15 they might be admitted occasionally.

3. The disproportion, however, did reveal itself later in the well-known tendency of Jewish fraternity graduates to become owners or managers of professional athletic teams.


10. Linder, 7.

11. Louis E. Wise, “The Jew’s Position in College Today,” PhiEpQ 6, 1 (March 1923): 16. This editorial mentions an article in the New York Evening Post of February 28, reporting that the student council appointed a committee of three to confer with the university authorities after members were said to have criticized Jewish students as lacking interest in athletics because of other activities. The council recommended that the number of Jews admitted to Syracuse be limited. The faculty of Syracuse reportedly quashed this move by the students.


14. In the Spring of 1921 the Supreme Board of Governors of Alpha Epsilon Pi moved its monthly meetings from Friday to Thursday in order to accommodate Supreme Sentinel M. Farber, who had been unable to attend meetings because of his Sabbath observance. AEPi Minutes, Jan–March 1922, 125, AEPi.

21. Stoloff, 44.
25. Harold Riegelman. “Pledging Dad: a One-Act Dialogue,” *ZBTQ7*, 1 (September 1922): 17. This dialogue was first composed by Riegelman in the late 1910s and was frequently reprinted.
29. Initiation list for fall 1947, University of Washington, membership files (computer database), Alpha Epsilon Pi National Office, Indianapolis, IN. According to George S. Toll, executive director of Alpha Epsilon Pi, who claimed personally to have traveled to Seattle to start the chapter in 1947, the rapid upward mobility and acculturation of the Sephardic Jews of Seattle spelled the death knell of his efforts. Soon both ZBT and SAM were taking them as members, and the depleted Alpha Epsilon Pi chapter was forced to close in 1961. For the full account of the story of one Charles Alhadeff in 1926, see Oral History, University of Washington, Mss.v.f. 1263, No. 3290, transcript of an interview by Howard Droker, May 3, 1982, Seattle, Washington. Charles Alhadeff, whose father Nessim had emigrated from Rhodes, and his friend John Franco were rushed by ZBT in the fall of 1926, along with several other graduates of Temple DeHirsch’s religious school. As a classical Reform Jewish institution, Temple DeHirsch was a natural recruiting ground for ZBT, and Charles had in fact been specifically sent there by his father rather than to the Sephardi synagogue school in order that his son might have contacts among the greater Seattle Jewish community. After six weeks, however, both Alhadeff and Franco were called in and depledged. “It was a matter of a tremendous amount of conversation and discussion in the community at the time,” recalled Alhadeff fifty-six years later, “the feeling being that we, being ‘Sephs,’ were not welcome and were depledged. . . . It pretty well ruined my college life,” In the late 1950s, Charles’ son Jerry Alhadeff was rushed by ZBT. At first he refused to join because of what had been done to his father,
whereupon a delegation of ZBT reportedly visited Charles Alhadeff in his home to apologize for the fraternity's past actions, to say that in their time such a thing would not happen, and to ask Charles to please urge his son to join them. Charles Alhadeff did so. Both Jerry Alhadeff and later his brother Jack became full ZBT members, living in the chapter house. I am indebted to Julie Niebuhr Eulenberg of the University of Washington for her helpfulness and consideration in supplying me with this transcript.


31. Western Union Telegram from Bertha Feitel (New Orleans, LA) to Beatrice Feingold (33 Riverside Drive, New York City) n.d. [c. 1930], AEPhi, Box 3, Notebook 2: “Council Votes and Decisions December 1929–April 1932.” Western Union telegrams were a typical method of performing quick investigations of candidates across the country during the sorority’s rushing season.


39. Percy Pachtman, Province Master, Central Atlantic Province, Phi Epsilon Pi, to Maurice Jacobs, Grand Council, July 28, 1921, 6, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 18, Folder: “Mid Atlantic.”

40. Maurice Jacobs to Percy Pachtman, July 29, 1921, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 18, Folder: “Mid Atlantic.”

41. Harry L. Becker, corresponding secretary, to Maurice Jacobs, corresponding secretary, February 15, 1921, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 28, Folder: “Kappa.”


43. Hyman S. Mayerson, President, Brown University Menorah Society, to Julietta Kahn, Corresponding Secretary, Intercollegiate Menorah Association, April 17, 1922, AJA-HUC, Mss. Coll. No. 2, Henry Hurwitz Papers, Box 70, Folder 10: “Brown University 1921–1922.”

44. Marcus H. Rabinowitz, President, University of Minnesota Menorah Society,
to Julietta Kahn, December 9, 1921, AJA-HUC, Mss. Coll. No. 2, Henry Hurwitz Papers, Box 73, Folder 7: “University of Minnesota 1921–1922.” Dr. Moses Barron was on the faculty of the medical school.


50. ZBTQ (fall 1925), quoted in Banta's Greek Exchange (January 1925): 82.


54. Salinger, 15.

CHAPTER 7


5. See correspondence between Maurice Jacobs and Samuel J. Sherman (attorney and president of the Phi Epsilon Pi Chicago alumni association), November 22–24, 1933, AJHS-PHIIEP, Box 21, Folder: “Gamma [Northwestern] to 1936.” “You doubtless know that Chicago is definitely committed to an
anti-fraternity policy. It has no sororities and by means of new dormitories, offering luxurious quarters and excellent meals at greatly reduced rates, in the space of a year or two has crippled Chicago's fraternities and insured their early extinction."

13. Bruce H. McIntosh, compiler, "Statistics Regarding College Fraternities," May 1933, AJHS-PHIIEP, Box 3, Folder: "History and Purpose of Phi Epsilon Pi." The list includes figures for all 72 NIC-member men's fraternities.

14. Eleventh meeting, Supreme Board of Governors, minutes, December 1, 1930. AEPi. A chart on the comparative mortality of Jewish fraternity chapters was prepared and presented by Edward [sic] Perlson.

15. Maurice Jacobs, Executive Secretary, memo to members of the Grand Council and the Extension Committee, June 21, 1934, 2, AJHS-PHIIEP, Box 12, Folder: "Extension Committee."

16. Report on Sigma Zeta [Indiana] chapter, 193, Supreme Council minutes, April 2, 1935, SAM. The chapter had 23 actives and 4 pledges, all living in a former private dwelling at 421 Fess Ave. There were reportedly 110 Jews on campus, and the only other Jewish fraternity was Phi Beta Delta, which also had a full house.

17. Letter to the author from Hyman Meltz, Class of '41, N.Y. State College for Teachers at Albany (later the State University of New York at Albany), May 30, 1991. Meltz served as an English teacher and assistant principal in the New York City school system for 25 years. Members of the original group remained in close contact and celebrated the 50th anniversary of Kappa Beta's founding in 1986.

18. Supreme Council Minutes, May 23, 1939, 1, SAM.

19. "Round Table Discussion, December 30, 1937: Planning a Rush Program," minutes of discussions at the annual convention held at the Carter Hotel in Cleveland, 6–9, AJHS-PHIIEP, Box 7, Folder: "1937."


