The Untapped Potential of Jewish Greek Life

Master's Thesis

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By
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Acknowledgements

During my sophomore year of college, I enrolled in Professor Jonathan Sarna's American Judaism class unaware of the profound effect that one particular lesson would have on my academic pursuits and professional goals. Professor Sarna, while discussing antisemitism in America, introduced the topic of Jewish fraternities and sororities. As a proud sorority member, I was excited to learn about the history of the Jewish Greek system. Professor Sarna shared with the class that ZBT was named for a passage from Isaiah 1:27, "Tzion B'Mishpat Tipadeh" meaning Zion will be redeemed in righteousness. He then stated that he doubted that brothers of ZBT knew this fact today.

I promptly approached his lectern after class with an article featuring the Brandeis chapter of ZBT that had appeared in the campus paper, The Justice. Just that week, the university administration had ordered the fraternity to remove the name Brandeis from its website, enforcing the fact that the university does not recognize its surreptitious Greek system. One alumna commented on the online edition of this article with scathing remarks about Greek life, which incited several Greeks and Greek alumnae to respond. As a Greek, I followed this story closely. I proudly showed Professor Sarna one response in which a student wrote, "ZBT itself comes from the Hebrew, Zion B'mishpat Tipadeh, which means Zion shall be redeemed through Justice."¹ And so began my relationship with Professor Sarna, engaging with the topic of the Jewish Greek system.

Realizing that the Greek system is often misunderstood, this thesis will explore the reality of the Greek system and its potential. This paper will illuminate the history of this important

Jewish network, which brought Jewish students together decades before the birth of Hillel. In order to understand fully the present structure of the Jewish Greek system, it is important to understand the path that the various organizations took to reach where they are today. This is particularly relevant when examining the historical role of Judaism in the organizations and their current differences and similarities.

While I was initially interested in the historical aspect of the Jewish Greek system, two events awakened me to realize the untapped potential of Jewish fraternities and sororities as a means of Jewish informal education and socialization opportunity. During my Junior year of college I served as the president of Delta Phi Epsilon sorority on the Brandeis University campus. As one of my initiatives, I sought to re-brand the Greek system and particularly my sorority, by giving Greeks a better name on campus. My goal was to inspire Greek leaders to partner with on-campus organizations and expose Brandeis students, faculty and other staff to Greeks in a positive way, removing the reputation of partying, hazing and other negative behaviors. My sorority and several other Greek organizations partnered with Chabad on campus, encouraging members to participate in Chabad's iLearn classes. Eight Delta Phi Epsilon women enrolled in a semester long series of classes specifically created for the sorority women. Several admitted that they enrolled comforted in the knowledge that they would tackle religious issues with a previously established network of confidants. These eight women used this opportunity to better understand what their Judaism meant to them and they strengthened their Judaism alongside their sorority sisters.

The other event occurred during a visit to the Delta Deuteron Chapter of Alpha Epsilon Pi at University of Maryland. During my visit, I was invited to an event entitled "B.L.T with the Rabbi". I was a bit surprised, as B.L.T traditionally refers to bacon lettuce
and tomato sandwiches and are not typically used in the same sentence with 'Rabbi.' Skeptical, I walked into the kitchen of the fraternity house where I found fifty fraternity men joining the campus Rabbi for their weekly, “Bagels, Lox and Tefillin” event. I observed the Rabbi sitting with several young men helping them don their phylacteries and teaching them the prayers. Ever since that moment, I saw the Jewish Fraternity and Sorority experience as an important and unexplored socialization and informal educative opportunity for Jewish college-aged students. The Greek life system provides elements similar to those of the camp or youth group experience, however it has the ability to engage students in an intellectual domain, engaging both their hearts and their minds. I further realized that Jewish fraternities and sororities offer a Jewish outlet separate from Hillel or other on-campus Jewish clubs or organizations, therefore creating an access point to attract different Jewish students.

I want to acknowledge and express my deep gratitude and appreciation to Professor Jonathan Sarna, the Joseph H. and Belle R. Braun Professor of American Jewish History in the Department of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies at Brandeis University. Professor Sarna has been a mentor and advisor to me for four years, and has patiently helped me tease out my ideas on this topic. He has been supportive and helped me maintain my enthusiasm throughout this process with his encouraging comments and his personal interest. I would also like to thank Professor Leonard Saxe, the renowned professor of Jewish Community Research and Social Policy at Brandeis University. His expertise in the demographics of American Jewry and Jewish engagement have helped me explore the contemporary aspects of my research.

Special thanks to Andrew Borans, Executive Director of Alpha Epsilon Pi, Laurence Bolotin, Executive Director of Zeta Beta Tau, and Lee Manders from Sigma Alpha Mu, for
their interest in my research, and for providing me with their invaluable input and information through our interviews. Also, thank you to Adam Teitelbaum, International Director of Jewish Programming for Alpha Epsilon Pi, who has been a constant help, and made himself readily available to answer my numerous questions. I would also like to thank Graham Hoffman, Associate Vice President of Strategy for Hillel International, for providing me with a broader perspective of the relationship between Jewish and secular Greek organizations and Hillel.

I would like to thank my father, Bernard L. Shapiro, for always serving as a sounding board and helping me to test and refine my ideas, and to my mother Naomi, and brother Benjamin who never tired of listening to my "fun facts" about Jewish Greek life. All three have also provided examples to me through their own Jewish communal leadership roles.
The Untapped Potential of Jewish Fraternities and Sororities

Thesis Presented to the Hornstein Program for Jewish Professional Leadership

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This thesis investigated the potential of a relationship between Jewish fraternities and sororities and Jewish Communal professionals. I looked at the history of the Jewish Greek organizations, and specifically identified areas in which members of these organizations were Jewishly engaged. I used each organization’s mission statement, philanthropic commitments, awards and official partnerships to understand the organizations present Jewish commitments. It was found that the organizations have a long history of working with the Jewish community, and that there is potential for an even stronger relationship, as the Jewish fraternities and sororities touch the lives of Jewish students on college campuses, otherwise untouched by Jewish life.
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Introduction

My research is divided into three sections: the past, the present and the future. As Dr. Carl Sagan famously stated, "You have to know the past to understand the present." The history of Jewish Greek organizations is a relatively unstudied area and it is centrally important for readers to understand Jewish Greek life development and the important role that it served in the Jewish community for the first half of the 20th century. The history focuses on the founding of Greek organizations, the role of Jewish organizations in responding to antisemitism, and the struggles of a system functioning during a period of intense anti-Jewish discrimination. The history section provides a basis for understanding the relationship that the Jewish Greek organizations had with the Jewish communal world, and how the system dealt with Jewish concerns such as intermarriage, antisemitism, and ethnic distinction. Ultimately, the history section relates how the Jewish Greek System served as a microcosm of the larger Jewish community and how it helped to nurture and train Jewish community leaders.

The “present” section focuses on the three primary currently-functioning Jewish fraternities. Research was conducted through website analysis, and a series of interviews with the executive directors of Alpha Epsilon Pi, Zeta Beta Tau and Sigma Alpha Mu. Unfortunately, only one of the three Jewish sororities responded to interview requests, therefore they are not presented in-depth in this section. This section examines the organizations' mission statements, the philanthropies they sponsor, and their partnerships. The object is to reveal the current perceptions that Jewish Greek organizations have of their role in the Jewish community.
The “future” section uses current research on informal education in the Jewish community, statistics on Jewish college student involvement on campus, and analysis from the “past” and “present” sections, to conclude this presentation of the way in which Jewish organizations work with Jewish Greeks for the betterment of the Jewish community. It is surprising and unfortunate that the Jewish Greek system has not previously come to the attention of Jewish communal leaders as an avenue for connecting college-age students with Jewish life. This thesis serves as the first exploration of this topic. It is my hope that my research will stimulate discussion about Jewish Greek life as a vehicle for engagement and that it will prompt further research into this area.
Past: The History of Jewish Greek Life

In order to understand fully the significance of the Jewish Greek system, it is important to understand the history of Greek life as it developed along religious, ethnic, geographical and gender lines. This section includes a history of how this system came to be known as Greek life, and how it developed and gained influence. Greek life developed in three periods of growth. The first wave occurred between 1824-1874 and comprised approximately a fifth of all national organizations established. The organizations formed during this time were ‘traditional’ organizations in which 94% of members were white, male and Protestant. During the second wave, which occurred between 1885-1929, approximately a third of organizations established. As opposed to the traditional fraternities that formed during the first wave, the sororities and fraternities that formed during the second wave were more diverse, and catered to African Americans, Jews, Women and Nonsectarian groups, seeking to find their place in the restrictive yet powerful Greek system. The third wave brought more diversity into the Greek system. This period occurred from born in 1975, grew as a response to the socially progressive values of its time-period. This wave of growth lasted until 1999, however growth continued through 2005 and is responsible for over a third of all national organizations. The Latino/Latina and Asian organizations formed during this wave comprised 50 percent of all new organizations during this third wave. This development occurred for the Latino/Latina community as the development of Latino/Latina Greek

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2 Parks, 25
3 Parks, 25
Organizations provided them with a stronger voice and a united population in the absence of existing Latino organizations on campuses.\textsuperscript{4} For the Asian population, this period of growth occurred as a result of the increasing population of Asian Americans on college campuses.\textsuperscript{5} This wave also saw the founding of Co-ed, Native American, Gay, and Muslim Greek organizations. The historical part of this paper will focus on the first and second waves of development.

The fraternity system grew from the desire to revolutionize the American college experience. The early fraternity movement served a similar purpose to, and contributed to the decline of the then popular literary and debating societies, important extra curricular activities for enlightened students.\textsuperscript{6} At this time, Universities took on many of the roles of the literary societies such as providing libraries with increased hours of operation, respect for English literature studies, and expanded the sciences.\textsuperscript{7} These societies developed during the ongoing battle of piety versus intellect on college campuses during the late 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{8} The literary societies were responsible for founding college literary magazines and developed libraries that often boasted a larger collection of books than the college libraries.\textsuperscript{9} The literary societies provided students access to science, English literature, history, music and art, which supplemented the academic focus on the classics.

The students’ attempts to liberate the intellect eventually led to the formation of the fraternity movement. The fraternities allowed the students to redefine the American

\textsuperscript{4} Parks, 107  
\textsuperscript{5} Parks, 89  
\textsuperscript{6} Frederick Rudolph, \textit{The American College and University: A History} (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 145.  
\textsuperscript{7} Rudolph, 146  
\textsuperscript{8} Rudolph, 136  
\textsuperscript{9} Rudolph, 143
College. By corralling men into small communities, the fraternities filled the emotional and social vacuum left by the removal of students from their families and home communities. Fraternities additionally offered escapes from the monotony of prayers and studies, by institutionalizing diversions such as "drinking, smoking, card playing, singing, and seducing." John Heath, Thomas Smith, Richard Booker, Armistead Smith, and John Jones founded the first fraternity, Phi Beta Kappa (ΦΒΚ), referred to as Phi Bete, on December 5th, 1776. The letters ΦΒΚ translates as “Love of Learning is the Guide of Life." ΦΒΚ began as a literary society, and members engaged in essay writing, debates and orations, however they provided social activities in addition to their scholarly activities, and devised handshakes, passwords, and mottos to identify initiates. Of the original five founders, two were Masons, which explains the Masonic influence on the Greek system, such as the use of pins, badges, secret initiations and Greek letters. While ΦΒΚ is better known contemporarily as an academic honor society, the founders -- students at the College of William and Mary -- established the organization to meet the literary and social needs of the men on campus. ΦΒΚ spread to other colleges, first in the South, and then in the North.

Though the first fraternity founded in 1776, the next national fraternity did not appear until 1812. From 1776-1812, a handful of organized groups of men petitioned to ΦΒΚ for membership. In 1812, a group of four men, previously members of ΦΒΚ, organized Kappa Alpha and the men therefore decided to establish their own

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10 Rudolph, 146
11 Rudolph, 157
14 Brown, 43
organizations. Like ΦΒΚ, many fraternities and sororities use between two and four Greek letters to represent a motto known only to initiates. At Union College, three organizations, Kappa Alpha (1825), Sigma Phi (1827) and Delta Phi (1827), later known as the Union Triad, launched the fraternity movement. They were followed by Phi Upsilon (1833), Chi Psi (1841), and Theta Delta Chi (1847), all of which were also founded at Union College. As a result, Union College is referred to as the "Mother of Fraternities."

The original fraternities sought to bring together young men on campus and to help them fill the void left by separation from their family and their home community.

The early fraternity movement faced adversity between 1826-1854. During this time period, the Anti-Masonry movement developed which launched the anti-secret society movement, which combated the Freemasons and the Fraternities. People feared that which they did not know, and social theorists held that secret societies "possessed an inherent potential for aggression". The antisecrecy movement took hold, prompted by the strange disappearance of William Morgan, a stonemason living in Batavia, Genesee New York. Morgan, after rejection from the Freemasons vowed to publish a book that exposed the secrets of Masonry. Shortly after his declaration, he disappeared, and the blame fell on the Masons, blamed with the kidnapping and murder of Morgan. This event allowed the anti-secrecy movement to gain momentum, calling for the end of all secret societies.

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16 Brown, 45
18 Formisano, 142
In addition to the anti-secrecy movement, religion found fault with fraternities, as the Greeks created social status and institutionalized prestige no longer based on the Christian values of humility, equality and morality.\textsuperscript{19} They saw the fraternity system as a threat to the pre-existing values and routines inculcated by the colleges. Eating, sleeping, studying and socializing were previously controlled by the university, but the secret societies allowed students to diverge from the routine described as "pay, pray, study and accept."\textsuperscript{20} During a speech in which President Humphrey of Amherst College attempted to rally other college authorities to abolish fraternities, he stated, "the influences have been evil...they put men socially in regard to each other into false position...the alienation of feeling and want of cordiality thus created are not favorable to a right moral and religious state."\textsuperscript{21} Many university officials sought to end fraternities, however the system had already grown too powerful and the system provided students with the values of material success and prepared students for success in the real world, while the colleges prepared students for proper Christian living.\textsuperscript{22}

Fraternities continued to develop through the 1850's, amounting to 36 organizations in total, and 202 chapters. Though the heart of expansion was in the North East, it shifted to the South.\textsuperscript{23} However, the Civil War brought about the end of the expansion period. Male students left college to fight in the war, and many enlisted rather than enrolling in college. University campus buildings were used for barracks, hospitals and ammunition depots, leaving little room for Fraternity life. During and following the war, intra-fraternity conflict arose between Southern and Northern chapters, forcing some

\textsuperscript{19} Rudolph, 149
\textsuperscript{20} Parks, 17
\textsuperscript{21} Rudolph, 148
\textsuperscript{22} Rudolph, 150
\textsuperscript{23} Parks, 31
fraternities to close. Despite the setbacks, 53 chapters were established between 1860-
1870.

