

THE JUDAIC EXPERIENCE AT THE U.S. NAVAL ACADEMY

by

Joel Ira Holwitt

© Copyright 2005 by Joel Ira Holwitt

Acknowledgments

I would like to especially thank my thesis advisors, Professor Lori Bogle and Professor Fred Harrod of the U.S. Naval Academy History Department, for their wise guidance, generous input and endless help. I am also very grateful to a number of other influential mentors in the Naval Academy history department, particularly Professor Richard Abels and Professor William McBride.

This was also a family effort. My mother, Dr. Dara S. Holwitt, and my brother, Greg S. Holwitt, both helped record the answers of the graduates for the appendices. I cannot thank them enough. Special thanks as well to my father, Dr. Eric A. Holwitt, for his constant support and assistance.

Finally, thanks to Rabbi Irving Elson, Commander, U.S. Navy, Chaplain Corps, who convinced me to research this subject, and never stopped supporting this study.

I never really imagined that many people would ever read this honors thesis when I submitted it in December 2002. However, since then, a number of people have written to me with comments, critique, and anecdotes from their own experiences. Consequently, I have made some minor revisions. I am so grateful to those who have written for not only reading the thesis, but also for their many helpful comments and critique. Because of the inputs I have received, I hope to return to this topic and explore it more deeply in the future.

Abstract

Judaism at the U.S. Naval Academy only became a tangible presence in 1938 with the formation of a Jewish ‘Church’ Party. Since 1938, the Judaic Experience at the Naval Academy transformed from a secular gathering at the local synagogue to a service of religious verve inside the Academy. Unlike many other Judaic experiences during the twentieth century, overt anti-Semitism generally did not affect the movement towards inclusion at the Naval Academy. Although the Navy did not oppose Judaism, the Naval Academy infrastructure did very little to encourage its religious inclusion into the Naval Academy community. Instead, individuals and groups acting outside the chain-of-command meshed Judaism with the Naval Academy core values of *duty*, *honor*, and *loyalty*. These “outside” forces formed a Jewish presence with the Jewish Church Party, brought this presence into the Yard to create a sense of inclusiveness, and then solidified the Judaic presence with the assignment of a Jewish chaplain and the construction of a chapel.

1. Introduction

In July 2000, the Friends of the Jewish Chapel at the Naval Academy announced the construction of a freestanding Jewish chapel on the grounds of the U.S. Naval Academy.¹ From the formation of the Naval Academy Jewish ‘Church’ Party in 1938 to the construction of the new chapel, the religious service for Jewish midshipmen changed dramatically from a secular gathering at the local synagogue to a service of religious verve at the Naval Academy. Unlike many other Judaic experiences during the twentieth century, overt anti-Semitism generally did not affect the movement towards inclusion at the Naval Academy. Although the Navy was not anti-Semitic, the impetus necessary for the religious inclusion of Judaism did not come from the Naval Academy chain-of-command. Instead, individuals and groups acting outside the chain-of-command effected change in accordance with the midshipmen’s values of duty, honor, and loyalty. These “outside” forces meshed Judaism into the greater whole of the Naval Academy by forming a Jewish presence with the Jewish Church Party, bringing this presence into the Yard, and then solidifying the Judaic presence with the assignment of a rabbi and the construction of a chapel.

This study specifically studies the experience of Judaism at the Naval Academy, not the experience of individual Jews, hence the focus on the *Judaic* vice the *Jewish* experience. While the experiences of individual Jewish midshipmen make up an important part of the Judaic experience, the focus of this project was on how Jewish midshipmen were able to worship, how they viewed their worship, how they were treated

¹ Merry M. Eisenstadt, “Solidifying the ‘Jewish presence’ at U.S. Naval Academy,” *Jewish World Review*, 18 July 2000, [<http://www.jewishworldreview.com/0700/middie.shul.asp>], as of 16 December 2002.

in general by their peers, superiors, and the Naval Academy society; and how their religious experience at the Naval Academy affected their future careers. While the study directly asked questions on the experience of the individual midshipmen, the answers reflect the experience of the Jewish midshipmen in general.