26. Viola Lang Rusnak, National Field Secretary, to National Council, June 23, 1936, subject: "Expansion L.S.U.," 1, AEPhi, Box: "Archives," Folder: "Petitioning Groups Not Accepted 1928–1936." According to the report, there were then 45 Jewish women on the L.S.U. campus. "The best" were all members of Sigma Delta Tau, while the 18 left unaffiliated were not considered AEPhi material—hence, the need to colonize.


28. Maurice Jacobs to Grand Council and Extension Committee, May 2, 1932,
subject: "Results of Survey," AJHS-PHIEP, Box 12, Folder: "Extension Committee."

29. See Maurice Jacobs's December 1932 speech before the Phi Epsilon Pi convention, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 10, Folder: "Secretary," for reference to the Dartmouth announcement (11). In addition, according to Jacobs, five or six other outstanding Jewish men at Dartmouth had been in effect lost to the Gentiles. For reference to the freshmen quota of 30 Jewish men a year and concern that this would mean the end of Jewish fraternities at Dartmouth, see the report of James C. Hammerstein, Executive Secretary, Supreme Council Minutes, March 17, 1935, 171, SAM.

30. James C. Hammerstein, Executive Secretary, visitation report on Dartmouth College, March 17, 1935, SAM.

31. Maurice Jacobs, speech before the Phi Epsilon Pi convention, December 1932, 11, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 10, Folder: "Secretary."

32. James C. Hammerstein, visitation report on Syracuse, March 17, 1935, 72, SAM. He reported that the chapter held a "fine" house at 712 Comstock Ave., which was owned by the alumni.


34. Maurice Jacobs, Executive Secretary, report to members of the Grand Council and the Extension Committee, June 21, 1934, 5, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 12, Folder: "Extension Committee." Reference to the restricted 3 percent Jewish enrollment at Duke appears in his December 1932 convention speech, 15, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 10, Folder: "Secretary." The one Jewish fraternity on campus that year was Phi Sigma Delta, which had pledged 18 out of 34 Jewish men on campus.


36. Ibid.

37. Maurice Jacobs, Executive Secretary, report, "To the Grand Superior and Fratres [sic] of the 1932 Convention," December 1932. 12–13, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 10, Folder: "Secretary."


39. Elizabeth Eldridge, National Dean, to National Council, March 31, 1933, 6. Dr. Julian Alvin Carroll Chandler served as President of the College of William and Mary from 1919 to 1934.

40. Elizabeth Eldridge to National Council, March 31, 1933, 6. Dr. Julian Alvin Carroll Chandler served as President of the College of William and Mary from 1919 to 1934.


42. Elizabeth Eldridge to National Council, May 25, 1933.

43. Elizabeth Eldridge to National Council, May 21, 1933, subject: "Fate of Pe-
titioning Local at William and Mary," AEPhi, Box: "Archives," Folder: "Petitioning Groups Not Accepted 1928–1936." This memo contains the text of the letter from Lucille Fritz, who was president of the petitioning local and would have been Dean of the chapter under the national aegis of Alpha Epsilon Phi.

44. Maurice Jacobs, Executive Secretary, memo to members of the Grand Council, March 5, 1932, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 12, Folder: "Extension Committee."


46. Austin M. Fisher.

47. Maurice Jacobs to Grand Council, March 5, 1932. Alumni attending the meeting included attorney Louis Rosenfeld, Dave Levey, Eli Lifschuts, and Sam Susselman. The eighteen Wesleyan undergraduates were then placed under the supervision of Rabbi Feldman of Hartford, which was located only a half-hour drive from Middletown.

48. Clipping from the Wesleyan Argus, February 22, 1932, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 12, Folder: "Extension Committee": "McConaughy Defines University Position on Jewish Question; Situation Not Acute. 'Perhaps Over-emphasized,' by Mr. Fisher, But Latter's Article 'Thought-provoking.'"

49. M. M. Resnikoff, letter to the editor, Wesleyan Argus, Thursday, February 25, 1932. See clipping in AJHS-PHIEP, Box 12, Folder: "Extension Committee."

50. Resnikoff, letter to the editor.

51. Louis B. Rosenfeld (attorney and Phi Epsilon Pi alumnus in Hartford, CT) to Maurice Jacobs, March 15, 1932, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 12, Folder: "Extension Committee."

52. Herman E. Colitz to Maurice Jacobs, March 14, 1932, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 12, Folder: "Extension Committee."

53. Herman E. Colitz to Maurice Jacobs, March 14, 1932.

54. Herman E. Colitz to Maurice Jacobs, November 6, 1933, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 12, Folder: "Extension Committee."

55. Maurice Jacobs to Herman E. Colitz November 7, 1933, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 12, Folder: "Extension Committee."

56. Maurice Jacobs to Grand Council, March 5, 1932. In his description of the alumni meeting, Jacobs referred to the founding of Ivy Club and the belief of the alumni and undergraduates that the building could easily and inexpensively be obtained for a fraternity house.

57. Maurice Jacobs, "To the Grand Superior and Fratres [sic]," December 1932. See his report on the possibilities of extension at Amherst, Wesleyan, and Williams, 12.

58. AEPhi, Box 6, Notebook 2: "Council Minutes and Correspondence August 1937–September 1939." For discussion of what was termed "the prevailing Jewish problem " at the University of Maryland, see the reports of Marian Diamond to the National Dean, January 31, 1938, subject: "Visit to the University of Maryland Local: Alpha Sigma," 3–5, and Florence Orringer to the National Dean, February 27, 1939, subject: "Visits to University of Maryland
Local: Alpha Sigma No. 3," 2–3. Anti-Jewish feeling and the absolute refusal of the local IFC or Panhellenic to accept Jewish groups, along with the low number of and general lack of social life for Jewish students, convinced AEPhi officials not to establish a chapter there. Wrote Marian Diamond: "We would have this to fight against continually and I see no reason for going in when this has been made so obvious" (8).

59. Report of Executive Secretary James C. Hammerstein on visit to Sigma Chi [Maryland] chapter, March 27, 1935, Supreme Council Minutes, April 2, 1935, SAM. Hammerstein reported approximately 100 Jews on the campus with an average of 35 entering each year. Tau Epsilon Phi and Phi Alpha had already established chapters there.

60. See "Theta Chapter—University of Pennsylvania," Supreme Council Minutes, April 2, 1935, SAM, on Executive Secretary James C. Hammerstein's visit to the campus. All available Jewish fraternity records contain frequent references to the A and B division at Penn.


63. Elizabeth Eldridge to National Council, December 13, 1934, 5. Mortimer and later Herbert Fleishhacker were both Regents and prominent donors to the University of California at Berkeley. On November 27, 1934, a special meeting of the local Panhellenic was held to vote both Jewish sororities at the University of California into full membership, although a technicality in the resolution assured that their representatives would not be eligible for the presidency of that body for more than a quarter of a century.