The Civil War paved a new path for Greek life. In 1870, only 11,000 women
between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one attended college, and men outnumbered
women by a 5 to 1 ratio.\textsuperscript{24} The majority of women who attended colleges during this
time were daughters of professors. Though Oberlin was the first college to accept
women in 1837, other colleges did not start to accept women until the late 1860's.
Allowing women into college allowed schools to remedy the financial issues caused by
decreased enrollment during the Civil War. By 1870, one-third of universities allowed
women to matriculate and by 1890, 40,000 women attended.\textsuperscript{25} As women entered
colleges, they faced opposition from the male students, the faculty and those who resisted
coeeducational institutions.\textsuperscript{26} Women on college campuses felt those around them
undervalued their intellect, claiming that women "lacked the brains to learn at a high
level."\textsuperscript{27} This mentality only worsened with the release of Dr. Edward Clarke's \textit{Sex in
Education: Or a Fair Chance for the Girls} in 1873.\textsuperscript{28} In his book, he claimed that a
woman's brain and body could not "survive book learning" and damaged her health to a
point that it inhibited her reproductive system.\textsuperscript{29} Clarke's book received attention from
detractors and promoters of coeducation alike, and served as threat to advocates of
women's education.

\textsuperscript{24} Diana B. Turk, \textit{Bound by a Mighty Vow: Sisterhood and Women's Fraternities, 1870-1920} (New York:
\textsuperscript{25} Turk, 14
\textsuperscript{26} Turk, 13
\textsuperscript{27} Turk, 13
\textsuperscript{28} Turk, 15
\textsuperscript{29} Turk, 15
Women on coeducational campuses remained segregated from the men. Pictures of lecture halls from the time reveal women seated on one side of the room and men seated on the opposite side of the room. Pressured by the Board of Trustees in 1867, Asbury College, now DePauw University, broke down the barriers between the male and female students. The June 26th decision admitted women into regular classes on a trial basis. The trial basis meant they would gradually phase coeducation into effect, by confining female enrollment to college courses only. This prohibited women from enrolling in preparatory classes or pre-collegiate programs required prior to full-admittance into the college. Four women, Bettie Locke, Laura Beswick, Alice Allen and Mary Simmon's, having met the requirements enrolled and were accepted.

The admittance of these four women resulted in a backlash from the male student body. The editors of the student paper, the Asbury Review, labeled coeducation as a "hazardous undertaking" and warned that "time sets all things right."30 In their article, they also added that fine institutions such as Harvard and Yale proudly did not succumb to the pressures of coeducation and argued that the admittance of women would tarnish Asbury College's reputation.31 The newspaper articles escalated from criticism to offensive attacks on coeducation and on the female student body. In addition to the diatribe on their intelligence, the male student body began to question their piety. One historian, George Manhart, noted that the town gossiped that the women allowed "their ankle to be seen as they ascended the stairs of the college building."32 This of course showed a lack of modesty exhibited by the progressive college women. As the brutal

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30 Turk, 17
31 Turk, 17
32 Turk, 18
criticism progressed, the four women turned to each other for academic and social support.

To counter the challenges on campus, Bettie Locke, one of the original female students, with the help of her father, a professor and fraternity man, created Kappa Alpha Theta (KAΘ), the first woman's fraternity. The sorority would allow the female student body to form closer bonds based on common interest and womanhood, which also allowing them to collectively fight the hostility on campus. In their charter they wrote:

The object of this society shall be to advance the interests of its member, to afford an opportunity for improvement in composition and debate and elocution, to cultivate those social qualities which become a woman, and to provide for its members associates bound by a common interest.

The group formed to prove to their male counterparts that they were equally as capable of handling the rigorous coursework. The women spent much of their time together reading and critiquing each other's essays and academic performance. During the 1870's, weekly recitations in elocution, oratory, composition and rhetoric, served as one way that the women publically proved their capabilities. They practiced debating, dialogues and the readings of selected pieces during meetings, to then perform in front of classmates. For the fraternity women, class standing and grades served as quantitative measures by which they could compare themselves against their male counterparts. As KAΘ spread to other campuses, the women were evaluated by their academic performance. Their concentration on academics showed results. KAΘ produced more than 90 Phi Beta Kappa Honor's Society members in its first 30 years of existence.

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33 Turk, 22
34 Turk, 29
Other women's fraternities such as Alpha Phi (ΑΦ) at Syracuse in 1872, and Sigma Kappa (ΣΚ) at Colby College in 1874, were founded to combat the isolation the women felt on campus. Similar to KAΘ, the women committed themselves to their academic achievements. Two of the five founders of ΣΚ earned Phi Beta Kappa honors, one graduated at the top of her class, and all of the founders ranked among the top scholars of their cohorts. The early women's fraternities saw themselves as responsible for the reputation and future of coeducation, and therefore accepted no less than academic perfection.

Until this point, Greek female organizations referred to their group as 'women's fraternities.' Gamma Phi Beta, ΓΦΒ, founded at Syracuse University in 1872 renamed their organization in 1884. The suggestion came from a Latin professor who encouraged the women to use the word "sorority" derived from the Latin word soror, meaning sister, in lieu of word "fraternity" from the Latin word frater, meaning brother. The Latin professor saw the women's use of "fraternity" as inappropriate as the word was identifiably male. The women's fraternities were initially reluctant to adopt the use of the word sorority and continued to refer to themselves as "women's fraternities" amongst

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35 Turk, 29
36 Turk, 165
themselves and in official documents.\textsuperscript{37} The term later gained acceptance across the country and by 1890, most accounts of female Greek organizations used the word "sorority."\textsuperscript{38} Even today, certain organizations insistent on preserving their history continue to refer to their organization as a "women's fraternity."\textsuperscript{39}

In the post- Civil War era, another large change occurred within Greek life, the creation of fraternity houses. Many former fraternity men, who prospered in the wake of the Civil War, became philanthropic, and sought to feed and shelter their undergraduate brothers. Fraternities became known as houses, and often congregated along strips known as "fraternity row".\textsuperscript{40} College presidents realized that they could capitalize on the fraternity houses to preserve the interest of the college alumni. The alumni returned to campus for football games, dances and special meetings, and lodged in the fraternity houses during visits.\textsuperscript{41} These return visits often provided Greek alumni the opportunity to reminisce on the halcyon days in University, and as a result, they gave greater sums to their alma maters than their non-Greek counterparts.\textsuperscript{42} Increased support from the Greek alumni continued well into the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. The president of NYU, in 1958, noted that "ninety percent of his school's alumni gifts came from the six percent of the graduates who affiliated with fraternities."\textsuperscript{43} Greek philanthropy led to increased acceptance from the colleges.

At the close of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, other diverse groups appeared on college campuses. Black, Jewish, Asian and Roman Catholic students received admittance into

\textsuperscript{38} Turk, 165
\textsuperscript{39} Turk, 165
\textsuperscript{40} Sanua, 36
\textsuperscript{41} Sanua, 37
\textsuperscript{42} Sanua, 37
\textsuperscript{43} Sanua, 37
colleges. Similar to the early women on college campuses, these minorities faced a great deal of isolation and discrimination. The traditional fraternities barred minorities from joining their organization. Explicitly Christian content in the initiation rituals, the custom of beginning meals with invoking the name of "Our Lord", mandatory monthly Church attendance and the use of insignia, such as crosses, discouraged membership from non-Christians.\textsuperscript{44}

For those still interested, judicial barriers within the fraternities implemented in the 1870s and 1880s officially banned non-Christians. Membership was limited to those who were "Caucasian," "White Christian," "born a Christian of two Christian parents," or "of full Aryan blood."\textsuperscript{45} Because fraternities were private social organizations and member selection was private, college officials rarely protested the blatant discrimination.\textsuperscript{46} Discrimination against Jewish students was not unique to the Greek system. Literary clubs, gymnastics societies and other organizations likewise refused entrance to Jewish students.

A handful of Jewish students received entrance despite barriers. Those who received bids to fraternities often disguised their Jewish heritage or if they did not have stereotypically Jewish feature, changed their names.\textsuperscript{47} Some, who were products of upper-class intermarriage, raised Christian, or particularly outstanding athletes were similarly admitted. Certain fraternities, such as Phi Delta Theta- ΦΔΘ, a fraternity founded in 1848, regularly accepted Jewish men, and added an "Aryan" clause in 1912 to restrict Asians on the West Coast while maintaining their Jewish ties. Other known

\textsuperscript{44} Sanua, 39
\textsuperscript{45} Sanua, 39-40
\textsuperscript{46} Sanua, 40
\textsuperscript{47} Sanua, 43
accepting fraternities included Phi Gamma Delta- ΦΓΔ, Delta Upsilon- ΔΥ, Beta Theta Pi- ΒΘΠ, Phi Kappa Psi- ΦΚΨ and Chi Phi- ΧΦ.48

The minority groups saw the advantages of fraternity life and vowed to create organizations of their own. The Catholic students formed Phi Kappa Sigma (ΦΚΣ), at Brown University in 1889, which stood for "Fraternity of Catholic Students."49 Theta Kappa Phi (TKΦ) in 1914, Alpha Delta Gamma (ΑΔΓ), and Theta Phi Alpha (ΘΦΑ) Sorority in 1912 followed suit.50 Similarly, African American students created Alpha Phi Alpha (ΑΦΑ) Fraternity in 1906, followed by Alpha Kappa Alpha (AKA) Sorority in 1908, Kappa Alpha Psi (ΚΑΨ) and Omega Psi Phi (ΩΨΦ) fraternities in 1911, Delta Sigma Theta (ΔΣΘ) Sorority in 1913, Zeta Phi Beta (ΖΦΒ) Sorority in 1920 and Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority (ΣΓΡ) in 1922.51 In 1916, Chinese students came together and founded Rho Psi (ΡΨ), the first Chinese fraternity.52 Each group established organizations in which they too could share in the privileges of the Greek system and maintain a family while away from home.

Like the other minority groups, the Jewish community established fraternities. The origins of secret societies go back to medieval European centers such as Oxford, Paris, Bologna in which Jewish men participated fully until the 1880's.53 However, with the increase of antisemitism in the late 19th century, Jewish students were banned from fraternity life in much of Europe, and specifically in Austria. The father of modern Zionism, Theodore Herzl, was a member of a fraternity, Albia, known as "Young Foxes"

48 AEPI, 20
49 Sanua, 46
50 Sanua, 47
52 Parks, 85
53 Sanua, 31
at the University of Vienna. He left the fraternity in March 1883, when his fraternity sponsored a memorial for Richard Wagner and supported his anti-Semitic views. Later that year three Jewish students came together and founded a Jewish fraternity and dueling society at the University of Vienna, named Kadima. The founders of Kadima established their organization to fight antisemitism, raise national Jewish consciousnesses, resist assimilation, and work for the colonization of then Palestine. As a dueling fraternity, they defended their Jewish honor by dueling anti-Semites. Zeta Beta Tau fraternity, the first officially Jewish fraternity in America cited Kadima as the inspiration for their fraternity.

Jewish fraternities first established themselves in American in the late 19th century. These fraternities pre-dated the menorah society and Hillel system established in 1906 and 1923 respectively. The first fraternity founded by Jewish men, Pi Lamda Phi (ΠΛΦ), was established at Yale in 1895. Sickened by the religious discrimination in the traditional fraternities, the founders of ΠΛΦ founded the fraternity as nonsectarian and open membership to students of all faiths. Founders Henry Mark Fisher, Louis Samter Levy, and Fredrick Manfred Werner vowed to create a broader and more liberal organization that saw potential members for their "ability above all considerations." The fraternity emerged again in 1912 at Columbia University, and rumors falsely spread that the three original founders were as the Baird's Manual of American College

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54 Sanua, 32  
55 Sanua, 32  
56 Marianne Sanua, *Here's to Our Fraternity: One Hundred Years of Zeta Beta Tau, 1898-1998* ([S.l.]: Zeta Beta Tau, 1999), 7.  
57 Sanua, 32  
58 Sanua, 47  
59 Sanua, 47  
60 Sanua, 49
Fraternities noted "undergraduates of different faiths" or rumored as a Protestant, a Catholic and a Jew.\(^6\)

In 1898, fourteen students at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York came together and founded the ZBT Fraternity. As mentioned early, the Viennese Kadima fraternity served as early inspiration for the men of ZBT. Zeta Beta Tau founded under the direction of Dr. Richard J. Gottheil, the then president of the Federation of American Zionists (ZOA). While recruiting for the movement, Gottheil began to take notice of his well-educated, American born or raised, fluent-English speaking Jewish students.\(^6\) He presented his students with a proposition, the creation of Zionist group. The dual-curriculum seminary students by morning and Columbia, City College or NYU students by evening, accepted their beloved professor's offer. Another professor, Rabbi Bernard Drachtman, who served as the boys Bible instructor, chose the name.\(^6\) The students chose the colors blue and white as their fraternity colors, and the Star of David as their emblem.\(^6\) Unlike the Greek letter fraternities, ZBT found the origin of its name in Hebrew, and it stood for 'zion bmishpat tipadeh,' a passage from Isaiah 1:27 which translates as 'Zion shall be redeemed through justice.\(^6\) As its name suggests, the constitution and ritual of the fraternity were deeply Jewish and focused on Zionist ideals.\(^6\)