There have been almost no previous studies into the Judaic Experience at the Naval Academy. Except for an informative but undocumented manuscript by longtime Naval Academy lay leader Colonel Harry Lindauer, little research has been conducted.² Another important source, by Rabbi Albert Slomovitz, examined the Judaic experience in the military, but made very little mention of the Naval Academy.³ Like other religious studies regarding the armed services, Slomovitz focused on the experience and role of *chaplains* in the military, not the experience of people of a certain faith.⁴

Since there were no readily available resources for research, it was necessary to contact as many Naval Academy alumni as possible and request written responses on a survey form that was mailed to them.⁵ Six hundred eighty-four requests were sent to graduates on a mailing list provided by the Naval Academy Alumni Foundation through

² Colonel Harry Lindauer, U.S. Army (ret.), "L'Chaim to the U.S.N.A.: Highlights of Jewish Involvement at the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland," TMs (photocopy), U.S. Naval Academy Archives Reference File: "Jewish Midshipmen," William W. Jeffries Memorial Archives, Nimitz Library, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis.

³ Albert Isaac Slomovitz, *The Fighting Rabbis: Jewish Military Chaplains and American History* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 128-130. Slomovitz was the second rabbi assigned to the Naval Academy. His book contains a quick blurb on the assignment of Jewish chaplains to the Academy, and some pictures of him at the Naval Academy.

⁴ Two recent works that discuss religion within the military by analyzing the chaplain corps are: Martin Bock, *Religion with the Armed Forces: Military Chaplaincy in an International Comparison* (Strausberg: Sozialwissenschaftliches Institut der Bundeswehr, 1998). Richard M. Budd, *Serving Two Masters: The Development of American Military Chaplaincy, 1860-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002).

⁵ A copy of the survey is included as Appendix 1.

the Friends of the Jewish Chapel. Out of these, two hundred fifteen alumni responded. The respondents ranged from the Classes of 1928 to 2000.⁶

The responses were invaluable, though many graduates were reluctant to discuss this extremely personal topic. As one graduate pointed out,

The old saying goes: ‘Don’t discuss religion, sex, or politics at the wardroom table.’ The Academy chose to extend this policy beyond the wardroom to professional behavior in general ... Religion was a private matter...not a subject for conversation or joking.⁷

For some graduates this mantra guided their approach to the surveys.⁸ For all of the naysayers, however, there were many others who generously donated their recollections.

⁶ Appendix 2 is a listing of how many alumni replied in a graduating class. These were graduates who had been identified as having been Jewish or involved with the Jewish Church Party while they were at the Naval Academy. As the surveys were mailed back over a period of several months, it became clear that a major concern for many of the graduates was privacy. Many respondents denied a request to view their midshipmen performance jackets, and as a result, the idea of studying performance jackets was dropped. In order to protect confidentiality, all the respondents were assigned pseudonyms. The pseudonyms belong to the Naval Academy’s fictitious midshipmen, W.T. Door, Joe Gish, or W.T. Foxtrot, along with the year the respondent graduated. For most midshipmen, W.T. Door was the pseudonym. W.T. Door’s “roommate,” Joe Gish, was used as the pseudonym for all members of the class of 1948 B. W.T. Foxtrot was used as a pseudonym for members of the Class of 1948 who did not specify which half of the class they were in and for any respondents who did not give their class and name. For more on the fictitious midshipmen see Reef Points Staff, *Reef Points 1999-2000: The Annual Handbook of the Brigade of Midshipmen*, 94th ed. (Annapolis: U.S. Naval Academy, 1999), 226. Due to privacy concerns and government regulations regarding material that may be archived, all of the letters and a master list matching the name of each respondent with his pseudonym will be in the personal possession of the author. The author can be contacted through the United States Naval Academy Alumni Association, 247 King George Street, Annapolis, MD 21402-5068, phone number: (410) 263-4448.

⁷ W.T. Door 1964 B, to the author, Annapolis, 21 June 2002, letter and survey form filled in W.T. Door 1964 B, personal possession of Joel Ira Holwitt, care of the United States Naval Academy Alumni Association, 247 King George Street, Annapolis, MD 21402-5068, phone number: (410) 263-4448. Future references to surveys and letters will list only the pseudonym of the writer and the date he wrote to the author.