64. See Baird, 20th.ed, s.v. "National Interfraternity Conference," and “National Panhellenic Conference.”

65. For a description of NIC judicial activity and the role of Harold Riegelman of ZBT, see Baird, 12th ed., 19.

66. For examples of unsuccessful petitions of Jewish sororities to NPC in the 1920s, see memorandum from Alice B. Greene, National Dean, to the Field Secretary, subject: Pan-Hellenic Petition, October 25, 1921, AEPhi, Box 3, Notebook 1: “Council Decisions 1921–1927”: “Despite all our efforts, it is still very doubtful whether we will succeed this time”; Report on Pan-Hellenic petition, January 2, 1929, AEPhi, Box 3, Notebook 2: “Council Votes and Decisions December 1929–April 1932”: “N.P.C. has refused our recent petition. Miss Leonard notified me very courteously and promptly. She says 'the negative vote was due to your restricted membership.'” See also minutes of the second biennial convention of Sigma Delta Tau, Buffalo, NY, December 22, 1924, and minutes of the annual meeting of the National Council of Sigma Delta Tau, Indianapolis, IN, September 1–3, 1925, SDT.

67. See reports of Alpha Epsilon Phi Panhellenic Chairman Elizabeth Eldridge, passim, AEPhi, Box 3, Notebook 7: “Council Decisions and Votes 1934–1936.” Eldridge frequently used the example of the Phi Mu constitution in her efforts to prove that her own sorority was no less restrictive or limited in its membership than those who were already members of the NPC. It should
be noted, however, that the leaders of Phi Mu were among the earliest supporters coming out openly for admission of Alpha Epsilon Phi to the NPC. The leaders of Chi Omega, however, consistently opposed it.

68. See AEPhi, Box 3, Notebook 7: “Council Decisions and Votes 1934–1936,” which contains much of the abundant material relating to Alpha Epsilon Phi’s battle for NPC recognition. References to the Christian nature of NPC as a basis for exclusion appear throughout the file. For the most specific instance, see copy of a letter from L. Pearle Green, President, Kappa Alpha Theta, to Mrs. Clyde L. Shepard, Chairman, NPC Committee on Eligibility of New Groups, February 1935, describing the reasons formerly given for rejecting AEPhi and her recommendation that they be admitted: “The dissenting fraternities claim that they are strictly ‘Christian’ fraternities and would have to withdraw from NPC if groups not ‘Christian,’ within their definition of that word, were admitted,” 2. See also memo from Elizabeth Eldridge to National Council, April 21, 1936, subject: “Report of Convention of Urban Panhellenics, April 17–18, 1936, Columbus,,” 2, AEPhi, Box 3 Notebook 8: “Council Votes and Decisions 1934–1937,” for a description of a speech by Cora Rader, NPC delegate of Phi Mu, in which she refers to the “Christian” nature of NPC sororities.

69. See memo from Elizabeth Eldridge, April 21, 1936.

70. Eldridge, April 21, 1936, 8.


72. Eldridge to National Council, October 22, 1938.


CHAPTER 8


5. Columns 14, 2 (January 15, 1930). “A-Camping We Will Go” by Beta [Hunter] chapter describes the chapters’ summer weekends at a bungalow in Long Branch on the Jersey shore (19). “The Rotenberg Family Embarks for Foreign Lands,” (Columns 16, 2 [March 1932]: 11) describes the cruise of a lead-
ing Toronto Jewish family to England for a "family reunion," The writer, Gertrude Rotenberg, describes meeting Sir Herbert Samuel, Gandhi, John Masefield, George Bernard Shaw, and other British luminaries. Her sister Hilda was staying on in Geneva with a Monsieur Dalcroze to study "both the art of dancing and French." In the same issue, "Meet Mrs. Peter Seitz!" (20) described the successes of Myra Patricia Tolins, who followed a brilliant scholastic career at Cornell 1924–1929 with a year at the University of Paris where she earned her M.A. in French. "Alpha Delta Goes to Sea" (18, 3 [May 1934]: 38) describes the spring house parties of the University of Washington chapter; twenty-two couples boarded a yacht on Lake Washington to watch the crew races between California and Washington. The races were followed by a cruise around the lake, supper served on board the yacht, and dancing.

8. AJA-HUC, Mss. Coll. No. 177, Irvin Fane Papers [hereafter cited as Fane Papers], Box 31, Folder: "ZBT Correspondence 1939." The folder contains a complete list of the furnishings for the University of Missouri chapter house.
11. Minutes of Supreme Council meeting, May 17, 1931, 5, SAM. At that meeting, the officers rejected as "not desirable" petitioning chapters from Temple University, Long Island University, and New York University's downtown division.
14. Richard A. Freiberger, Chairman of the Women's Committee, to Fratres [sic], October 30, 1937, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 7, Folder: "1937."
15. Irvin Fane to Mrs. S.F. Kiely of Kansas City, Missouri, April 9, 1938, Fane Papers, Box 30, Folder: "ZBT Correspondence 1930–1938." "Complying with your request, the following are young, unmarried members of the Alumni Club of Zeta Beta Tau."
17. Dr. Lee J. Levinger, The Jewish Student in America: A Study Made by the Research Bureau of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations (Cincinnati, 1937), 18, 42–44, 91–95. Heywood Broun and George Britt, in their report Christians Only (New York: Vanguard Press, 1931) wrote: "Hundreds of Jewish college students from the East every year go South and to the Middle West, fleeing discrimination. It would be possible to trace this motive, rather than to money and professionalism, the presence on obscure Southern church college teams of many star Jewish athletes from the North" (83).
18. For the most valuable and detailed numerical survey of Jewish students at different campuses in the 1930s, see Synnott, "Anti-Semitism and American Universities", 244–248 and Levinger, The Jewish Student in America.
19. See *The Hillel Digest* 1, 4 (May 1940), Student Periodical Collections, HUC, Cincinnati, 1.


21. Supreme Council Minutes, November 1, 1937, 133, SAM.

22. Maurice Jacobs, Traveling Secretary, report on Theta [Penn State] chapter, April 10, 1922, quoting 1915 report, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 12, Folder 20, “Secretary.”

23. Louis Fushan, Grand Vice-Superior, report to members of the Grand Council, December 1927, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 12, Folder: “Vice-Superior.”

24. Letter from Charles Schlow to Maurice Jacobs, January 14, 1934, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 27, Folder: “Theta [Penn State] 1934–1947.” Charles Schlow, who lived near Penn State, was devoted to the Jewish students in attendance there and in particular became a combination of advisor, mentor, and father-figure to the members of Phi Epsilon Pi. He was known to several generations of Penn State Jewish students as “Uncle Charlie.”


26. Pascal A. Greenberg, Executive Secretary, to members of the Grand Council, re: April 28–30, 1939, visitation to Penn State and Muhlenberg colleges, May 3, 1939, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 26, Folder: “Theta” [Penn State]. The report noted that 112 alumni and their wives attended the weekend events.


28. For a front-page photograph of Phi Epsilon Pi’s first sukkah at Penn State along with full coverage of the event, see *The Hillel Digest* 2, 2 (December 1939): 1, available in the Jewish Student Periodicals Collection, HUC, Cincinnati.