In addition to Jewish icons, they adopted modern and biblical Hebrew for the titles of the members of their governing board and their judicial system. The Nasi served

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\(^6\) Sanua, 49
\(^6\) Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 10
\(^6\) Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 11
\(^6\) Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 12
\(^6\) Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 1
\(^6\) Sanua, 48
as President, the Segan Rishon and Segan Sheni served as the first and second vice presidents, the Sopher held the position of corresponding secretary, the Ro'EH Cheshbonoth was the financial secretary, the Gizbar served as the treasurer and the Shomer Hasaph as the sergeant of arms. German Jewish students discomforted by the word's resemblance to 'Nazi' removed the title of Nasi in the 1930's.\textsuperscript{67} Their advisory and executive system was named the Beth Din, named for the Rabbinical Court. Their mission, according to the fraternity’s first charter, 'was to "promote the cause of Zionism and the welfare of Jews in General; and to unite fraternally all collegiate Zionists of the United States and Canada."\textsuperscript{68} Proud of their Jewish Heritage, ZBT brothers stated, "I am a believer in God and the Brotherhood of Man; and I am a Jew" in initiation rituals until they were legally forced to remove the phrase in 1954.\textsuperscript{69}

Phi Epsilon Pi, established by a group of seven friends at City College in 1904 as a nonsectarian fraternity similar to Pi Lamda Phi.\textsuperscript{70} The fraternity originally chose symbols of the three monotheistic religions to serve as their crest, showing a cross, a crescent and a star. The star, unlike the Star of David, however only contained five points as opposed to the usual six.\textsuperscript{71} The fraternity often competed with ZBT as it often drew members from the same pools, that is upper-middle class Germans affiliated with the Reform movement.\textsuperscript{72} Despite its best recruitment efforts, the fraternity failed to recruit a large Gentile contingency.\textsuperscript{73} The members later compromised and decided to

\textsuperscript{67} Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 56
\textsuperscript{68} Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 12
\textsuperscript{69} Sanua, 56
\textsuperscript{70} Sanua, 60
\textsuperscript{71} Sanua, 62
\textsuperscript{72} Sanua, 62
\textsuperscript{73} Sanua, 62
maintain a nonsectarian constitution but allow only Jewish members. Maintaining its nonsectarian status allowed them to bypass the anti-Semitic barriers raised by college presidents and administrators attempting to prevent an influx of Jewish students to their college campuses. Yet, college administrators grew skeptical of a nonsectarian fraternity comprised entirely of Jewish members.

Next, came Sigma Alpha Mu (ΣAM), known as Sammy. Founded at City College of New York in 1909, ΣAM attracted a new population of Jews to the Greek system. As opposed to the upper-class Reform German Jews attracted by Phi Epsilon Pi and ZBT, ΣAM attracted most the upward-bound children or grand children of Eastern European, Yiddish speaking Jews from the Lower East Side. The group originally planned to call themselves the "Cosmic Fraternal Order" and to use Hindu letters rather than Greek to represent themselves. They chose the Octagon to serve as their symbol as it represented the eight men present at their first meeting. In keeping with their symbolic eight, they named their governing council "the Octagon" and their publication the Octagonian.

While the Fraternity was accepted by the administration, the student body far from accepted their organization. At City College, the location of their founding, or Alpha, chapter, stood a row of benches used by student groups and fraternities during the lunch house. Members of ΣAM described "many a dirty look and worse comment" that they received when they attempted to seize their own bench. Several years later, when the benches were removed, ΣAM arranged to have their meeting bench removed from

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74 Sanua, 48
75 Sanua, 62
76 Sanua, 69
77 Sanua, 70
78 Sanua, 71
City College and brought to their office. The bench remains there today. Despite their initial difficulties, \( \Sigma AM \) holds the distinction of growing the quickest, adding twenty chapters, and making it the largest Jewish fraternity of its time.

Following \( \Sigma AM \), the other fraternities engaged in expansion projects. When expanding to other campuses chapters undergo a naming process in which Greek letters are used to designate chapters of the organization, rather than by the university or college at which they located. There are two different methods of naming chapters. The most commonly used method is naming chapters in order using Greek letters. For example, ZBT's founding chapter, or Alpha Chapter, comprised of JTS students is officially listed as founding at City College, the second chapter, the Beta Chapter is at Long Island College Hospital, third chapter- Gamma is at NYU etc.\(^{79}\)

In the next few years several Jewish fraternities were founded including Phi Sigma Delta at Columbia University in 1909, Beta Sigma Rho or Bet Samach at Cornell in 1910, Tau Delta Phi at City College of New York in 1914, Tau Epsilon Phi at Columbia University in 1910, Kappa Nu at University of Rochester in 1911, Omicron Alpha Tau at Cornell in 1912 and Phi Beta Delta at Columbia in 1912. All of these fraternities did not survive World War II as their members were called to duty. The fraternities above were absorbed by the two oldest and most stable fraternities, Pi Lamda Phi and ZBT, or function in a limited capacity today. The last Jewish fraternity in this period was AEPI (AEII), founded at the School of Commerce at New York University in 1913.

The founding members of AEII fraternity came from middle-class homes and received formal business training in the evenings. One of the founding members, Charles Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 299
C. Moskowitz, played basketball for NYU, and when he officially enrolled, he received a bid from at least one fraternity. Before he accepted his bid, he asked if his friends would be extended bids as well. When his friends were denied bids, he and his friends decided to start their own fraternity whose prime purpose was to provide "mutual assistance in our intellectual and social life- to strengthen the democratic character of student life."\(^80\) The fraternity grew slowly, but originally suffered from the lack of funds, recognition, house or permanent meeting place. Though the fraternity never stated membership restrictions, it was intended as a Jewish fraternity. The fraternity incorporated Jewish values into its every fiber, and had Hyman Shulman, the fraternity's Hebraic Scholar draft a ritual that emphasized Jews 'traditions and ideals'.\(^81\) Similarly, a clause was adopted in its constitution stating that all Pledges must read Paul Goodman's *History of the Jews* prior to initiation.\(^82\)

During this time, the Greek system also saw the founding of the first Jewish sororities. The first Jewish sorority was founded in 1903 at New York City's Normal College, later known as Hunter College, which served as a teacher training institution.\(^83\) Founders Francine Zellermayer, Hannah Finkelstein Swick, Olga Edelstein Ecker, Sadie April Glotzer, Rose Posner Bernstein, Rose Delson Hirschman, and May Finkelstein Spielgel named their sorority J.A.P pronounced Jay-Ay-Peez.\(^84\) It is hypothesized that the derogatory term for Jewish women found its origins in this sorority's name. This is likely incorrect however, as J.A.P stood for "Just a Plain" sorority, and its members were

\(^{81}\) Toll, 50
\(^{82}\) Toll, 74
\(^{83}\) Sanua, 80
\(^{84}\) Sanua, 80
not reputedly affluent, snobbish or popular. The sorority was renamed Iota Alpha Pi in 1913, and survived into the 1970's. The sorority was disbanded in 1971.

The next Jewish sorority, Alpha Epsilon Phi (AEΦ), opened at Barnard College in 1909. The early AEΦ served as the female counterpart to the early ZBT. Its women tended to be of the upper-class. Despite the similarity of their names and likeliness of their badges (see above), AEΠ and AEΦ's foundation were unrelated. Founded four years apart, it is unclear if AEΠ, founded second, was aware of AEΦ's existence, and historians of both organizations failed to discover any link between the two organizations. Where as AEΦ attracted elite women, AEΠ sought out working men from middle-class homes.

Similar to the fraternities, two sororities, Phi Sigma Sigma and Delta Phi Epsilon were founded by Jewish women as non-Sectarian sororities. Phi Sigma Sigma (ΦΣΣ), known as Phi Sig, was founded at Hunter College in 1913 by founders Lillian Gordon Alpern, Josephine Ellison Breakstone, Fay Chertkoff, Estelle Melnick Cole, Jeanette Lipka Furst, Ethel Gordon Kraus, Shirley Cohen Laufer, Claire Wunder McArdle, Rose Sher Seidman, and Gwen Zaliels Snyder. Phi Sigma Sigma sorority was derogatorily referred to in Yiddish as "Fleishigmaigma", fleish meaning "meat", and igmaigma drawing on the name of the sorority, by competing Jewish sororities. Delta Phi Epsilon was founded on March 17, 1917 at New York University Law School as the first non-sectarian sorority at a professional school. The founders, Dorothy Schwartzmen Cohen, Sanua, Sanua, Sanua, Sanua, Sanua.
Ida Bienstock Landau, Minna Goldsmith Mahler, Eva Efron Robyn and Sylvia Stierman Cohn, known as the DIMES, created a sorority that would create good fellowship among sorority women students throughout the various colleges of this country...to create a secret society composed of these women based upon their good moral character, regardless of nationality or creed.

Though they founded a non-sectarian sorority, each of the DIMES went on to lead Jewish lives. For example, Ida Bienstock Landau, served as an assistant general manager for the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, and helped relocate Jewish survivors and refugees after World War I. In 1921 she married Jacob Landau, a Viennese, and lost her U.S Citizenship and her right to practice law. At this time, American women lost their citizenship upon marrying a non-citizen. She petitioned congress, and as a result of the attention she brought to her case, the U.S adopted the Cable Act or Case Act, which allowed American women to maintain their citizenship even if married to a foreigner.

Despite the founders' Jewish pride, Delta Phi Epsilon remained adamantly Non-Sectarian. Though both sororities claimed to be non-sectarian, they were only incorporated into the National Panhellenic Council along with the Jewish sororities in 1952, previously barred from the council until that year. The National Panhellenic held that if they "admit the Jews, we'll have to take the niggers." Like the fraternities, even though the non-sectarian sororities admitted Gentile sorors, few wanted to break their bread or live with Jews.

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88 Delta Phi Epsilon New Member Orientation Manual
90 Sanua, 193
The final Jewish Greek organization founded between 1890-1920 was Sigma Delta Tau ΣΔΤ, founded at Cornell on March 25, 1917. The sorority, originally named Sigma Delta Phi, changed its name to Sigma Delta Tau when it learned that an organization named Sigma Delta Phi was already in existence. The women were occasionally nicknamed "Cedars", as they were S.D.Ters. The seven founders created the sorority in response to the closed doors and religious discrimination that they encountered from other Greek organizations. The women prominently added a Star of David into their symbol. ΣΔΤ and ΑΕΦ tirelessly competed for upper-class women, and refused bids to undesirable women, notably those of lower-class or those from New York who epitomized loudness, pushiness, vulgarity and coarseness. In the 1930's, candidates who were too stereotypically Jewish "in manner or appearance" were also seen as undesirable, by both the Jewish sororities and fraternities.

World War I ended the foundation of Jewish fraternities and sororities. Only one Jewish organization, Sigma Alpha Epsilon Pi, has been created since 1917. As noted previously, many organizations struggled to gain full acceptance on college campuses. Certain universities divided Greek organizations into two lists "Group A" and "Group B." Group A included the traditional and Gentile fraternities, while Group B included the second-class organizations, such as the Jewish fraternities. In addition to the obstacles created by the universities, the Jewish community created another hurdle for these organizations. While long-time Jewish Americans, who themselves enjoyed membership in country clubs, understood the benefit of the Greek system as the "social centers" of the

91 Sanua, 180
93 Sanua, 83
universities, less formally educated, recently immigrated and likely those of a lower socio-economic status did not understand the importance of membership. To them, the Greek organizations were expensive and distracted their children from their main objective, to study and gain an education. Opposition also came from the communal professionals who saw the Jewish Greek system as a double edged sword, one that assimilated Jewish students into the Christian culture on the college campus, while also causing too much clannishness amongst the Jewish students. Jewish students participation in Jewish fraternity or sorority events brought them further from the campus religious or cultural organizations, and from their control.

Hostility towards the Jewish Greek community only increased when organizations refused bids to Jewish students. Jewish organizations, in an effort to gain recognition and prestige from the Gentile organizations, often rejected lower-class Jews who did not positively represent the Jewish community. The fraternities enforced proper etiquette upon its members, including good dress, table manners and behavior. One fraternity harshly warned, "At least three hours (one-eighth) of your day is spent in eating. Make those three hours an activity for men, not for animals." The Jewish Greeks served as the biggest critics of their Jewish brethren, holding them to impossible standards.

The "Roaring Twenties" brought a new age to the Jewish Greek system, as mass immigration in the early 20th century, provided the system with a plethora of college-aged students. Higher education also became more desirable and necessary for professional training or work in the corporate world. Higher education was even more popular among those in the Jewish community. Although Jews only represented 3.5% of the population

94 Sanua, 85
95 Sanua, 88
96 Sanua, 88
during the 1920's, they represented ten percent of the college populations.\textsuperscript{97} As colleges became more desirable the numbers of college student overall jumped from 150,000 students in 1910 to over one million by 1930.\textsuperscript{98} Colleges struggled to house the influx of students on their campuses. The fraternities saw this as an opportunity to build houses and attract more students to their organizations. During this time, 740,000 people had been initiated into one of the seventy-seven Greek organizations then in existence. Much to the dismay of Rabbis and communal leaders, Jewish involvement in Greek life paralleled gentile involvement. Jewish students flocked to the fraternities and sororities in lieu of on campus Jewish organizations. According to the 1927 survey published by the \textit{American Jewish Year Book}, eighty percent of Jewish students affiliated with a Jewish fraternity or sorority.\textsuperscript{99} Greek life became the way that students chose to affiliate.

Affiliation with a Jewish organization of any sort, however, was problematic given the antisemitism that pervaded American society, and as a result, college campuses during the 1920s. Much of this hostility on the college campuses stemmed from the alleged "Jewish invasion." Jewish students were attending prestigious universities in record high numbers. At Hunter College, eighty to ninety percent of the students were Jewish; at Columbia it was 40 percent; at Harvard it was around 22 percent.\textsuperscript{100} This resulted in new criteria for college admission. As a result, Columbia University's Jewish enrollment fell by half in less than two years and Harvard's fell to less than ten percent. The Jewish Greek organizations were substantially affected because the decrease in admissions of Jewish students resulted in fewer candidates.