⁸ W.T. Door 1951 A, 21 June 2002: “Judaic experience at the Naval Academy is not one of importance.” W.T. Door 1963 E, no date: “Quite frankly who cares about the Judaic experience at the Naval Academy?” W.T. Door 1978 B, 28 June 2002: “What the heck are you talking about?” W.T. Door 1993 A, 17 June 2002: “Don’t be ridiculous.” W.T. Foxtrot A, 30 May 2002: “These questions are a waste of time.”

The study also benefited from interviews with three of the principal participants in the Judaic experience at the Naval Academy: Mrs. Esther Rosenblatt, the widow of the appointed civilian rabbi to the Naval Academy from 1946 to 1985; and Colonel and Mrs. Harry Lindauer, the lay leaders who brought Judaism into the Naval Academy. The oral history of Rabbi Aaron Landes, Rear Admiral in the Naval Reserve, was another valuable primary source.

As with all history, this study is subject to the fatigue of the past. Even recent alumni seem to have forgotten some practices that they probably considered routine. Some extremely important memories have been distorted, suppressed, or even created, by the passage of time.⁹ As a result, while the recollections of alumni, Mrs. Rosenblatt, the Lindauers, and Rabbi Landes will point to the general experience of Judaism at the Naval Academy, they cannot be relied upon as the absolute truth. As a result, the responses had to be carefully sifted for universality.

2. America and Jews in the Early Twentieth Century

Many Jewish midshipmen entering the Naval Academy came from a similar American Judaic experience. The United States in the early twentieth century was not a friendly atmosphere for Jews. The massive influx of Eastern European Jewish immigrants stimulated a phobia in upperclass Americans against the new Jewish Americans. American xenophobia and its concurrent anti-Semitism dated back to at least the mid-nineteenth century, when large numbers of German Jews had entered the United

⁹ For a greater discussion on the role of memory in history, see Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, "Setting the framework," in *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 10-19.

States. However, the influx of German Jews had been moderate, whereas the influx of Eastern European Jews was not. As the number of Jews increased, American anti-Semitism increased. Business practices, housing associations, and college fraternities closed their doors to Jews, and the American Congress briefly attempted to overtly limit the number of Jewish immigrants with an immigration law in 1897.¹⁰

With the increasing immigration, the campuses of American universities soon became a battleground for Jewish Americans desiring upward social mobility. By the early twentieth century, the number of second-generation American Jews entering college had grown dramatically, and the leaders of American universities felt compelled to react. In 1918, Yale Dean Frederick S. Jones asserted that “we must put a ban on the Jews” since their academic success was discouraging Gentile students who did “not care to be a minority in a group of men of higher scholarship record, most of whom [were] Jews.”¹¹ Other colleges, such as Columbia and Harvard, followed suit. The universities sought to limit their Jewish students by creating “geographic balance,” instituting tests of “character” that were designed to look for desired nonacademic traits, and requesting

¹⁰ John Highham, “American Anti-Semitism Historically Reconsidered,” in *Jews in the Mind of the America*, ed. George Salomon (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966), 244-252. Higham notes that the immigration bill was quickly revised when other Congressmen realized its anti-Semitic intent. Only after the First World War, when immigration laws limited *all* minorities did legitimate regulations reduce Jewish immigration. The most exhaustive and comprehensive study relating to the immigration of Eastern European Jews is Samuel Joseph, *Jewish Immigration to the United States From 1881 to 1910*, The American Immigration Collection (New York: Columbia University, 1914, reprint; New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969). An excellent short and general history of Jews in the United States is Nathan Glazer, *American Judaism*, 2nd ed. The Chicago History of American Civilization, ed. Daniel J. Boorstin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972).