29. Maurice Jacobs, “Results of Survey,” memo to Grand Council and Extension Committee, May 2, 1932, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 12, Folder: “Extension Committee.” The questionnaire was sent to 120 colleges and universities, and 75 responded. There were eight questions: 1. Number of male Jewish students registered this year. 2. Average number of Jewish male students registering past five years. 3. Are Jewish students admitted to general fraternities? 4. Are there Jewish fraternities on campus? 5. If so, which ones? 6. Are these fraternities recognized by the authorities? 7. Are they members of the local Interfraternity Council? 8. Would your administration permit Jewish fraternities to organize? Of the 70 colleges responding which had more than five Jewish students on campus, 51 categorically would not admit Jews to their general fraternities; eight would admit Jews seldom or occasionally, and nine answered “Yes.” Other schools with notable Jewish populations and one or more Jewish fraternities described in the survey included Western Reserve (254, Phi Sigma Delta, Zeta Beta Tau); Rhode Island State (58, Alpha Ep-
silon Pi); University of Maine (52, Tau Epsilon Phi); University of Nebraska, (72, down from a 5-year average of 107, with Zeta Beta Tau and Sigma Alpha Mu on campus); Tulane (150, Zeta Beta Tau, Sigma Alpha Mu, Kappa Nu); University of West Virginia (136, Phi Sigma Delta, Pi Lambda Phi, Phi Alpha); University of Oklahoma (65, Sigma Alpha Mu and Phi Beta Delta); University of Texas (175, down from an average of 200, Phi Sigma Delta, Sigma Alpha Mu, Tau Delta Phi, Zeta Beta Tau); University of Colorado (54, Phi Beta Delta, Phi Sigma Delta); State University of New York at Buffalo (279, Beta Sigma Rho, Kappa Nu, Omicron Alpha Tau, Sigma Alpha Mu); University of Southern California (200, Alpha Epsilon Pi, Phi Beta Delta, Tau Delta Phi, Tau Epsilon Phi, and Zeta Beta Tau); University of North Dakota (25, Tau Delta Phi); University of Richmond (42, Phi Alpha); Union College (81, Zeta Beta Tau, Kappa Nu, Alpha Mu Sigma and Phi Sigma Delta); Franklin and Marshall (59, up from an average of 50, Zeta Beta Tau) and the University of Vermont (55, Phi Sigma Delta, Tau Epsilon Phi).

30. Maurice Jacobs, Executive Secretary, to Members of the Grand Council and the Extension Committee, April 24, 1935, 2, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 12, Folder: “Extension Committee.”

31. Louise W. Wolf to Elizabeth Eldridge, November 9, 1933. Also see correspondence between Louise W. Wolf, Elizabeth Eldridge, and Ruth B. Rosenthaler, November 9–19, 1933, AEPhi, Box 3, Notebook 5: “Council Votes 1932–1934.” An extensive discussion took place between national officials on the wisdom of establishing chapters at the state universities of Georgia, Alabama, and Maryland, where local groups were petitioning them for membership.

32. Maurice Jacobs, report to the Grand Convention in Pittsburgh, December 1935, 18, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 10, Folder: “Secretary.”

33. James Hammerstein, Executive Secretary, report on visits to eleven chapters, February 10–March 27, 1938, Supreme Council Minutes, 181, SAM.

34. Maurice Jacobs, report before the 1932 Convention, December 1932, 28, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 10, Folder: “Secretary.”


37. Maurice Jacobs, memo to the Grand Council and the Extension Committee, February 25, 1937, 3, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 12, Folder: “Extension Committee.” The information in the Phi Epsilon Pi files on the University of Alabama is inexplicably in variance with the chapter roster published in the 20th ed. of Baird, which shows a chapter established at Alabama in 1921 (VIII-15).


40. Maurice Jacobs, memo to the Grand Council and the Extension Committee, June 21, 1934, 3, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 12, Folder: “Extension Committee.” Fourteen men at St. John's belonged to a Jewish local called the Key Society, and Jacobs recommended keeping close watch on them as a potential chapter. However, Phi Epsilon Pi lost its opportunity when the group was pledged by Phi Alpha in 1936.

41. Maurice Jacobs, Executive Secretary, speech to the 1932 Grand Convention, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 10, Folder: “Secretary.”

42. Maurice Jacobs, Executive Secretary, speech to the 1932 Grand Convention, December 1932, 16. Maurice Jacobs reported a well-established and well-recognized Jewish local at Ohio University there by the name of Phi Upsilon.


44. See results of survey in Maurice Jacobs to Grand Council and Extension Committee, May 2, 1932, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 12, Folder: “Extension Committee.”

45. Maurice Jacobs to Grand Council and Extension Committee, May 2, 1932. In 1932 there were 61 Jewish men attending Alfred University, up from an average of 44 in the previous five years.


52. The University of Akron (Theta Deuteron) chapter of Alpha Epsilon Pi became inactive in 1973.

53. Maurice Jacobs, Executive Secretary, memo to members of the Grand Council and the Extension Committee, June 21, 1934, 1, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 12, Folder: “Extension Committee.”

54. National Field Secretary to National Council, November 21, 1930, subject: “Investigation of Sigma Tau Petitioning from University of Maine,” 2, AEPhi, Box: “Archives,” Folder: “Petitioning Groups Not Accepted, 1928–1986.” The report noted that there were eight sororities on the campus, two of them local and the rest national.
55. Elizabeth Eldridge, National Dean, to National Council, April 1, 1933, subject: "Condition of Alpha Gamma" [University of Washington], 1, AEPhi, Box 3, Notebook 2: "Council Votes and Decisions December 1929–April 1932."

56. Elizabeth Eldridge, National Dean, and Viola Rusnak, National Editor, to National Council, March 7, 1933, subject: "Investigation of Iowa University Local Sorority Petition No. 2," 2, AEPhi, Box: "Archives," Folder: "Petitioning Groups Not Accepted, 1928–1936." The terms "milchig" and "fleishig"—Yiddish for dairy and meat products—were used by Jews who observed the dietary laws and kept the two separate.


61. Elizabeth Eldridge, National Dean, to National Council, May 1, 1933, subject: "Local at University of West Virginia," 1, AEPhi, Box: "Archives," Folder: "Petitioning Groups Not Accepted, 1928–1936."

62. Eldridge to National Council, May 1, 1933, 2.


64. Ruth Eldridge to National Council, May 15, 1936, 5.


67. Elizabeth Eldridge, National Dean, to National Council, January 13, 1932, subject: "Investigation, University of Oklahoma," 2, AEPhi, Box: "Archives," Folder: "Petitioning Groups Not Accepted, 1928–1936." In this case, a chapter of Sigma Delta Tau already existed on the campus. There were 30 Jewish women attending Oklahoma at the time, with approximately 16 more planning to attend from the state's public high schools.

68. National field Secretary to National Council, November 21, 1930, subject: "Investigation of Sigma Tau Petitioning from the University of Maine," 1, AEPhi, Box: "Archives," Folder: "Petitioning Groups Not Accepted, 1928–1938."