\textsuperscript{97} Sanua, 96  
\textsuperscript{98} Sanua, 95  
\textsuperscript{99} Sanua, 97  
\textsuperscript{100} Sanua, 118
The Jewish Greeks stood at the forefront of fighting antisemitism on their campuses. At Brown University, the Phi Epsilon Pi chapter actively fought for the rights of Jewish students. The President of Brown University, William Herbert Perry, forbade the foundation of a Jewish fraternity at Brown. This restriction denied Jewish students access to aspects of campus life only available to Greeks. For nearly thirteen years, fraternity officials and Jewish students met with the President, often pointing out his flagrant discrimination against the Jewish students on campus. The students then called upon the American Jewish Committee, often known for aiding in fights against discrimination, to pressure the University. In 1929, after thirteen years of pressure, media controversy, threats of prosecution, and the death of President Faunce, a Jewish fraternity finally established itself at Brown University.

In response to the antisemitism affecting students, the Jewish Greek organizations developed two schools of thought. Some concealed their Jewishness; others decided it was best to openly embrace Judaism. AEPI, for example, pledged itself to "promoting Jewish communal leadership," a commitment that appears in AEPI's mission statement today. In 1933, at the height of antisemitism, AEPI first awarded the "Alpha Epsilon Pi Gitelson Medallion" awarded to an alumnus who excels in Jewish communal service. The Medallion is presented in memory of Nehemiah Gitelson, a Talmudic scholar and Jewish community activist, who was the father of M. Leo Gitelson '21. AEPI also often elected national officers who observed strict dietary law and the Sabbath. At the 1920 national convention, Supreme Master Nathan Wolf called on his members to actively fight antisemitism "anywhere and anyhow" they could. They also demonstrated fiscal support for the Jewish community, as records from the AEPi's Supreme Board meeting

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101 Sanua, 129
reveal that on February 13, 1924, the fraternity raised $210 (worth $2,621.35 today) for the Jewish Theological Seminary's endowment drive.\textsuperscript{102}

Similarly, Sammy ($\Sigma$ AM) committed not to hold business meetings from Friday night through Saturday at sundown, out of respect for the Jewish Sabbath. In 1922, Sammy also called for mandatory Jewish history studies in the pledge process, monthly lectures on Jewish topics, participation in Jewish communal affairs and participation from the fraters in Jewish rituals such as Passover.\textsuperscript{103} In 1928, they celebrated their 18\textsuperscript{th} anniversary, which they called their "Chai" Anniversary.\textsuperscript{104} During the 1920's AEPHi sorority adopted a philanthropy to fund a scholarship for women to attend classes in Jewish education at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati.\textsuperscript{105} Members of Omicron Alpha Tau fraternity traditionally observed dietary laws in the fraternity houses.\textsuperscript{106} Meanwhile, ZBT, adopted an initiation ritual in the 1920s in which pledges were asked "Who art thou that seeketh admittance within our gates?" Initiates responded "A believer in God and the Brotherhood of Man; I am a Jew." Initiates were also required to read one or two books of Jewish history and participate in an oral examination.\textsuperscript{107}

The escalation of discrimination against Jewish students led to the formation of the Council on American Jewish Student Affairs. Harold Reigelman, head of ZBT, spearheaded this group to operate as an informal Jewish inter-fraternity council. The group sought to organize the heads of the Jewish fraternities, similar to the National Pan-Hellenic Council (NPHC) that governs the nine historically African American fraternities.

\textsuperscript{102} Toll, 103
\textsuperscript{103} Sanua, 151
\textsuperscript{104} Sanua, 111
\textsuperscript{106} Sanua, 177
\textsuperscript{107} Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 79
and sororities. The Council however was short-lived, mostly as the fraternities feared that participation would jeopardize their spot in the National Interfraternity Council, the governing body of all fraternities.

At the end of the 1920's, in October of 1929, America, the universities and the Greek system suffered a crushing blow with the onset of the Great Depression. The economic hardships brought on by the crash of the New York Stock Exchange resulted in the loss of thousands of potential students from the university system. Those who could afford to attend college did so with meager wages, often forcing them to leave their beloved fraternities. The Jewish fraternities, only in existence for less than thirty years, maintained smaller endowments and a smaller alumni base than their Gentile counterparts. Fraternity houses cut costs, no longer providing laundry service, served meals and lawn maintenance. Even with these adjustments, fraternities such as Omicron Alpha Tau found themselves unable to survive the economic hard times and were absorbed by Tau Delta Phi, Phi Epsilon Pi, and Phi Beta Delta.\textsuperscript{108}

Despite the setbacks caused by the Depression, this low period forced some to see the true meaning of fraternity membership. Brothers were forced to rely on one another to find jobs and aid the similarly impoverished general community. The Sammy chapter at Indiana University pooled together funds to pay a woman from the local Jewish community to cook them meals, despite the dismissal of employees assigned to fraternity houses by the University President. During the Depression, they paid Mrs. Barton $27 weekly for her services, providing her with a source of income.\textsuperscript{109}

\textsuperscript{108} Sanua, 177
\textsuperscript{109} Sanua, 184
Despite the dismal state of things during the Depression, certain fraternity events continued unabated. ZBT maintained its parties and festive conventions. To many, these parties had a purpose greater than entertainment; they were used for Jewish purposes, to ensure a Jewish future. Many young men and women attended these parties in hopes of finding a mate of equal looks, connections, and wealth. Perhaps the universal dream of the classical Jewish mother, in ZBT, the invitation list or "date list" was drawn from members of the community pre-selected as meeting the minimum standards of appearance, dress, family background, intelligence and religion. Men were attracted to conventions by the prospect of dancing with a Jewish woman meeting his criteria. Men could fill out forms verifying the type of woman in whom they were interested. The forms asked about ideal height, hair color, and age. Mothers of eligible female attendees helped daughters travel long distances to attend such parties in hope of finding a Jewish husband.

ZBT further aided the young romances by providing services such as distribution of names and phone numbers of women that Zeebs could call, or helping find a judge, at the last minute, to marry a couple. The absence of a Rabbi officiating at the wedding reflects the fact that although the members were concerned about Jewish endogamy, Jewish ritual served as a lesser concern. ZBT chapters also often hosted regular dinners for the female relatives of members. These dinner parties served as a comfortable way for Zeebs to meet eligible women. ZBT proudly posted all marriage announcements of Jewish couples in their publication, particularly when a Zeeb married the sister of another fraternity brother.

110 Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 52
111 Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 101
112 Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 110
Other fraternities engaged in the matchmaking business, as the prospect of eligible Jewish girls often enticed men to attend conventions. In a flyer for their 1937 convention in Cleveland one advertisement for Phil Epsilon Pi read "Come to Cleveland…We have girls- femininity, pulchritude, naïveté, sophistication- girls, girls, girls… Can we disappoint them? No! Will they disappoint you? No!..." As did ZBT, Phi Epsilon Pi had members fill out the ideal age and height of potential dates to conventions. Jewish fraternity organizations saw themselves as matchmaking agencies in addition to their role as brotherhoods. Despite the shallow nature of their matchmaking process, they were advocating and facilitating Jewish endogamy.

In addition to their matchmaking role, organizations also served as the advocates for Jewish life on campus. Phi Epsilon Pi at Penn State University opened its house to Hillel to be used as a synagogue for High Holiday services in 1936. The fraternity was also responsible for building the University’s sucah in October 1939. The sucah, the booth traditionally built in celebration of the Feast of the Tabernacle, measured twenty feet long, eight feet high and eight feet wide. This size accommodated the students, faculty and townspeople who spent time in this temporary structure. The sucah was decorated. On one wall hung a solid blue Star of David and another bore the inscription, "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, thy dwelling places, O Israel." Jewish Greek organizations often worked with Menorah Societies and Hilles for the betterment of Jewish student life.

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113 Sanua, 202
114 Sanua, 201
115 Sanua, 205
116 Sanua, 205
While fraternities aided Jewish life, the Jewish community felt that the system could still do more. Both Maurice Jacobs, the executive leader of Phi Epsilon Pi, and Abram Leon Sacher, an honorary member of Phi Epsilon Pi's chapter at the University of Illinois, saw membership in the Jewish fraternity as able to build the foundation of a strong Jewish leader, or at least, producing knowledgeable Jewish men. Upon his installation as Executive Leader, Jacobs sought to remove the cross and crescent from the fraternity's crest and arranged to have reading material including religious tracts, pamphlets and copies of a Reform Jewish youth magazine sent to various chapters. Sachar, the director of National B'Nai B'rith Hillel, quickly formed a relationship with Jacobs, the then director and editor for the Jewish Publication Society of America.

Together they created the "National Service Plan" referred to as the "Sachar Plan," which proposed an increase in Jewish content in fraternity life in six areas. These areas included mandatory Jewish reading during the pledge period, distribution of Jewish magazines to chapters, an increase in articles of Jewish interest in the fraternity's magazine, greater partnership with Hillel foundations and synagogues and an expectation of greater leadership in Jewish institutional life by alumni. Though the plan was adopted at the 1934 National Convention, alumni protested the plan, and undergraduates resented what they saw as an imposition of unwelcome religious materials. The revolt resulted in howling letters of protest. One student, Jean Werthheimer wrote:

To be very frank, I don't know if it means anything to you or the other boys or the Fraternity, but I am losing my interest in it, and only because of "the Jewishness" or "Jewish consciousness" in the Fraternity, that I don't like and won't have... An outstanding Jewish social worker or Rabbi tells a Fraternity that it must be Jewish, write Jewish, read Jewish...and a weak-kneed Grand Council... Forgets the college boy, and Alumni, and forgets the principles and
purposes of the College Fraternity, and grabs a religious strain and tries to go to town with it. Fraternity members begrudged the recommendations of someone they viewed as an outsider, and were equally as disappointed in their leadership for succumbing to these suggestions. Sachar, disappointed, hurt and filled with rage generated by the reaction to his plan and efforts, broke contact with the fraternity and later did not allow Jewish fraternities to "set foot on the campus of Brandeis University," the institution which he served as President from 1948-1968. Despite a brief respite in which students could ignore antisemitism and discrimination, the end of the 1930's refocused their attention as news from abroad made them aware of the reality of the rise of Nazi Fascism. Jewish Greek organizations such as Sigma Delta Tau, Alpha Epsilon Phi and Zeta Beta Tau drew the majority of their members from the German community, and therefore hardly a family within the group remained untouched by the peril of Nazi Germany. Concerns of Nazism were not only in their thoughts, but also in their backyards. One Sammy (ΣAM) delegate at the University of Washington reported seeing a brother from a Gentile fraternity flying a Nazi flag on the fraternity house. The flag flew for a week without objection from the University. Fraternities and sororities struggled with how to deal with the rise of Nazism both at home and abroad. Suggestions of boycotts on German goods were met with anxiety about ripple effects felt by the German Jewish community. Other organizations, such as AEPI called for a boycott until the "political and social rights of German Jews

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117 Sanua, 245
118 Sanua, 245
119 Sanua, 230
were restored.\textsuperscript{120} Other organizations feared becoming involved in a controversial and political fight, fights in which fraternities traditionally did not engage.

By the mid-to-late 1930's, both members and organizations began to act on their anxiety about the situation. Students volunteered and worked for organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Committee and other organizations that promoted Jewish defense and human rights. Students used campus organizations such as the Jewish Committees on Religious Affairs to educate other campus members. In 1936, Jewish fraternity men at Dickinson College used the weeks in which they were designated to speak to refute allegations of Jewish economic dominance, a popular anti-Semitic accusation at the time.

One response to rising Nazism, the German Jewish Student Refugee Program, initiated by Phi Sigma Delta fraternity in 1934, gained momentum quickly. From 1934-1941, the organization brought intelligent German refugees to America to study in American universities.\textsuperscript{121} ZBT created a similar program called the Zeta Beta Tau Émigré Student Program, which functioned from 1935-1940. The ZBT "adopt" a refugee student began at the Cornell and at the Franklin and Marshall chapters, and continued there and at other chapters until the Nazi government prevented emigration. The students resided in Jewish fraternity and sorority houses free of charge. ZBT's program provided students with books and spending money in addition to room and board.\textsuperscript{122} Other organizations' participation with the German Jewish Student Refugee Program can be reflected in organizations materials, such as the minutes from a 1937 Supreme Governing

\textsuperscript{120}Toll, 144  
\textsuperscript{121}Sanua, 236  
\textsuperscript{122}Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 131
Board meeting in which Alpha Epsilon Pi adopted a resolution encouraging members to give room and board without charge to German Jewish refugee students.\textsuperscript{123}

Fraternity and sorority members often fiercely negotiated with their universities and U.S immigration officials to bring and keep students on the campus. For example, two refugees bound for Tufts University were held at Ellis Island in New York and only released after petitions from the fraternities' Refugee Committee begged the Department of State to keep them on American soil rather than deport them back to Europe.\textsuperscript{124} These fraternities helped raise funds and awareness to save the lives of other Jews. Consequently, these efforts bolstered support from the alumni, Jewish community, administration and faculty of their schools. Those who previously ignored or dismissed the Jewish Greek system, saw these efforts as noble and gained instant respect for the fraternities.\textsuperscript{125}

Students also created contingency plans, should Nazism come to America. Antisemitism on college campuses, escalated from the exclusion of Jewish students and the establishment of quotas, to the raiding by local authorities of Jewish fraternity houses. In two of these raids, one directed against Phi Beta Delta fraternity at Iowa University, and the other against Sigma Tau Phi at Temple University, students were arrested, drawing national attention to the illicit and immoral behavior of those in the fraternity houses. Newspapers reported that the Phi Beta Delta house was kept in a disorderly manner and that the fraternity housed two juvenile girls "for immoral purposes."\textsuperscript{126} The heads of the Jewish fraternity movement used this as an opportunity to show the

\textsuperscript{123} Toll, 152
\textsuperscript{124} Sanua, 236,
\textsuperscript{125} Sanua, 236
\textsuperscript{126} Sanua, 259
repercussions of events like this on American Jewry. The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) feared that charges of immorality would evoke anti-Semitic stereotypes of Jews and urged fraternity men to remember that their groups were responsible for the "protection of the Jewish name." In a warning letter sent to the heads of all Jewish fraternities Richard E. Gutstadt, the Director of the ADL, wrote

All of the aspects of this specific problem should be placed before your groups and they be urged to exercise every possible precaution. It should be made clear to them that their individual and collective conduct should be above reproach and that the utmost care should be exercised to maintain such aspects of Jewish dignity and Jewish rectitude of conduct as to afford no basis for criticism.\footnote{Sanua, 260}

In addition to the precautions regarding maintaining a good name, delegates of each of the fraternities met and drew up plans. Each fraternity called on its members to behave properly. Reba B. Cohen, the president of Alpha Epsilon Phi stated at a fraternity conference, "We can shout from the roof tops that it can't happen here, but personally, I think we should do less shouting and more acting so that it WILL be less apt to happen here."\footnote{Sanua, 262} Organizations called upon their members to represent the Jewish people well and to create better understanding between Jews and Gentiles, in the hope that this would thwart antisemitism.