¹¹ Charles E. Silberman, *A Certain People* (New York: Summit Books, 1985), 52.

national origin, religion, mothers' maiden names, and photographs in application packages.¹²

Even as American institutions of higher learning were attempting to limit Jewish acculturation, American Jews were striving to find other ways to immerse themselves in American society. Although as many as two-thirds of other immigrant groups returned to their previous homes, very few Jewish immigrants ever returned to Germany or Eastern Europe. Instead, Jewish immigrants attempted to immerse themselves into America as much as possible.¹³

3. American Jews and the American Military

One of the ways in which Jewish immigrants attempted to enter American culture was by joining the United States military. After all, there could be no deeper way to show a desire to be a full-fledged citizen than by serving in the common defense of the nation.

The number of Jews in the Armed Services quickly began to expand during the late nineteenth century, especially in national emergencies. Eight thousand Jews served in the Civil War, and the numbers continued to grow. Although anti-Semitic groups

¹² Silberman, 53. A more focused study on American Jews and academia in the early twentieth century is: Susanne Kingenstein, *Jews in the American Academy, 1900-1940: The Dynamics of Intellectual Assimilation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

¹³ Silberman, 50-51. For why the Jewish integration into American culture was not *assimilation* but rather *acculturation* see Abraham J. Karp, *Jewish Continuity in America: Creative Survival in a Free Society*, Judaic Studies Series, ed. Leon J. Weinburger (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998).

attempted to infer that Jews were not willing to serve their country, organizations such as the Jewish War Veterans reacted strongly to prove that this was not so.¹⁴

On the eve of the First World War, in 1916, the Statistics Board of the American Jewish Committee and the Young Men's Hebrew and Kindred Association polled 757 Army and Navy commands, requesting the names and posts of all Jewish servicemen. Despite the fact that some Jewish servicemen undoubtedly chose not to answer, over three hundred military commands responded. The mathematicians on the Statistics Board calculated that based on these results, almost six percent of the military was composed of Jewish servicemen. In comparison, the United States had only a two percent Jewish population at the time. The American Jewish Committee survey also indicated many of the Jewish soldiers were first-generation Americans, many from Eastern Europe and Russia.¹⁵

In April 1917, to handle the needs of the expanding number of Jewish soldiers for the First World War, Jewish organizations came together to form the Jewish Board for Welfare Work in the United States Army and Navy, an organization solely devoted to meeting the needs of Jewish servicemen. Renamed the Jewish Welfare Board in March

¹⁴ Slomovitz, 28-29. For more on Jews in the Civil War see Bertram W. Korn, "Jewish Chaplains in the Civil War," *American Jewish Archives* I (1948): 6-23. Rabbi Korn was a Navy chaplain, the first Rabbi to be promoted to Rear Admiral, and also the Director of Naval Reserve Chaplains. The Jewish War Veterans date back to 1896, when they were originally known as the Hebrew Union Veterans Association of the Civil War. An example of the Jewish War Veterans' drive to prove the patriotic service of Jewish Americans is: J. George Fredman and Louis A. Falk, *Jews in American Wars* (Washington, D.C.: The Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, 1954). A comprehensive source about the Jewish War Veterans, albeit also a laudatory tribute, is: Gloria R. Mosesson, *The Jewish War Veterans Story* (Washington, D.C.: The Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, 1971).

¹⁵ Slomovitz, 37-38.

1918, the board approved Jewish chaplains, created and disseminated Jewish prayer books, and served as a resource for funding and support to all Jewish servicemen.¹⁶

For many Jewish Americans, the military, and the values it espoused, served as a welcome relief from the anti-Semitism of society. Unlike society, where

hatred and bigotry existed, it was officially unacceptable within the confines of the military. The primary task of the U.S. armed forces had been to create an effective fighting organization . . . It was the task of the military to mold men of diverse backgrounds, languages, and beliefs into a single unit. At the core of this *esprit-de-corps* was the notion of mutual respect and awareness. To fight and to defend one another, troops required a basic creed of honor and integrity, a creed toward which Americans have always aspired. Troop morale and cooperation required mutual respect, not lynching.¹⁷

4. The U.S. Naval Academy

The “basic creed of honor and integrity” was instilled into American servicemen in military basic training. As a training center for prospective naval officers, the Naval Academy consciously attempted to create an atmosphere that would imbue the three Naval Academy core values of *duty*, *honor*, and *loyalty*.¹⁸ Although all three core values were stressed, the official Naval Academy leadership text, taught to the Classes of 1924 through at least 1943, preached loyalty as the most important quality of an officer. Loyalty, as defined by the naval leadership textbook meant “true, willing, and unflinching

¹⁶ Slomovitz, 44-45.