72. "Problems of an Urban Chapter" was a subject of great concern to the Jewish fraternities. For an interesting discussion on this from the point of view of the students, see Grand Convention Minutes, Roundtable Discussion II, December 31, 1940, 73–75, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 7, Folder: "1940."


74. Charles H. Fleishman, Grand Secretary, to Eugene G. Zacharias (in Atlanta), April 24, 1930, 3, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 12, Folder: "Extension Committee."

75. Maurice Jacobs to Herbert Fuhrman, Superior Alpha, September 23, 1936, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 21, Folder: "Alpha" [CCNY]. Jacobs used the expression in congratulating Fuhrman on his recent election as Superior of the chapter.

76. On the financial problems of their Alpha Chapter, also CCNY, see Supreme Council Minutes, February 6, 1934, SAM. The "Prior," or head of the SAM City College chapter, Morton Freedman, visited the Supreme Council meeting to plead his case. Consul James Hammerstein and William Ober, both of them Alpha alumni, offered to assist in the collection of funds from the chapter's alumni.

77. Pascal A. Greenberg, Assistant Executive Secretary, to the Members of the Grand Council, January 29, 1938, "Report on visitation to Alpha chapter at the College of the City of New York," 1, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 21, Folder: "Alpha" [CCNY].

78. Irvin Fane, Midwest Regional Director (in Kansas City) to Lee Dover, General Secretary, November 4, 1944, Fane Papers, Box 33, Folder: "Zeta Beta Tau Correspondence, 1944." The student’s name was Eugene Kauffman; his home address was actually given as South Fallsburg, NY (located in the Catskill Mountains), although he had attended a year of high school at DeWitt Clinton High School in New York City.


81. Maurice Jacobs, Executive Secretary, to Samuel J. Sherman, April 20, 1937, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 17, Folder: "Maurice Jacobs."

82. Supreme Council Minutes, June 7, 1937, 124, SAM.

83. See AJHS-PHIEP, Box 29, Folder: "Mu" [University of Georgia], esp. Maurice Jacobs to Rabbi Abraham Shusterman, April 3, 1932; Jacobs' correspondence with Max Michael, Jr., an undergraduate member of the Georgia chapter, November 10 and 23, 1932; Jacobs to Ralph Fineberg, Superior, Mu Chapter, October 1, 1936; Maurice G. Gurin, Executive Secretary, Visitation Report, March 1, 1940.

84. Lee Dover, General Secretary, to Irvin Fane, Trustee Omega [Missouri] Chapter, in Kansas City, August 22, 1945, Fane Papers, Box 34, Folder: "Zeta
Beta Tau, 1951–52.” Fane was also requesting references for potential pledges from small towns in Georgia, Maryland, and Missouri.


86. Rabbi Max Kadushin, “The Migratory Student and His Adjustment,” paper presented at a meeting of B’nai Brith Hillel Foundation Directors, June 2–3, 1937, Martinsville, Indiana. 3. The full transcript of this meeting can be found in the Klau Library, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati.

87. Kadushin, 5.

88. Kadushin, 4.

89. Kadushin, 5.


91. AEPhi Box 3, Notebook 8, “Council Votes and Decisions 1934–1937.” Evilyn Silverstine, September 21–24, 1936, 2. “Went to see Dr. Sachar . . . to my surprise he hedged and said he was unable to help us. Discovered that he is in a difficult position due to sudden outburst of antisemitism in town. Fifty Jewish girls have left campus being unable to find a place to stay.”

92. Kadushin, 6.

CHAPTER 9

1. Interview with Elizabeth Eldridge by author via telephone, November 13, 1994. By then a grandmother of 88, she spoke with wonder and pride of the accomplishments of her own daughters, one of them a college professor and head of her department. Of attitudes and judgments recorded sixty years earlier she confirmed with regret, “Yes, Russian Jews were ‘Kikes.’ Does that sound crude? It was a question of who got there first. But the fraternity didn’t draw those distinctions. It was the community that drew those distinctions. And these were based on the evaluation of the Jewish community by Gentile outsiders.”


3. Supreme Council Minutes, December 6, 1933, 248, SAM.

4. Discussion of Viereck’s connections to Phi Epsilon Pi appear in Maurice Jacobs to Eugene G. Zacharias, Grand Councilor, June 12, 1934, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 13, Folder: “Holocaust,” in which he mentions Viereck’s description of his resignation in that day’s Jewish Daily Bulletin; see also Kurt Gruenwald to Pascal A. Greenberg, Assistant Executive Secretary, February 21, 1939, Box 21, Folder: “Alpha” (CCNY) and Greenberg’s reply of March 1. Further material on Viereck appears in Sander A. Diamond, The Nazi Movement in the United States, 1924–1941 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974).
5. Maurice Jacobs, Executive Secretary, to the Foreign Relations Committee, U.S. Senate, Washington DC, January 30, 1934, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 13, Folder: "Holocaust"; see attached resolution.


7. Norman Ranz, Dickinson College Phi Epsilon Pi House, to Executive Secretary Maurice Jacobs, March 9, 1936, 1-2, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 13, Folder: "Holocaust." Jacobs' reply is attached.

8. Convention minutes, Round Table Discussion, December 30, 1937: "Program of Jewish Activity," 1, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 7, Folder: "1937." The last name of the Dickinson student was Lazovich. At Dickinson, as was the custom at many colleges, attendance at chapel was compulsory for students three times each week. Jewish students in part fulfilled their own religious obligations by maintaining a close association with the Young Men's Hebrew Association (YMHA) located in Harrisburg, twenty miles away.


10. Supreme Council Minutes, February 7, 1938, 178, SAM.


15. The refugee student program was conceived by the late Arnold I. Shure '27 of Phi Sigma Delta at the University of Chicago and spread to other Jewish fraternities and then sororities; it operated from 1934 through 1941. Student journals of the period include photographs, descriptions, and interviews with the young refugees, along with stories of adjustment, reciprocal influence, and "Americanization" of dress, make-up, language and behavior which occurred among them and American-born members in fraternity and sorority houses. A detailed study of this refugee program, along with a follow-up on those who participated in it, would be most illuminating. For descriptions of Phi Epsilon Pi's German Jewish student refugee program, as well as the names of the specific students involved, see address by Grand Recorder Samuel J. Sherman, 6-7, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 7, Folder: "1935"; Samuel J. Sherman, "Report of the Committee on German Refugee Students," Convention, December 31, 1936, 17-20, Box 7, Folder: "1936;" Maurice Jacobs to Irwin L. Freiberger, Grand Councilor, Cleveland, January 16, 1936, Box