Fraternity men demonstrated that they could fight the war on the home front, but soon they were asked to fight an even greater cause. Canada entered World War II on September 10, 1939, and immediately students from the Canadian fraternity chapters enlisted. By October 1940, American brothers, impatient with the United States’ late entrance into the war, joined the dozen members of the ZBT chapter at McGill who

\footnote{Sanua, 260} \footnote{Sanua, 262}
served in the Canadian forces.\textsuperscript{129} Brothers refused to pay obligatory membership to the fraternity, stating that their money would be better spent helping the Jews in Palestine or in Europe. These statements are representative of the anti-fraternity movement that emerged at the time, as students saw fraternities as frivolous during times of war.\textsuperscript{130} In total, one third of ZBT and nearly one half of AEPI members joined the armed forces.\textsuperscript{131} AEPI similarly noted during their annual meeting, that they urged every "brother to do his part, pledged the assistance of every chapter to the war effort".\textsuperscript{132}

Those who did not bear arms still heroically engaged in the war effort in other ways. Several ZBT members served as army or navy chaplains. Rabbi Earl S. Stone served as a stretcher-bearer for the Eighteenth Infantry. He was responsible for evacuating the wounded and aiding in burial services for both Jews and Gentiles alike. Dr. David Handelman, another ZBT served as a doctor for the British Army Emergency Medical Service. Many engaged in roles other than armed services in order to aid the war effort.

The declaration of America's entrance into the war in 1942 brought the end of fraternity life as it had previously functioned. Similar to what had occurred during the Civil War and World War I, fraternity houses were closed and used to quarter men in campus military training programs.\textsuperscript{133} The military take-over of houses, allowed the Army or Navy, rather than the diminished fraternity chapters, to pay for rent and maintenance. Yet, these houses had served as important meeting spots for Jewish men of all fraternities, and their absence was felt.

\textsuperscript{129} Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 133  
\textsuperscript{130} Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 143  
\textsuperscript{131} Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 134, Toll, 182  
\textsuperscript{132} Toll, 175  
\textsuperscript{133} Sanua, 267
The fraternity headquarters staff likewise transitioned into entirely new functions. National fraternity offices transformed overnight into centers to facilitate correspondence. Fraternity headquarters kept track of where members were stationed and through their journals they notified everyone when a member was missing, taken prisoner, wounded or killed. Often times, brothers would be stationed in the same base or ship and would discover their proximity to one another through the military correspondence facilitated by the organizations. ZBT sent the ZBT bulletin to all of its members stationed abroad and purposefully included the "Get Acquainted bulletin" which listed the last known addresses and names or civilian hosts and chapters willing to help. AEPI similarly arranged a convention for soldiers and sent letters to the national office, which were then forwarded to family members and friends.

In addition to facilitating wartime correspondence, the fraternities set up funds to send gifts to the men in service. Unsure of how to respond following America’s entrance into war, organizations sought advice from the servicemen themselves. ZBT headquarters sent inquiries to seventy brothers questioning how they could best help. The brothers requested food, newspapers, cigarettes and other reading material, which was then purchased by the organization and distributed by the armed forces. AEPI established the "Servicemen's Fund" under the auspices of the Armed Services Committee. AEPI sent service wallets, checkers sets and other items with AEPI insignia to members in service. The sororities, such as Alpha Epsilon Phi, helped the war effort by using their ration coupons to feed fraternity men stationed nearby.

ZBT later engaged in a project entitled "Service Men's Service." Through SMS, each serviceman, regardless of his location, was sent regular shipments which included

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134 Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 155
eleven pounds of cakes, cookies, preserves, cheese spread, salmon spread, canned chicken, anchovies, candy, Nescafe, tea, chewing gum and cigarettes. Brothers wrote to the national office expressing their deep gratitude for their packages. Isaac Straus wrote in January of 1943,

If you can imagine… not having seen fresh food in over a month, not to mention something like cookies, to find a perfect assortment of 'tasty, tempting, delectable morsels,' you can also imagine how I felt… that was a bright spot in an otherwise exceedingly dark period…Knowing that you're not forgotten, which is an easy thing to feel out here, is worth going through six successive Hell Weeks. Thanks for that breadth from home.

The packages were described as manna from heaven, lifting the spirits of men stationed far from home and surrounded by death and destruction.

The war also brought Jewish fraternity men back to their Jewish roots. Religion and religious traditions provided servicemen with stability and comfort as they found themselves immersed in a world of horror. Lieutenant Robert J. Spiegel, a ZBT brother stationed in Tunisia, described sitting in a foxhole not knowing "from one minute to the next if that big one whistling down had your name on it." Servicemen found comfort in religion. Many led secular lives as civilians, and even declined the "H" for their dog tag, indicating they were a "Hebrew" when enlisting. However, the war brought out a Jewish spirit. Several fraternity men reported attending services when available and led the services in the absence of chaplains. One fraternity man, reported the connection he felt to the Jewish people when surrounded by "civilians, officers, British soldiers and American Soldiers, all brought together from all over the world on those days by our

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135 Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 155
136 Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 156
137 Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 156
common, though somewhat indefinable bond." Another reported that while passing through a cemetery, he saw the grave of a brother from another school. He promptly arranged for a Star of David to be placed at the grave.

The war brought some men closer to their religion and others closer to their brothers. One brother wrote, "the pleasure of our meeting would defy the written world…fraternalism becomes dynamic to a degree that previously was unsuspected." Removed from the arguments about rent, mortgages and fraternity responsibilities, brothers enjoyed each others' company while surrounded by strangers. Some wrote to the ZBT headquarters about a gathering of ZBT's. The men woke the entire neighborhood as they boisterously sang the fraternity song "Oh ZBT, we sing to thee." AEPI offered brothers a Seoul, Korea convention just a few years later during the Korean war. In addition to offering camaraderie, the fraternities commemorated their fallen heroes. AEPI reported the increasing number of gold stars on the fraternity flag. ZBT similarly used gold stars to note servicemen who had lost their lives in the war. In total 105 ZBT brothers were confirmed dead.

As forces emptied onto French beaches on June 6, 1944, it was clear the end of the war was in sight. On May 7, 1945, Germany officially surrendered, followed by the Japanese on August 14, 1945. Brothers trickled back onto their college campuses upon their return to America. In Spring of 1944, Congress passed the Servicemans' Readjustment Act, a bill that provided full education benefits to returning serviceman.

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138 Sanua, 267
139 Sanua, 267
140 Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 158
141 Toll, 246
142 Toll, 182
143 Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 162
This act, better known as the GI Bill, guaranteed $500 a year for tuition, laboratory fees, books and supplies, and a $50 stipend. The influx of students allowed chapters, dormant during the war, to reopen. The fraternities remained optimistic, unaware of the problems that lay ahead.

Servicemen returned with a newfound seriousness. They no longer tolerated the frivolities of the fraternity and called for an end to hazing. Tensions developed between older brothers and younger brothers. Influenced by their wartime experiences and American trends, brothers called the Jewish aspects of the fraternity into question.

During the war, religion, race and class no longer segregated Jewish men, as they had during college. Minorities had given their lives in the war and the GI Bill gave them the same access to college as the American majorities. Fraternities and sororities were urged to change with the times and remove discriminatory clauses that restricted membership to Jews. Organizations such as the American Jewish Committee (AJC) and B'nai Brith Anti-Defamation League (ADL) challenged fraternity men. They argued that the Jewish people were fighting for an end to restricted schools, businesses, summer camps, law firms and country clubs, yet they were perpetrating the same restrictions through the Jewish Greek system.144 They stated that they supported Jewish fraternities following a "positive Jewish program" but would not condone organizations that restricted this program to Jews alone.

ADL and AJC warnings were consistent with school authorities’ request that fraternities and sororities disclose their rituals and constitutions to the public. Those found to have discriminatory clauses risked losing their charters. At the time, of the sixty organizations in the National Interfraternity Conference, approximately two-thirds had

144 Sanua, 269
restrictive clauses.\textsuperscript{145} The Jewish organizations complied in removing restrictive clauses, as they vowed loyalty to the Greek system.\textsuperscript{146} Fraternity and Sorority members were pressured by their alumni, the Jewish community and their colleges to remove their discriminatory clauses, forcing them to allow in non-Jewish members. As the Jewish fraternities broke down their barriers, the historically traditional fraternities also did, and began accepting the best and the brightest of the Jewish students into their exclusive organizations.\textsuperscript{147} Soon, the best Jewish candidates for recruitment were lost to the traditionally Gentile organizations, diminishing the hard-earned prestige of some of the Jewish organizations.

The removal of discriminatory clauses was seen as detrimental. For some, this brought concern that the intra-fraternal marriages that were facilitated in the Jewish fraternity and sorority system would be impossible to maintain if non-Jewish students were admitted. By removing the barriers, Jewish study content and practices were removed or substantially reduced. Although the Jewish content was never regarded as enough to satisfy Rabbis and communal leaders, interviews and minutes posted in fraternity and sorority publications reveal that it was significant to the members.\textsuperscript{148} Fraternity and Sorority members were pressured by their alumni, the Jewish community and their colleges to remove their discriminatory clauses, forcing them to allow in non-Jewish members.

Fraternities no longer required pledges to read a book on Jewish history. It was not unusual for members before this time to trade and use Yiddish phrases used by their

\textsuperscript{145} Sanua, Here’s To Our Fraternity, 191
\textsuperscript{146} Sanua, 270
\textsuperscript{147} Sanua, 273
\textsuperscript{148} Sanua, 272
families in their own homes or carefully avoid shellfish and pork during house meals. Alpha Epsilon Pi previously avoided scheduling parties on Friday nights. Instead, Friday nights in certain chapters houses were filled with Shabbat dinners complete with the blessing before the meal, prayers over the wine, and lighting of Shabbat candles. Organizations within the Jewish Greek system were also conscious of the Jewish holidays. They made sure that “Rush” did not conflict with the high holidays in September and October, abstained from hanging Christmas decorations on their houses and made Passover seders and meals available for those too far to travel home for Passover. National officers mandated that students attend synagogue services at least monthly. All of this was seen as problematic with the entrance of Gentiles into the Jewish Greek system, thus ending Jewish Greek life as it had previously existed.

Jewish parents were also concerned with the change in policy. The parents, once fully supportive, were now reluctant to engage in discussion of Greek life due to concern that there would be a rise of intermarriage if the organizations removed their discriminatory clauses and opened the organizations to non-Jews. The Jewish Greek system had previously been cherished as a valuable matchmaking system for Jewish college students. One mother, advocating for a separate fraternity system, stated, "Many marriages are made in heaven, many more are made on college campuses." Parents joined in with many undergraduate students, pressuring the national organizations not to comply with the increasing pressure to remove discriminatory clauses.

Of the eleven historically Jewish organizations still in existence by 1950, approximately half had to battle whether or not to secularize. Though Alpha Epsilon Pi

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149 Sanua, 272
150 Sanua, 273
151 Sanua, 274
always valued its Jewish origins, it had never limited membership to Jewish students, and as such was free from the debate. In 1948, they demonstrated this freedom by openly declaring in their organization’s convention their "pride and pleasure in the creation of the State of Israel" and pledged its support to the new Jewish state.\textsuperscript{152} Other organizations however, such as ZBT and SAM, that had remained exclusively Jewish from its inception, were forced to tackle what was known as the "S" question, formally addressing whether or not they would become secular.\textsuperscript{153} The universities continued to threaten organizations that remained Sectarian. SAM officially removed its restrictive clauses in 1953, and ZBT followed suit in 1954.

ZBT chapters first removed restrictive clauses from the public charter and constitution in 1950, however the final debate that took place at the National convention August 28, 1954, was on the ritual in which brothers stated "A believer in God and the Brotherhood of Man; I am a Jew."	extsuperscript{154} Stanley Relkin, a ZBT brother studying for the Rabbinate stated that removal of the words would be "striking the heart from the fraternity."\textsuperscript{155} Another brother, Frank Fleischer, forced fellow attendees to imagine themselves as alumnae, thirty years after the removal of Jewish aspects in the rituals. He questioned "You might be the outstanding Jewish leader in your community. I am sure most of us will…How would you like to have it known that your ZBT is now a Gentile fraternity? This could very easily happen if we go through with this."\textsuperscript{156} However, these pleas for remaining proudly Jewish were met with protest. Some argued that Jews have survived bigger obstacles; others argued that they must set the example for harmonious

\textsuperscript{152} Toll, 206
\textsuperscript{153} Sanua, 275
\textsuperscript{154} Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 195
\textsuperscript{155} Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 197
\textsuperscript{156} Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 198
living. Another argued "There are men with standards as good as ours who are Gentile and who will probably make wonderful fraternity brothers, they will only help us." A vote of $25 \frac{2}{3}$ to 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ ruled in favor of removal of the clauses. ZBT was the last organization to remove its restrictive clauses. They later changed the rules of the Gottheil Medal, ZBT's highest award. Previously presented only to someone who had done the most for Jewry, the award was no longer granted only to Jews. For example, in 1963 Pope John XXIII posthumously received the Gottheil Medal. Similarly, The Louis Marshall Cup, previously extended to a chapter with the highest level of involvement in Jewish affairs, was now opened to a chapter that conducted the best program "inspiring interfaith brotherhood." Since 1954, exclusively Jewish fraternities no longer exist.