18. *The Jewish Student in America: A Study Made by the Research Bureau of the B’nai B’rith Hillel Foundations*, Dr. Lee F. Levinger, Director (Cincinnati, Ohio, B’nai B’rith: 1937). Reviewed in ZBTQ19, 2 (October 1937): 17. The study surveyed all of the institutions of higher learning in the U.S. and Canada and found that out of 1,150,000 students overall 105,000 or 9.13 percent were Jews, which was 2 1/2 times their percentage in the general population. They were not evenly distributed, but congregated in larger universities and professional schools. Levinger found that 113 colleges having 100 or more Jews as students had 90 percent of Jewish students as a whole; the other 729 colleges studied accounted for the other 10 percent, or 11,000.
19. Maurice Jacobs to Joseph W. Kohn (Ohio State Medical School ’34), November 29, 1933, AJHS-PHIIEP, Box 13, Folder: “Holocaust.”
20. Irwin L. Freiberger to Maurice Jacobs, February 17, 1936, AJHS-PHIIEP, Box 13, Folder: “Holocaust.”
22. Supreme Council Minutes, November 3, 1938, 225, SAM.
23. Supreme Council Minutes, May 23, 1939, 1, SAM.
25. For the list of attendees at the October 15 conference see Executive Board Minutes, December 11–15, 1939, 21, AEPhi, Box 6, Notebook 1: “Council Minutes 1934–1941”. These were: Alpha Epsilon Pi, Alpha Mu Sigma, Beta Sigma Rho, Delta Phi Epsilon, Iota Alpha Pi, Kappa Nu, Phi Alpha, Phi Beta Delta, Phi Epsilon Pi, Phi Sigma Delta, Phi Sigma Sigma, Pi Lambda
Phi, Sigma Alpha Mu, Sigma Delta Tau, Sigma Omega Psi, Sigma Tau Phi, Tau Alpha Omega, Tau Delta Phi, Tau Epsilon Phi, and Zeta Beta Tau, for a total of 20 groups. The only Jewish fraternities not accounted for were Omicron Alpha Tau, which had merged with Tau Delta Phi in 1934, and Sigma Lambda Pi, which disintegrated in 1932.


32. Abram Leon Sachar to Members of the Grand Council, July 31, 1934, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 17A, Folder: “Abram L. Sachar.” This three-page, single-spaced memo is the first draft of the “Sachar Plan.”


35. Maurice Jacobs to Louis M. Fushan, April 7, 1936, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 13, Folder: “Judaica Programming.” Phi Epsilon Pi’s chapter at the University of Cincinnati, established in 1920, closed down in 1935.

36. Theodore Shafton, President of the Chicago Alumni Association, to Dr. A. L. Sachar, December 1, 1936, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 17A, Folder: “Abram L. Sachar.” In his letter Shafton attempts to convince Sachar to back down from his position.


38. See Wice-Jacobs correspondence, August 16, 1933 to February 2, 1937, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 17A, Folder: “David H. Wice.” The folder includes handwritten notes and diagrams of the proposed new ritual.


42. Samuel J. Sherman to Maurice Jacobs, November 20, 1936, reporting on the revolt against the Sachar Plan at the recent Chicago alumni meeting, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 13, Folder: “Judaica Programming.”
43. Maurice Jacobs to Samuel J. Sherman, November 21, 1936, 2, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 13, Folder: "Judaica Programming."

44. A. D. Schwarz, review of The Jews of Germany, by Marvin Lowenthal, ZBTQ 18, 3 (December 1936): 17.

45. L. Elliot Grafman, Pledge Manual of Phi Epsilon Pi (1937), AJHS-PHIEP, Box 46A, Folder: "Publications." The folder contains several editions of Grafman's ten pledge lessons, accompanied by comments from the fraternity's executive secretary, which date from 1937 to the entrance of the U.S. into World War II in 1941.

46. Grafman, 15.

47. Grafman, 17.


50. The historian Jenna Weissman Joselit has written on this theme in an article entitled "The Importance of Being Nice," presented at the annual conference of the Association for Jewish Studies, December 12, 1993, in Boston, MA.

51. "Zeta Beta Tau Manual for Chapter Administration," 1st ed. (1937; revised December 1, 1941), 13, Fane Papers, Box 33 Folder: "Miscellaneous ZBT 1941–1945."

52. Harold Riegelman, excerpt of remarks to the Fortieth Convention, ZBTQ 20, 4 (March 1939): 12.

53. Riegelman, remarks to Fortieth Convention, 12.


55. Supreme Council Minutes, December 8, 1936, SAM.

56. Executive Board Minutes, April 21–27, 1941, New York City, 39, AEPhi, Box 6, Notebook 1: "Council Minutes 1934–1941."

57. For discussion of the American Student Union (ASU) and its possible connection with the Communist party, see letter to all chapters from Gertrude Montel, Chairman of the Social Relations Committee, September 18, 1939, AEPhi, Box 6, Notebook 2: "Council Minutes and Correspondence August 1937–September 1939," Subject: "American Student Union." Also see Box 6, Notebook 1: "Executive Board Minutes December 11–15, 1939," 7, in which Gertrude Montel quotes California's Oakland Tribune, (November 29, 1939, that of 28 students on the National Executive Board of the ASU, 14 were members of the Young Communist League. AEPhi's fears concerning the ASU are supported by descriptions of the organization published annually in the NYU yearbook, the Washington Square College Album, from 1938 to 1940 (for the 1939 album, see 68–69; for 1940, see 73). While the 1938 feature describes the organization and its goals in admiring tones, by 1940 it had apparently been completely discredited as a Young Communist League organization whose policy was "directed by Josef Stalin," and the majority of students who had been members resigned. For photocopies of these yearbook articles and other information on radical student politics at NYU in the late 1930s, I am indebted to Susan Aprill of the New York University Archives.

58. For the sorority's descriptions and discussion concerning the Naomi Bloom affair at NYU, see Mickey Greenberg, First Province Director, to Reba B.
Cohen, March 21, 1941, subject: “Naomi Bloom”; Florence S. Orringer, Field Secretary, to Reba B. Cohen, March 26, 1941, subject: “Naomi Bloom, Zeta”; and Mickey Brown Greenberg to Reba B. Cohen, March 30, 1941, which memo contains the text of a statement in the NYU student newspaper that was authored by the Chairman of the Discipline Committee, AEPhi, Box 6, Notebook 1: “Council Minutes 1934–1941.” Extensive coverage and editorials concerning the incident appear in NYU’s Washington Square College Bulletin newspaper beginning on Monday, March 10, 1941 (volume 9, number 30) through Eleanor Roosevelt’s visit reported in the issue of April 9, 1941. Documents in the NYU Archives relating to the incident include a letter to Dean Alexander Baltzly from Robert B. Dow, a faculty member of the Discipline Committee, dated March 5, 1941 and describing fully what had happened in the NYU cafeteria (see RG 12.0, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 3, Student Affairs Office WSC, Dow, Robert, 1938–43); an open letter to the administration by the New York College Teachers Union Local 537 (American Federation of Teachers) dated March 8, 1941, and signed by professor of education Robert K. Speer, president of the union; correspondence between NYU Chancellor Harry Woodburn Chase and Robert K. Speer (“I await an explanation”) dated March 11, 13, and 20, 1941 (see RG 3.0.5, Box 59, Folder 2, Harry W. Chase Papers, Speer, Prof. Robert M., School of Education 1933–1944). A copy of a flyer calling for a student strike and noon demonstration at the Garibaldi statue, headed “Defend Academic Freedom—Reinstate the 7 Students!” appears in RG 3.0.5, Box 59, Folder 4, Harry W. Chase Papers, Student Organizations and Publications, 1933–1944. For copies of all these documents, I am grateful to Susan Aprill of the New York University Archives.