The calls and actions to remove discrimination from American institutions transformed Greek life and abruptly ended the Jewish life once vibrant within Jewish Greek organizations. The 1960's and 1970's brought more troubles for Greek life. The college population in these decades, particularly the Jewish population, was concerned with Vietnam, Soviet Jewry, and worldly concerns, which left little room for fraternities and sororities. While the Jewish sororities remained relatively stable during both World Wars, the Korean War and Vietnam, many of the fraternities closed, merged, and decreased substantially in membership. In 1961, Kappu Nu merged with Phi Epsilon Pi, then in 1969-1970, ZBT took over Phi Sigma Delta and Phi Epsilon Pi.

The liberal movements of the 1960's and 1970's also introduced drug abuse into the fraternity system. Although drug use struck all of the groups involved in American society, Greek life's closed doors and protection from influential alumni or backers allowed fraternity houses to become breeding grounds for distribution. ZBT particularly,
became known as "a good place to get your drugs.\textsuperscript{158} These problems worsened with the release of National Lampoon's Animal House in 1978. This movie depicted Greek life as full of wild parties, pot smoking and violence, and recruits to all fraternities came seeking that environment and transformed the fraternities into a venue for liability and risk management issues. This brought negative press to the entire system, which only worsened in the 1980's, a decade in which at least forty-five students were killed in hazing incidents.\textsuperscript{159} These negative elements soon replaced the original cherished values of brotherhood and fraternalism, bringing organizations further from their founding principles and values.\textsuperscript{160}

Similar to the dark days of Greek life brought on after World War II, Greek life recovered from this period of depraved and dangerous behavior. Fraternities and sororities started to grow again in the mid 1980-s through the 1990's, this time embracing diversity. This period of growth is characterized by the foundation of multicultural, religious, Asian, Latino and Latina, Black, Muslim, Native American and Gay and Lesbian organizations that replaced the traditional fraternities. This time period, in which students prided themselves in their heritage, resulted in the birth of many organizations through which college students could express cultural pride. Jewish organizations such as AEPI regained their Jewish identity lost decades before. This decade also saw the birth of Sigma Alpha Epsilon Pi, a Jewish sorority founded on October 1, 1998 at the University of California, Davis.

\textsuperscript{158} Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 248
\textsuperscript{159} Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 279
\textsuperscript{160} Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 266
Presently, the following organizations continue to identify nationally as Jewish: Alpha Epsilon Pi, Alpha Epsilon Phi, Sigma Alpha Epsilon Pi, Sigma Alpha Mu, Sigma Delta Tau, and Zeta Beta Tau. Though Tau Epsilon Phi still identifies as a Jewish fraternity, its board filed for Chapter 7 bankruptcy on January 24, 2011 and it consists of fewer than 20 chapters. It is likely to close soon.\(^{161}\) Although the organizations have vacillated between secular and Jewish, each organization proudly recalls its Jewish history.

An organization's mission statement is a reflection of the agenda and values of the national organization. AEPI's mission statement powerfully states:

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\text{Alpha Epsilon Pi develops leadership for the future of the American Jewish community. Tomorrow's Jewish leaders are in our chapters today. These are the young men who must be counted upon to support Jewish causes and to prepare to be one of tomorrow's Jewish leaders, so that they may aid themselves, their family, their community, and their people. Those students who enter the mainstream of non-Jewish life on the campus are far more likely to assimilate and to forsake their heritage. Working together with the Foundation for Jewish Campus Life/International Hillel, Alpha Epsilon Pi can play a vital role in helping reverse the growing trend among our young people to abandon Judaism at this critical time.}\(^{162}\)
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Its mission statement additionally discusses AEPI's Jewish history, and the role it serves for its members. Adhering to anti-discriminatory clauses set in the 1950's, its statement specifically notes that while it welcomes non-Jewish men, it embraces all those "willing


to espouse its purpose and values." Similarly, ZBTs mission statement highlights its Jewish history and welcomes all, "regardless of religion, race or creed." Sigma Alpha Mu's mission statement does not mention a Jewish history, however it clearly states, "We will continue to attract members of all beliefs who appreciate our great heritage as a fraternity of Jewish men." In an interview with Lee Manders, executive director of ΣAM, he noted the important distinction between a "Jewish Fraternity" and "A Fraternity of Jewish Men." It is evident from each of the fraternities’ mission statements that each wishes, on some level, to preserve the Jewish history that defined it.

The Jewish nature was less defined by the older Jewish sororities. AEPHI's mission statement, revised in 1996, states that the sorority seeks to "inspire and support exemplary women dedicated to friendship and a lifelong commitment to Alpha Epsilon Phi, while building on the vision of our Jewish founders." The core values section additionally states, "we are a Jewish sorority, but not a religious organization, with membership open to all college women, regardless of religion, who honor, respect and appreciate our Jewish identity and are comfortable in a culturally Jewish environment." While the Sigma Delta Tau website has a separate section which highlights its Jewish origin and the discrimination that took place during the first quarter of the 20th century, Jewish identity is absent from its mission statement, which instead focuses on the sorority's values of scholarship, philanthropy, life skills and lifelong friendship.

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Responding to the absence of Jewish content in the other sororities, Sigma Alpha Epsilon, known as Sigma, states, "The purpose of Sigma Alpha Epsilon Pi is to promote unity, support, and Jewish awareness, as well as to provide a Jewish experience for ourselves, our members, and the community as a whole."168 The sorority additionally notes in its history section that it was born out of the founding women's desire for a Jewish sorority. The closing of a chapter of Alpha Epsilon Phi chapter on its campus at University of California, Davis in the early 1990's left a void of Jewish organized sisterhood on campus. With the help of Alpha Epsilon Pi and Hillel, they were able to create a Jewish social organization. They chose the name Sigma Alpha Epsilon Pi, as Sigma represents that they are "Sisters of" Alpha Epsilon Pi. They also chose the letter Sigma, as sigma is the 18th letter of the Greek Alphabet, and the letter 18 holds great significance in Jewish tradition as the numerical value representing life (chai).169 Since 1998, the sorority has opened on fourteen campuses.

Several elements of Greek life serve as indicators of Jewish content within a given organization. This section of the paper will analyze organizations through their official philanthropies and partners, the conferences that they chose to attend, and the language used to describe their religious awards.

Philanthropy

Philanthropic organizations serve as another gauge of Jewish content in the Greek system. The Greek System, both secular and Jewish, places great emphasis on philanthropic activity as an index of success and creation of well-rounded leaders.

National Organizations over time adopt philanthropic organizations for their chapters to support, either philanthropically or temporally. Some of the traditional organizations choose secular focused philanthropies, for example, Chi Phi, one of the oldest fraternities, supports Boys and Girls Club of America. Other diverse organizations choose philanthropies that represent their communities. For example, Alpha Phi Alpha, the first African-American fraternity provides support to members of the African American community, through its efforts, which include support for the "Go–To–High School, Go–To–College" program that provides resources and encourages secondary and collegiate education for African American men. In general, one can tell a great deal about the values of an organization by analyzing its thoughtfully chosen philanthropies and partners.

'Tzedaka' the Hebrew word used for Jewish philanthropy, is derived from the word Tzedek, which translates to "justice," and is rooted in the Torah. Leviticus Numbers 18:26 states that Jews were required to give ten percent of their total earnings to the Temple. Tzedaka has always been and remains part of the fiber of what it means to be Jewish. Another term often used for Jewish giving is "Gemilut Chasadim" which translates as "the giving of loving-kindness," and according to Shimon the Righteous in Pirkei Avot, serves as one of the three pillars of the world, alongside the torah and service. Repairing or completion of the world, another element of philanthropy, is translated as Tikkun Olam. The term, originally referred to in the Mishne and Tosefta, is more commonly understood in contemporary times through Rabbi Isaac Luria's ideas on

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Tikkun Olam. Rabbi Isaac Luria saw repairing the world, as the act of "fulfilling God's original intention for creation" and in modern times connotes social action and social justice. Each of these words and their nuanced definitions reveal that the act of giving in a variety of ways is at the core of Jewish tradition.

AEPI draws on this rich history of Jewish philanthropy in its 3rd Edition Philanthropy Manual produced in 2006. The manual serves as a detailed guide for chapters to use as a resource for philanthropic events and projects. In its conclusion, it notes

the highest degree of tzedeka is one who holds the hand of a man reduced to poverty by handing him a gift in order to strengthen his hand, so that he will have no need to beg from others. You now have the tools to join the ranks of more than 93 years of philanthropy and tzedaka through the men of Alpha Epsilon Pi

This statement reflects AEPI's commitment to serving as a resource for philanthropy programming on the part of its chapters, and demonstrates the fraternity's commitment to a Jewish approach to philanthropy. The manual shows that philanthropy must meet more than the expectations of secular Greek life, in which philanthropy is mandated. It adds a Jewish component to philanthropy, as philanthropy is a Jewish value and a key component of leading a proud Jewish lifestyle. In August 2010, at the national convention, AEPI announced support for seven philanthropies. Although the fraternal organization had intended to vote on three of the seven organizations listed below, the brothers of the fraternity passed a motion to adopt all seven. These philanthropies

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173 Sara S. Lee, "Reparing the World from the Perspective of Jewish Tradition," Religious Education 85, no. 3 (Summer 1990).
include: Friends of the IDF, ELEM, Jewish National Fund, Keshet, Leket Israel, Save a Child's Heart and Sharsheret.

- AEPI partnered with Friends of The Israel Defense Forces in 2007 for its IMPACT! Scholarship Program. This program provides grants to veterans from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds to ensure their ability to pursue their educational goals. AEPI nationally supports one IMPACT! student each year at the cost of $16,000 per student over four years.

- ELEM is an organization, founded in 1983, that is dedicated to developing and implementing innovative solutions to meet the needs of Israeli youth. The organization identifies hardships that Israeli Youth face and provides treatments and personnel to attend to the tens of thousands of adolescents that seek ELEM’s services for help with distressing conditions such as absorption, drugs and addiction issues, alcohol, prostitution and homelessness. AEPI specifically provides a grant to the GALGAL project that meets the needs of Jerusalem's homeless youth population. This assistance includes essentials such as: clothing, food, medical care, counseling services, laundry and showers.

- Founded in 1901, Jewish National Fund (JNF) specializes in development of Israeli land and infrastructure. AEPI is specifically involved with JNF's "Sderot Indoor Recreation Center", a 21,000 square foot indoor playground and community center open to residents of Sderot. The $5 million facility keeps children safe in a city in which residents must
always be within fifteen feet of a bomb shelter. AEPI's funding goes towards operational costs, equipment purchases, program development, security, staffing and maintenance, and ensures that this center will remain open, keeping citizens of Sderot both safe and happy.\footnote{“Jewish National Fund,” Alpha Epsilon Pi, Jewish National Fund, accessed April 28, 2011, http://www.aepi.org/?page=JNF.}

- Keshet is a Jewish organization dedicated to individuals with special needs. Keshet ensures that the community accepts individuals with special needs and provides financial assistance that helps alleviate the costs of medical and therapeutic needs. Money raised by AEPI helps provide scholarships for families. AEPI also committed itself to volunteerism and advocacy on behalf of this cause. AEPI brothers create awareness about the special needs of individuals with disabilities.\footnote{“Keshet,” Alpha Epsilon Pi, Keshet, accessed April 28, 2011, http://www.aepi.org/?page=Keshet.}


- Leket Israel, formerly Table-to-Table Israel, serves as Israel's National Food Bank. The organization collects food from restaurants, wedding halls and celebrations, and transports the food to nonprofit organizations throughout Israel. AEPI committed to buying Leket Israel a $100,000+ 15-ton truck emblazoned with AEPI's logo that transports and distributes food to the 250 organizations serving Israel's unemployed, working poor, homeless, elderly, and underprivileged populations. AEPI is additionally
committed to raising awareness about Leket Israel on college campuses in both North America and Israel.\footnote{179}

- Dedicated to improving the quality of cardiac care for children, Save a Child's Heart, has helped provide life-saving cardiac surgeries and other procedures for children of toddler age to teenagers at the Wolfson Medical Center in Holon, Israel. Save a Child's Heart's medical team has evaluated more than 6,000 children and treated 2,400, saving the lives of eight children. AEPI has helped provide the funds to save the lives of children from 40 different locations, presenting children with the hope of a brighter and healthier future.\footnote{180}

- Sharsheret serves as the final organization adopted as an official philanthropy in AEPI in 2010. Brothers of AEPI help educate and raise awareness about breast cancer and its prevalence in the Jewish community. Chapters also raise funds to support Sharsheret through a variety of programming, including a benefit concert entitled Pink! held in Herzliyah Israel and hosted by the Aleph chapter at the Interdisciplinary Center in Herzliyah in March 2011.\footnote{181} AEPI's funding directly supports Sharsheret's ten national programs including one that connects women suffering from breast cancer with peer support.

AEPI has made Jewish philanthropy a large part of its mission. Previous philanthropies supported by AEPI have included: Shaarei Tzedek Hospital, ChaiLife, The U.S Holocaust Museum, Magen David Adom, Tay-Sachs Foundation and the Struggle for Soviet Jewry. AEPI intentionally chooses to support Jewish and Israel related causes as it recognizes the powerful role its members play in supporting the Jewish community.

ZBT, in accord with Jewish tradition, distinguishes between service and philanthropy, similar to the distinction made between Gemilut Chasadim and Tzedaka. ZBT defines service as "hands-on interaction with organizations or individuals that benefit from your time," and philanthropy as "the act of donating money to organizations or individuals." During its New Member Education Program, called the "Brotherhood Circle," ZBT emphasizes the importance of participation in service within the organization outreaching with service to the broader community through incorporation of this philosophy throughout a member's fraternal years. The fraternity officially supports two philanthropies, the Children's Miracle Network Hospitals and Maccabi World Union.