59. One of the buttons is preserved in the records of the NYU Student Affairs Office (RG. 12.0, Series 2, Box 2 Folder 3, Student Affairs Office WSC, Dow, Robert 1938–43).


61. Mickey Brown Greenberg to Reba B. Cohen, March 30, 1941, AEPhi, Box 6, Notebook 1: “Council Minutes 1934–1941,” in which she reports on her visit with the Dean of Women and pleads leniency for Naomi Bloom.


63. Irma Loeb Cohen (Mrs. Adolph Loeb, Zanesville, OH) to Louise Wolf, April 9, 1941, AEPhi, Box 6, Notebook 1: “Council Minutes 1934–1941.”


65. ZBT Manual, 55.

66. ZBT Manual, 73.


68. Landon Laird, Kansas City Star, August 3, 1936. The item was reprinted, obviously with great pride, by Lee Dover in his “C., F., & S.”, editorial section
(named after his customary closing for letters, an abbreviation standing for “Cordially, fraternally, and sincerely”) in ZBTQ 18, 3, December 1936, 5.

72. Joan Loewy Cohn, “Greek P’s and Qs,” March 1939.
73. ZBT Manual, 31, s.v. “Unfair Standards.”
75. Lee Dover to Irwin Tober, President of Omega (University of Missouri) Chapter, October 9, 1941, Fane Papers, Box 33, Folder: “ZBT General Correspondence 1941.”
76. For a discussion of this and other specific manifestations of anti-Jewish discrimination in American social institutions, see Belth, ed., Barriers: Patterns of Discrimination Against Jews.
77. Lee Dover to Irvin Fane and Morris Ginsberg, Directors of Omega (University of Missouri) Chapter, October 9, 1941, Fane Papers.
78. Irwin Tober to Lee Dover, October 16, 1941, Fane Papers.
80. Lee Dover to Irwin Tober, October 21, 1941, Fane Papers.
81. Lee Dover to Irwin Tober, October 21, 1941.
82. See clipping, “Iowa U. Is Given Until May 6 to ‘Clean Up All Vice Charges,’” Des Moines Register and Tribune, April 9, 1935, 1, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 16, Folder: “Anti-Defamation League.”
84. Gutstadt to Jacobs, April 10, 1935.
87. Supreme Council Minutes, February 20, 1934, 52, s.v. “Anti-Semitism,” SAM. “A letter was received from Mr. Ullman, President of Beta Sigma Rho [another Jewish fraternity]. Mr. Ullman stated that he had spoken to the American Ambassador to Austria who remarked that the Nazi ascendancy in Austria would be followed by Nazi ascendancy in other parts of the world. Mr. Ullman felt that the Jewish students should have some central body ‘to aid them in keeping their own house in order and in minimizing Jewish student opinion in matters of general import.’ The executives of Jewish Fraternities recently appointed a committee to consider this entire question. Meetings have been held by the Committee and a plan of action has been prepared which will be submitted to the various Jewish Fraternities for further consideration. Pending receipt of the plan, it was decided not to discuss the matter as it has already been considered at all of our meetings this year.”
88. Minutes of Roundtable Discussion on Fraternity Finances, Grand Convention, Cleveland, December 30, 1937, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 7, Folder: “1937.”

**EPILOGUE**

1. Louise W. Wolf to Executive Board, March 8, 1943, AEPhi, Box 4, Notebook 2: “Votes and Decisions of National Council and Executive Board 1942–43.” She wrote: “Boys do not always have such lovely manners when alone at home, and they may not change them just because the girls come over. It must be approved by the Dean of Women and chaperoned well with the understanding that the girls are not to linger after meals more than a few minutes and leave the house for the boys—not a dormitory for all.” See also “ZBT’s on the Menu at Alpha Lambda,” *Columns* 27, 3 (May 1943): 57.
2. For one example, see Norman Hanover, comp., “Chi [Syracuse University] in Service Unofficial Message Center,” July 1944, AJHS-PHIEP, Box 15, Folder: “World War II Correspondence 1944.” Letters from soldiers and wartime chapter newsletters are also evident in the available archives of Sigma Alpha Mu, Phi Sigma Delta, and ZBT, which on the national level published names and addresses of soldiers in a section entitled the “Get Acquainted Bulletin” in its wartime publication, *ZBT Duration News*.
3. ZBTQ 24, 3 (October 1942): 8.
6. For one example, see S. A. Weisman, from somewhere in North Africa to the Grand Council, May 13, 1943, Phi Epsilon Pi Collection, Box 15, Folder: “World War II Correspondence 1943.”
9. Jewish men and women served in all branches of the U.S. armed forces. Of the approximately 550,000 who served, 10,500 died, 24,000 were wounded, and 36,000 decorated for gallantry. They were served by 310 Jewish chaplains holding military rank (The *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. “United States of America”).
10. Discussion of the “veteran problem” and attempts to ease it appear in virtually all men’s fraternity records from 1945 to 1949 as well as in the general fraternity periodicals *Fraternity Month* and *Banta’s Greek Exchange*. For one example of such a discussion and reports of how various campuses were dealing with it, see Roundtable Minutes, April 18, 1947, regional convention, Phi Epsilon Pi Collection, Box 18, Folder: “Regional Groups: Mid-Western.” The anomalies of attending college immediately after World War II along
with some fear, awe, and admiration of battle-scarred older veterans also figure prominently in informant interviews.

11. Interview with William Schwartz, Executive Director, Sigma Alpha Mu, University of Oklahoma '50, describing his undergraduate experiences at the SAM house at Norman, Oklahoma.