- The Children's Miracle Network was adopted as ZBT's National Philanthropy in the summer of 2002. ZBT aids the 170 Children's Miracle Network Hospitals, as the fraternity members visit the local CMN hospitals. Money raised for Children's Miracle Network supports research and training and helps purchase equipment and pay for uncompensated care, ultimately saving the lives of children. Brothers of ZBT traditionally raise funds for Children's Miracle Network through a program called "Get on the Ball,"

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during which brothers on various campuses roll a 6-foot-tall inflatable ball around their campus asking students, faculty and complete strangers to sign the ball. Each signature results in a fifty-cent donation to the hospitals. Children's Miracle Network is the official philanthropy of four other Greek Letter Organizations. ZBT chose Children's Miracle Network to meet its members’ desires to help children in need and because of the hospital's proximity to ZBT chapters throughout North America.

- The Maccabi World Union is a global Jewish organization. It is found on five continents and has more than 400,000 members. The Maccabi World Union is popularly known for the JCC Maccabi Games, an annual week-long sporting event in August for Jewish teens ages 13-16. In addition, Maccabi clubs provide sports, education, cultural and sports activities housed in their community centers. The Maccabi World Union also works with the JCC Maccabi Israel Programs which are intended to enrich North American teens' and young adults' understanding of Israel. ZBT is passionate about this as Maccabi shares a similar founding purpose and mission with ZBT, and complements its members' enthusiasm towards sports.

ZBT partners with both Jewish and secular causes, and through these, brothers gain practical skills in leadership, team building, networking, goal-setting and social responsibility, leading to personal growth.

Unlike AEPI and ZBT, Sigma Alpha Mu does not focus on the Jewish aspect of its philanthropic work, but it emphasizes the importance of developing good citizens and
cultivating a lifelong commitment to helping others.\textsuperscript{184} Previous national philanthropies that it sponsored included the Pediatric Aids Foundation. In addition to its philanthropic commitment to national philanthropy, brothers of $\Sigma AM$ raised over $400,000$ for local philanthropies. In 2004, a prominent alumnus, Marshall Gelfand, lost his wife to Alzheimer's disease, and the $\Sigma AM$ nationals vowed to honor her death by taking on the Judy Fund as its national philanthropy.

- The Judy Fund helps support research, care and advocacy efforts for Alzheimer's Disease. This past year brothers raised nearly $32,000 for the Judy Fund. The Judy Fund is close to the member's hearts, as many alumni and members have family members who suffer from Alzheimer's Disease. Since Alzheimer's disease has struck the homes of many of the fraternity members, brothers have committed to this philanthropy to reflect support to brother Marshall Gelfand, and to their own families.

In addition to their philanthropic commitments, $\Sigma AM$ incorporates a service component into the annual convention. Previously, members engaged in work cleaning neighborhoods or cemeteries or sorted food in a food pantry in the convention’s host city. At the past convention, attendees prepared and packaged over 600 peanut butter and jelly sandwiches for the Miami homeless population. Unlike AEPI and ZBT, neither the website nor an interview with director Lee Manders revealed a Jewish rationale or purpose in their community service and philanthropic work.

\textit{Partnerships and Conference Attendance}

In addition to philanthropic connections, an organization’s partnerships, as well as conference attendance by professional staff, says a great deal about the organization’s commitments and values.

AEPI started the first Jewish fraternal partnership when it officially partnered with AIPAC in 1985. Since 1985, AEPI has officially partnered with ten Jewish organizations: AIPAC, Aish Jerusalem Fellowships, Bnai Brith International, Chabad on Campus, The Embassy of Israel to the United States, Gift of Life, Hasbara Fellowships, Hillel, Israel on Campus Coalition, and Masa Israel.

These partnerships enable AEPI to provide Jewish resources to its undergraduate members. In an interview, Andrew Borans, AEPI Executive Director, stated that these partnerships create an avenue through which undergraduate brothers can better explore their Judaism and what it means to them. He referred to AEPI as the vehicle through which brothers are connecting with Jewish organizations. He concluded, "it is our job to take these kids and get them involved in other Jewish activities." Adam Teitelbaum, AEPI's Director of Jewish Programming and Philanthropy, explained that through the partnerships, the partner organizations have access to 9,000 young men, and therefore AEPI provides "bodies for the seats." According to Borans, one-third of male college students in attendance at AIPAC's conference, were AEPI brothers.

Regarding conferences, AEPI sends members of its National Staff and undergraduate brothers to both Jewish and Greek related conferences. Jewish conferences include: All Hillel conferences, Chabad's National Conference, The Jewish Federation of North America's General Assembly and Tribefest, the B’nai B’rith Policy Conference, and the I.C.C retreat, entitled Israel Amplified. Israel Amplified, a

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185 Andrew Borans, telephone interview by author, March 23, 2011.
brainchild of AEPI that is now run by the Israel on Campus Coalition, brings together fraternity and sorority students with pro-Israel organizations. This provides fraternities and sororities, regardless of their organizational history, with the resources in areas such as Israel's environment, politics, advocacy, philanthropy, and provides travel that enables participants to understand the significance of Israel, and education as to how to support Israel.\footnote{Israel Amplified, http://www.israelcc.org, Israel Amplified, accessed April 28, 2011, http://www.israelcc.org/about/updates/israel_amp.htm.} This conference, and its partnerships with the Embassy of Israel to the United States, Hasbara Fellowships, Israel on Campus Coalition, and Masa Israel, allows AEPI to further exhibit its policy on Israel, "wherever we stand, we stand with Israel."\footnote{Borons, Andrew. Telephone interview by author. March 22, 2011.} AEPI also hosts its own conference, called the "Hineni Conference," which serves as a vehicle for Jewish identity enrichment. This three-day conference, open only to undergraduate members of AEPI, focuses on religious and cultural programming, Israel advocacy and Jewish philanthropy and community service.\footnote{"Hineni Conference," Alpha Epsilon Pi, Hineni, accessed April 28, 2011, http://www.aepi.org/?page=Hineni.} This conference was named Hineni to reflect the fraternity’s "acceptance of responsibility" to the commitment of being a Jewish fraternity with a religious and cultural heritage.

AEPI’s Greek Conference attendance includes the North-American Interfraternity-Conference, The Association of Fraternity Advisors and the Fraternity Executive Association. These conferences provide opportunities for AEPI members to understand the weight of what it means to be Greek and Jewish in the 21st century.

In an interview with Laurence Bolotin, Executive Director of Zeta Beta Tau fraternity, he noted that ZBT happily partners with organizations that uphold similar values and missions. This is particularly notable when it comes to Israel, as ZBT is
conscious of its founding as a Zionist organization. As such, ZBT partners with Israel on Campus Coalition and AIPAC, and works closely with JNF's alternative Spring Break in Israel. Bolotin noted that through ZBT’s partnership with the Israel on Campus Coalition, ZBT brothers attend a Greek only Birthright trip, named Greeks Rush Israel. ZBT additionally partners with Hillel and Chabad, two organizations that provide their undergraduate brothers with meaning in order for them to understand the significance of their origins as the nation's first Jewish fraternity. Partnership with these organizations allows members to celebrate their Jewish Heritage through educational programming. ZBT also partners with the Maccabi World Union and the Jewish Student Union, Jewish organizations dedicated to developing high school students' Jewish identities. While ZBT places great importance on its Jewish and Israel commitments, due to its strong Jewish history, ZBT also proudly supports secular organizations, bearing in mind its role as a contemporary fraternity and its mission of embracing inclusivity. In light of this, ZBT has partnered with Movember, a global event that encourages men to grow moustaches in order to create awareness of prostate and testicular cancer. In addition to raising awareness, these "Mo Bros" raise funds that benefit the Prostate Cancer Foundation and Livestong.

In addition to its partnerships, Zeta Beta Tau fraternity sends representatives to Jewish conferences, Greek Conferences and General Higher Education conferences. ZBT's Jewish Conferences align with its partnerships. As such, ZBT attends the conferences for Hillel Professional Staff, the Jewish Community Center Biennial.
Conference (Maccabi is an affiliate of the JCC), Israel on Campus Coalition and AIPAC. ZBT also attends conferences for Jewish organizations that are not partners, such as JFNA's Tribefest and General Assembly. For Greek conferences, ZBT sends representatives to conferences that bring together campus and headquarters professional staff, such as the Fraternity Executive Association, the Association of Fraternity Advisors conference, and the National Risk Management conference. Finally, ZBT's staff participates in the American Society of Administrative Professionals Conference, which helps the staff address issues in a professional manner that provides them with the resources to properly market the fraternity and grow strategically. All of these conferences allow the fraternity to grow and provide its members access to explore their identities as contemporary Jews and fraternity men.

Sigma Alpha Mu fraternity (ΣAM) conceives of its role in the Jewish community differently from the other two fraternities. AEPI staff proudly refers to its fraternity as the "only Jewish fraternity" and the only fraternity to have chapters in Israel. ZBT has the distinction of being the first Jewish fraternity. Meanwhile, ΣAM conceives of its role in the Jewish community as a fraternal organization with a history strongly tied to the Jewish religion, yet ever conscious that many members and alumni of the fraternity are not Jewish. As a result, they do not officially partner with any Jewish organizations, however they do partner with Hillel and Chabad on a local level and only establish chapters on campuses with established Jewish communities with these structures. The national staff views the fraternity's role, especially concerning Israel, as that of a sanctuary for Jewish students. Rather than focusing on partnerships, ΣAM provides resources. For example, the fraternity hosts voluntary alumni humanitarian missions
oriented towards going to other countries and helping Jewish communities. This mission has previously brought alumni to Cuba, Israel, Argentina and more.

Similar to ΣAM policy on partnerships, ΣAM does not officially attend any particular conferences. It has previously tried to attend the NFTY conferences, as the organization earmarks two university scholarships for NFTY students. NFTY, the North American Federation of Temple Youth is the youth group organization for the Reform movement. Previously it has attended both Chabad and Hillel conferences. Additionally it has attended many of Jewish Federation of North America's General Assemblies. The staff did not discuss secular conferences during our interviews. While they do not specifically attend certain conferences annually, the staff is open to attending the various Jewish organizations, and the fraternity's foundation sponsors the Developing Leaders Initiative, a scholarship that affords young leaders in the fraternal organization the opportunity to attend conferences that help with leadership development, and "develops future leaders of the North American Jewish community." Unlike the other two organizations, ΣAM is conscious of the different role that it plays for the Jewish community.

The partnerships and conferences that fraternities choose to support serve as barometers of their Jewish commitments. AEPI and ZBT are conscious of their important roles as Jewish fraternities. ZBT differs in that it also sees the significance of inspiring the entirety of its constituency, sometimes found outside of the Jewish sphere. It is mindful that the fraternity is comprised of men of all religions, and hopes to make each member feel that he is an equal member of ZBT. Sigma Alpha Mu, rather than

referring to itself as a Jewish fraternity, emphasizes that it is a fraternity comprised of Jewish men, which is consistent with its lack of Jewish national partners and commitments to any particular Jewish organizations on a national level.

Awards

One of the ways in which national fraternities are able to encourage and enforce their mission and policies is through the awards system. While there exists a system of punishment for failure to complete mandatory fraternity programs or requirements, awards are a form of positive reinforcement through which chapters that have excelled in certain areas are recognized for their programming and performance. These awards are traditionally presented during a banquet held at the organization's annual conclaves or conventions, which are attended by representatives from each of the chapters. The awards are typically presented to chapters and individuals exhibiting exemplary academic performance, recruitment figures, risk management protocol, progress, philanthropy and website design. Each of the three Jewish fraternities additionally presents awards that commend chapters for successful religious programming.

The Gitelson Medallion, one of AEPI's most distinguished awards was first awarded in 1933. The award was named for Rabbi Nehemiah Gitelson, who studied at both the yeshivas in Mir and Volzhin, before moving to America. Gitelson was the father of M. Leo Gitelson, one of the original members of the Alpha chapter at New York University. The medallion features Nehemiah Gitelson enshrouded in his tefillin (phylacteries) and tallit (prayer shawl) which represents devotion to learning and

religion. The other side highlights symbols of Judaism, many of which also appear on the fraternity’s crest, including a: Menorah, Scroll, Laurel Wreath and Torah.

The Gitleson Medallion is presented in two forms, the Bronze Medallion presented to students, and the Silver medallion, awarded to alumni. A Bronze Medallion recipient is a student who successfully ran a substantial Jewish event on campus. This differs from the two Jewish Communal Activity Awards presented every year to two chapters or colonies. The Edward and Francine Gold Jewish Communal Activity Award is presented to a chapter or colony which excelled in programming for Jewish communal activity or service. The Philip and Susan Cohen Jewish Communal Activity Award recognizes chapters that excelled in the areas of Jewish communal service and interaction with Hillel, and the acknowledged chapter is awarded with a cash grant and a plaque.

The Silver Medallion is awarded to an alumnus who continued his Jewish activism and involvement after his college years, specifically in his professional career, in work with his Federation, or in philanthropic giving. The 2010 Bronze Medallion recipient, Dan Mariaschin, serves as the executive director of Bnai Brith International and had been a Silver Medallion recipient during his undergraduate years. Recent awardees include honorary alumni, Wayne Firestone, who currently serves as the executive director of Hillel International, Richard Joel, former executive director of Hillel international and current president of Yeshiva University, and Levi Shemtov, the

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Executive Vice President of American Friends of Lubavitch, and actual alumnus, Jonathan Kessler, who serves as AIPAC's Leadership Development Director. Through its awards, AEPI consistently reinforces to its undergraduate brothers its mission of creating "tomorrow’s Jewish leaders."

The Gottheil Medal first awarded in 1925 to Rabbi Stephen Wise, serves as ZBT’s premier award. This award, formerly given to someone for distinguished service to Jewry, is now given to an individual or an organization that has touched Jewish lives. The award is named for Dr. Richard James Horatio Gottheil, an eminent Columbia professor who was instrumental in ZBT's founding. As one of the first Jewish professors at Columbia, Gottheil advocated for the Jewish student body. Gottheil concluded his final statement to the fraternity, directly prior to his death, with, "Long live Jewry! Long Live Zionism! And long live Zeta Beta Tau! Shalom!"

Gottheil was seen as the symbol of what it meant to be an honorable man and a proud Jew. In recent years, the award has been presented to Elie Wiesel, Edgar Bronfman and the Special Olympics. Previous recipients have included, Pope John XXIII, who initiated Vatican II that resulted in a growing spirit of tolerance between Jews and Catholics, and Morris B. Abram, former president of the American Jewish Committee and President of Brandeis University.

The fraternity no longer presents chapters or fraternity men with awards for Jewish programming or commitment to the Jewish community. In recent years, ZBT leadership acknowledged acceptance of outsiders as a Jewish value, and has made a conscious decision to include its gentile alumni and members as equals in all respects. It

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198 Sanua, Here's To Our Fraternity, 127
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believes that exclusively Jewish awards alienate and separate what is otherwise a cohesive brotherhood.

Sigma Alpha Mu (∑AM) annually recognizes an undergraduate student with the Rabbi Liebman Award. This award is given to a student who made the "most outstanding contribution to religious endeavor in his campus community, regardless of his religion." The award is named for Rabbi Joshua Loth Liebman, a Boston based rabbi, author of a best selling novel and a Sigma Alpha Mu alumnus. In addition to its individual awards, Sigma Alpha Mu awards a chapter with its Religious Endeavor Award, which is given to a chapter that has made the most outstanding contribution to religious endeavors in its campus community. Executive Director Lee Manders noted in an interview that these awards typically go to a student or chapter that has worked closely with Chabad or Hillel or other Jewish causes on its campus. It is clear from the terminology, that like ZBT, Sigma Alpha Mu is conscious of inclusivity in the organization. The fraternity does not enforce or even recommend Jewish programming for its chapters. Its programming award is for religious endeavors, keeping in mind its diverse membership base.

An in-depth analysis of the mission statements, partners, philanthropies and wording of the Jewish awards, reveals the current state of Jewish fraternities. An organization chooses to direct its chapters through its public presentations. One organization may choose to infuse Jewish content into its every fiber, while another may maintain that Judaism is in its members' hearts and not a necessary part of the organization’s activities. Historically, organizations have debated what it means to be a

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Jewish fraternity. These three fraternities provide us with three very different examples of what Judaism means to them.
**Future**

The Jewish community has spent two decades searching for new ways to engage contemporary Jewry. The 1991 National Jewish Population Survey awakened the Jewish public to the reality of rising intermarriage rates. Since the release of that study, the Jewish community has committed to creating engagement opportunities focusing particularly on ages 18-35. Programming utilizing an informal education structure, such as Jewish summer camps, youth groups, Hillel and Birthright Israel, have gained increased attention and funding.

Informal education may be defined as a structured or intentionally unstructured interactive experience led by a personable and knowledgeable educator, that engages a group of participants' individual senses and minds in a diversity of Jewish moments and serves as a vehicle for interaction within an educational, cultural and social context. In this context, participants come to understand and feel Judaism and their Jewish journey on a deeper level, resulting in Jewish personal growth based in what become positive memories. These experiences may center on Jewish values, texts, culture, holidays or lifecycle events. Informal education is thought to engage participants in a variety of meaningful experiences that build their Jewish identity.

This structure is especially relevant to Jewish students during their college years. In an article entitled "Jewish Learning on the University Campus," author Clare Goldwater, former director of the Joseph Meyerhoff Center for Jewish Learning at Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Campus Life, notes that 80% of Jewish people between the ages of 18 and 25 spend at least three years in an institution of higher education. Follow-
through in higher education is the only thing that the Jewish population is doing in substantial numbers, which is why research exploring opportunities on the best means to properly engage this population is crucial. Jews no longer attend synagogues to meet their Jewish needs as substantially as they had in previous generations. Only 10% of eligible American Jewish children attend Jewish overnight summer camps, 28% light Shabbat candles, 46% belong to a synagogue, and 52% regard being Jewish as very important.\textsuperscript{201} It is necessary, for Jewish communal professionals to direct their attention to the myriad of opportunities already available to Jewish college students. Rather than creating new programming, perhaps remodeling and providing support for structures already in existence would better meet the needs of this population.

In addition to the sheer numbers of Jewish students attending colleges, it is important to focus on the exploration that occurs during the students’ college years. College is a time known for intellectual, social and personal exploration as a student transitions into adulthood, the developmental stage between adolescence and adulthood. This developmental period, generally accepted to be ages 18-25, is characterized as a period of identity exploration.\textsuperscript{202} According to Sales and Saxe, the emerging adulthood period plays an important role during a Jewish student’s college years when the student has the opportunity to embrace, explore or conceal Jewish identity.\textsuperscript{203} Students have the opportunity to do so through a variety of Jewish and Israel related organizations supported by the organized Jewish community such as Hillel, AIPAC on Campus,

\textsuperscript{203} Amy L. Sales and Leonard Saxe, \textit{Particularism in the University: Realities and Opportunities for Jewish Life on Campu}, report (Waltham, MA: Maurice and Marilyn Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies Brandeis University, 2006).
Chabad on Campus Initiatives, Aish Campus, the Israel on Campus Coalition, Birthright, the David Project, JStreet U and many more. Despite these diverse access points, Hillel argues, in its Slingshot 2011 entry, that only 35% of Jewish students are involved with organized Jewish life on campus.\textsuperscript{204} The Jewish community as a whole struggles with how to engage the Jewish youth of the current generation. This is a notable concern with Jewish males. A recent study by Palmer and Fishman revealed that "Nationally, girls and women outnumber men in weekly non-Orthodox worship services, in adult education classes, in volunteer leadership positions, and in Jewish cultural events."\textsuperscript{205} A further developed Jewish Greek system would serve as an additional access point for Jewish exploration, especially for males. Yet few Jewish professionals have focused on the untapped potential of the Jewish fraternity and sorority system.

As the “past” section of this thesis demonstrated, the Jewish fraternities and sororities served as the earliest means of Jewish engagement on college campuses, predating the Menorah Societies and Hillel. They served as Jewish clubs offering Kosher dining, Jewish housing, Jewish activities, matchmaking and a Jewish family for those away from home. They ceased to exist as exclusively Jewish under intense pressure from the Jewish community, and from campus administrations. ADL and AJC urged Jewish Greek organizations to remove their discriminatory clauses, opening Jewish fraternities and sororities to all, regardless of religious affiliation. Since the 1980's, virtually the entire Greek system veered from its more traditional structure, and newer organizations in the third wave of Greek life development have embraced diversity and ethnic culture.

\textsuperscript{205} Sylvia Barack Fishman and Daniel Parmer, Gender Imbalance in American Jewish Life, report (Waltham, MA: Maurice and Marilyn Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies Brandeis University, 2008).
This wave of growth centered around the adoption of ethnic and racial pride in the system as a whole, yet also renewed the cultural components of the Jewish fraternities, especially in AEPI, which has actively embraced its Jewish identity. It also resulted in the creation of Sigma Alpha Epsilon Pi, the newest Jewish sorority, born in the absence of a strongly Jewish identifying sorority.

The Jewish fraternities’ and sororities’ efforts to maintain their Jewish identity in some capacity have not gone entirely unnoticed. Recognizing the tremendous potential to engage Jewish students already associated with Greek Organizations, Hillel and Chabad have created ongoing relationships with the Greek organizations. Graham Hoffman, the Associate Vice President of Strategy for Hillel, noted in a direct interview on the matter, that Hillel works differently with Greek organizations on each campus, as the Jewish depth of each organization differs depending on the student population and because organizations are peer led. He also noted that in some cases, secular organizations function Jewishly on certain campuses. He said this is common with Sigma Chi, Alpha Phi, Pi Phi, Kappa Kappa Gamma, Sigma Phi Epsilon, and Delta Phi Epsilon on many campuses, particularly those with larger Jewish populations.

This highlights one of the challenges presented by Greek organizations. As an organization grows and ages, it becomes increasingly more difficult for the national organization to influence and control the local chapters. For example, AEPI is comprised of 145 chapters, including two in Israel and twelve in Canada. ZBT boasts 80 chapters and colonies, including one chapter in Canada, and Sigma Alpha Mu has 54 chapters and colonies. Asserting control over peer led organizations, without paid personnel at each
campus, reduces the guarantee that every chapter's behavior will align with the national organization's vision and mission.

Fraternities and sororities, however, educate chapters through assemblies such as conclaves, conventions, and district leadership conferences. The conference participant base is generally comprised of chapter presidents, leaders of recruitment teams and other executive members within a chapter. Many fraternities and sororities extend invitations and pay for the travel for one or two members, thus providing representation from every chapter. These conferences gather members from across the globe to hold discussions of best practices in their chapters, and they provide workshops on topics such as marketing, proper recruitment, New Member Education processes (previously known as pledging), strategic programming, financial management within the Greek system, Risk Management and other areas pertinent to the fraternity and sorority leadership.

For Jewish organizations, these conferences serve as great opportunities to instruct fraternity or sorority leaders on ways to incorporate informal education practices in Jewish programming in their chapters. The lessons would show how incorporating deeper discussion of Jewish identity on the local level would help to create more meaningful and beneficial Jewish experiences for members on the campuses. AEPI hosts a mini-conference directly preceding its national convention. Named Hineni, the object is to engage student leaders in enrichment of Jewish programming. This conference specifically focuses on developing brothers’ connection with Israel, community service and philanthropy.  

Conferences such as Hineni allow attendees to specifically focus on the Jewish elements of their respective chapters and what it means to be part of a Jewish

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Greek organization. A speaker able to teach about informal education and how it could be incorporated into the already existing Jewish programming structure would help chapters transition from socialization-based programming to more substantive programming. I recommend this type of session to all organizations that refer to themselves as a Jewish fraternity or sorority.

During conferences, national organizations recognize chapters for performance in many areas of Greek life such as philanthropy, risk management, academics and recruitment. This positive reinforcement through examples shows others chapters what is expected and valued. I recommend that the Chair awarded for best Jewish programming lead a session during the conference on how to run successful Jewish programming. This would allow presidents or programmers to meet with an "expert" and receive advice, benefitting from experience and thereby bringing each conference attendee closer to understanding how to provide successful Jewish programming.

As noted above, organizations, particularly substantial organizations, have a more difficult time controlling a large number of chapters spread across the globe. Generally, local alumni or a chapter manager are assigned to a chapter, which they advise or assist. The alumni or chapter manager often serves as the only 'adult' connection to the organization, and as a result, the organizations are substantially peer led. The cost of travel, as well as time constraints on larger organizations, result in less national leadership attention given to each chapter. Chapters that receive less attention are more likely to deviate from the values and traditions of the national organizations, and to take on lives of their own. To ensure Jewish content in the Jewish Greek system, it is vital that chapters have knowledgeable and available resource personnel.
I recommend a training program for staff and alumni working hands-on with chapters. These advisors should be available at least once a month in order to ensure a trained presence representing the national organization’s values and missions. This system would help create uniformity from chapter to chapter, whether a chapter was founded in 1911 or 2011. In order for this to be possible, organizations will require increased funding to pay for staff devoted to training and to provide travel expenses and compensation to incentivize devoted alumni. The “history” section of this thesis demonstrates the drastic changes in organizations from decade to decade. A staff presence would provide greater assurance that chapters will be more properly prepared to adopt changes mandated directed by the national organization.

Jewish fraternities and sororities would also benefit from increased research on the effects of involvement with an organization on Jewish identity. Because there is so much variation between the organizations in mission, vision and practice, this study should reflect with which Greek organization the study participants affiliate. Analysis should be done based on involvement with Jewish organizations, philanthropic activity to Jewish causes and participation in Jewish rituals. This study would investigate Jewish lifestyle, the role of Judaism in making family choices, ties to the Jewish community, and specifically, involvement with Jewish organizations such as synagogues or local Federations. Another interesting aspect of this study would investigate Jewish Greek Organizations role in promoting endogamy, and whether an individual met his or her partner through the Jewish Greek system. These studies are important to undertake as they have the potential to reflect the importance of affiliation with the Jewish Greek system.
Unfortunately, Greek Life is often thought of negatively as a result of the system's portrayal in well known films such as “Animal House,” the “House Bunny,” and “Legally Blonde.” Additionally, a series of physical hazing and binge drinking scandals in the 1980's and 1990's brought negative attention to Greek life in general. The media has sullied the image of the once proud and respectable Jewish Greek organizations by grouping all Greek organizations as one. Proper research has the potential to publicize the positive aspects of affiliation with a Jewish fraternity or sorority, returning and preserving the good name of the Jewish organizations.

Positive results from surveys also have the potential to open new doors for synergy between the Jewish communal organizations and Jewish Greek organizations. This would create new areas for partnership. Greek organizations have an already established population prepared to fill seats or participate in events. Meanwhile, Greek organizations have a lot to learn from the Jewish communal sphere, especially in areas of productive and effective Jewish programming. Events such as "Tefillin and Chillin" or Bar-B-Q fundraisers, could be effective fundraisers or socialization programs. With properly led discussion groups, an organization’s religious leader has the ability to transform the event into a deeply meaningful program that would have lasting effects.

Many of those in the current generation are unaware of Jewish Greek life's rich and Jewishly filled history. By creating awareness, and showing the Jewish substance present in contemporary times, Jewish Greek life has the potential to continue to grow and positively support and provide a link for the college-age Jewish community, thereby serving as another outlet for the wandering Jewish college student. It is my hope that my research exposed and will direct attention to the wonders and potential of a secretive
world previously unknown to many in the Jewish communal world. Ideally, this process will result in increased understanding and funding that will facilitate necessary research and tracking, making improving the quality and of Greek life, making it available to a broader group of college students. We can help return Jewish Greek life to the menu of Jewish resources that support Jewish continuity.
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