12. Jewish fraternity discussion and documentation of the “S” question is voluminous, and the following attitudinal descriptions are based on a full perusal of these sources, as well as interviews with alumni and alumnae who participated in the process. A most valuable source is a folder in the ZBT National Office labeled simply “the ‘S’ Question,” containing the complete transcript (three hours, 177 pages) of the 1954 debate in which the fraternity, after repeatedly voting the measure down, finally voted to remove the sectarian clause from its charter. The transcript is entitled “Zeta Beta Tau Fraternity, 56th Anniversary National Convention, Monte Carlo Hotel, Miami Beach, FL, August 26–29, 1954.” A similar debate and vote took place at the 1953 Sigma Alpha Mu convention; see SAM Convention and Supreme Council Minutes, Miami Beach, FL, August 30, 1953. In SAM records, extensive discussion of the sectarian issue can be found in the following Supreme Council and Convention minutes: November 13, 1945; December 15–16, 1945; December 31, 1946; December 28, 1947; September 16, 1948 (these minutes also include a resolution of greetings and good wishes to the new State of Israel); December 30, 1949; January 20, February 28, March 28, April 30, and August 30, all in 1950; September 5, 1951; August 29, 1952; January 20, 1953; March 15, 1953; and, for the last time before the final vote, April 9, 1953. The debate was less complex and less legally charged for all the other Jewish groups, none of whom actually had sectarian clauses in their constitutions, although they had always been known as Jewish. For examples of Phi Epsilon Pi’s adjustment to losing potential Jewish members to Gentile fraternities and the ostracism they faced as a “sectarian” fraternity, see Correspondence, 1947–1950, AJHS-PHIΕΠ, Box 12, Folder: “Extension Committee”. For Sigma Delta Tau, see the minutes of the 19th Biennial Convention (June 23–27, 1958), the 20th Biennial Convention (June 23–27, 1960) and the 22nd Biennial Convention (June 22–26, 1964). For Alpha Epsilon Phi reactions, see AΕΦι, Box 4, Notebook 5: “Council Votes July 1948–December 1949,” where the first impact of the anti-discrimination movement is felt; National Dean to National Council, October 16, 1953, subject: “Eta chapter,” AΕΦι, Box 4, Notebook 12: “Council Votes 1953”; Elizabeth Eldridge to Joan Cohn, February 25, 1957, subject: “Elliott Bill No. 758,” AΕΦι, Box 5, Notebook 1: “National Council Votes 1956–1957” [on a bill before the California legislature sponsored by Burton Elliott requiring all sororities, fraternities, and private organizations on all the fifty state-supported California campuses to reveal their constitutions and prove that there were no discriminatory clauses in them]. On the same subject see memoranda on the Elliott Bill dated March 8, 1957; April 4, 1957; April 12, 1957 (this memo includes the full text of the proposed bill); and April 14, 1957. Among all the Jewish fraternity leaders, the most passionate and outspoken opponent of changing his group’s Jewish identity was executive secretary George S. Toll of Alpha Epsilon Pi, a
folder of whose personal correspondence can be found at the AEpi national office.

13. Leonard Dinnerstein, in his essay “Antisemitism Exposed and Attacked, 1945–1950,” in Uneasy at Home: Antisemitism and the American Jewish Experience (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), describes in detail the post-war gearing up of Jewish communal and defense agencies to collectively battle antisemitism in the courts and legislative bodies of the nation (pp. 178–196). Contrary to some assertions, American antisemitism did not simply evaporate in the wake of World War II. Returning veterans at first faced as much discrimination in housing, employment, and higher education as they ever had. However, post-war conditions of relative tolerance and economic prosperity, as well as the belief that bigotry did not serve the national interests of the United States, created a window of opportunity and an impetus for American Jews to unify, rally around a common cause, and for the first time gain widespread support from sympathetic Gentile allies.


18. AJHS-PHIIEP, Box 13, Folder: “Negro-Jewish Relations.”

19. This observation was made by George S. Toll, the executive secretary of Alpha Epsilon Pi and most vociferous opponent of dropping the Jewish sectarian clauses. See George S. Toll, memo, “Fraternities’ Secretaries and Editors Association meeting, July 13–16, Absecon, New Jersey,” AEPI.


22. The writer, who was himself Catholic, wrote that the Columbia chapter’s straying from its Jewish roots was a constant source of tension with the national office; in 1960, the Phi Sigma Delta chapter house at Missouri still kept kosher.

23. In addition to the Alfred Rogers incident at the University of Connecticut, in 1949 the Phi Epsilon Pi chapter at Rutgers University summarily declared
itself truly nonsectarian and made a deliberate attempt to pledge non-Jews and eliminate any of its Jewish identity, against the wishes of the national (AJHS-PHIEP, Box 28, Folder: “Lambda,” May 3, 1949). In 1952 an Alpha Epsilon Pi member at the University of Manitoba resigned from the fraternity in protest over its membership policies and reported his feelings to the local Anglo-Jewish Press (memorandum, December 16, 1952, George S. Toll Correspondence, AEPI).

24. A typical example occurred at Washington and Lee University in the fall of 1950. Dr. A. M. Ginsberg of Kansas City, a ZBT alumnus, and his family “had their hearts set” on their son Robert becoming a ZBT there. However, Robert had recently received letters from two non-Jewish fraternities asking him for rushing dates. “His father, naturally concerned about the future welfare of his son, is disturbed by this development,” wrote ZBT’s executive secretary to the head of the W&L chapter, on the chance that the boy had been overlooked by them. “Of course I have not overlooked the possibility that some of the non-Jewish fraternities on your campus have changed their policy and are now interested in pledging some of the top Jewish boys. If this is true, it will present a serious problem,” Lee Dover to Richard Marcus, President of the Alpha Epsilon Chapter of ZBT, September 6, 1950, Fane Papers, Box 34, Folder: “ZBT 1950.”


27. Johnson, Fraternities in Our Colleges (1972), 213.

28. The debate took place Saturday morning, August 28, 1954, at ZBT’s convention in Miami Beach. For a description and analysis of the proceedings along with excerpts from the verbatim transcript of the debate (it ultimately covered 221 typed pages) see Sanua, Here’s to Our Fraternity, 196–207.

29. Horowitz, 220–221 and 289: “No one surveying the campus scene in 1959 could have predicted the 1960s.”


31. For examples of the unsuccessful attempt of a Jewish sorority to stem the tide of members leaving the house and going to live in independent apartments, along with discussion of their disaffiliation, see AEPhi, Box 5 Notebook 9: “Vote Sheets 1959–60 Beta-Omega” and Box 5, Notebook 10: “Vote Sheets September 1960–June 1961 Beta-Omega.”


33. Anonymous interview. The group of women were gathered at a synagogue to celebrate the Bar Mitzvah of one of their sons.

34. Blanche Greenberger to Mrs. Isadore J. Kahn (president El Paso Alumnae Association), July 13, 1965, AEPhi, Box 1, “Miscellaneous.”

36. Nathan Glazer, "The Jewish Role in Student Activism," *Fortune* (January 1969): 112–129. In this same period Yale psychologist Kenneth Kenniston, in his study of student radicals, was popularizing the so-called "red diaper baby" hypothesis to explain that prominence, i.e. that radical Jewish students were products of nonauthoritarian homes and parents who had themselves been social activists in the 1930s.


38. Mitchell Gerber (Phi Epsilon Pi, Columbia '70), interview by author via telephone, June 17, 1991

39. William Schwartz of Sigma Alpha Mu, interview. For insights on the student rebellions of the 1960s, see also Horowitz, 220–244.

40. Historically Jewish sororities still in existence are Alpha Epsilon Phi, Phi Sigma Sigma, Sigma Delta Tau, and Delta Phi Epsilon. None ever merged. Of the fraternities, Phi Epsilon Pi, Phi Sigma Delta, Phi Alpha, and Kappa Nu were all incorporated into Zeta Beta Tau; Beta Sigma Rho and Phi Beta Delta merged with Pi Lambda Phi; Sigma Omega Psi and Sigma Tau Phi merged with Alpha Epsilon Pi; and Omicron Alpha Tau, Alpha Mu Sigma, and Tau Delta Phi all ceased to function, although there are reports that loyal followers of the last are attempting a comeback. Of the remaining Jewish Greek-letter groups, Alpha Epsilon Pi by far places the most stress on its historic Jewish identity.