¹⁷ Slomovitz, 36-37.

¹⁸ Reef Points Staff, *Reef Points 1926-1927: The Annual Handbook of the Regiment of Midshipmen*, 21st ed. (Annapolis: U.S. Naval Academy, 1926), 7. The mission of the U.S. Naval Academy, stipulating the three core values, was written by the former Naval Academy Superintendent, Rear Admiral Henry B. Wilson.

devotion to a cause.”¹⁹ The Naval Academy rejected “blind obedience” and instead sought “helpful, cooperative loyalty, and indoctrinated obedience.”²⁰

The “cooperative loyalty and indoctrinated obedience” that the Naval Academy inculcated in midshipmen resulted in a devotion to duty and uniformity. Once a midshipman entered the Naval Academy, background, family, personal fortune, and one’s own individuality suddenly became unimportant.²¹ During Plebe indoctrination, plebes learned to “blend in” and not be individuals.²² Uniformity meant conforming to all of the Academy’s regulations and rules, including the mandatory Sunday morning religious services.²³ Even though Fridays are the traditional night of Jewish observance, Saturday mornings were reserved for classes and Sunday mornings were the only time set aside for religious observance. As one 1953 graduate said, “Attending services on Sunday was in keeping with exigencies and needs of the Navy.”²⁴

The uniformity was not to create unthinking automatons. It served as the basis for discipline. One 1971 graduate cut to the heart of the rationale behind uniformity when he wrote, “I could not preach [uniformity and discipline] to my subordinates ... if I did not

¹⁹ *Naval Leadership with Some Hints to Junior Officers and Others: A Compilation by and for the Navy*, 4th Ed. (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 1939), 9. This naval leadership textbook was created for the first formal leadership course taught at the Naval Academy in 1924, at the instigation of Rear Admiral Henry Wilson, the Naval Academy Superintendent.

²⁰ *Naval Leadership*, 13.

²¹ W.T. Door 1947 E, 4 June 2002.

²² W.T. Door 1950 A, 2 July 2002.

²³ W.T. Door 1962 D, 12 June 2002.

²⁴ W.T. Door 1953 D, 1 June 2002.

practice the same uniformity.”²⁵ Uniformity demanded that all midshipmen be relatively similar, without any unruly individualism that would undermine the *esprit-de-corps* of a unit. As a result, Jewish midshipmen attending the Naval Academy did not *want* to be different from their peers. The Jewish midshipmen emphasized their feeling of attachment not to their religion, but to their duties as midshipmen.²⁶

One matter that unified all midshipmen was the common goal of graduation. Most midshipmen, in fact, felt there was little or no time for either religion or religious prejudice. The intense professional and academic courses that all midshipmen took were enough to keep even the best midshipmen constantly busy. Against the backdrop of graduation, ‘petty’ things like religion, bigotry, and prejudice faded in importance.²⁷

In order to graduate and be successful, a midshipman had to make a number of accommodations, concessions, sacrifices, and compromises, including the practice of religion.²⁸ Duty, noted the Naval Academy, meant an emphasis on unstinting service, before all personal needs and desires.²⁹

²⁵ W.T. Door 1971 A, 3 June 2002.

²⁶ W.T. Door 1946 D, 8 June 2002: “We were accepted as midshipmen who happened to be Jewish, not the other way around.” W.T. Door 1957 A, 7 June 2002: “We were treated as *mids*, not Jewish *mids* – that’s the way it should have been.” W.T. Door 1957 B, no date: “We were all midshipmen. That is what counted ... I do not feel I had a Jewish experience at the Naval Academy. I had a midshipman experience at the Academy.” W.T. Door 1964 B, 21 June 2002: “I was not a Jewish midshipman. I was a midshipman who was Jewish. My religion and religious activity took place outside the Academy, not inside.”

²⁷ W.T. Door 1944 A, 24 June 2002; W.T. Door 1946 E, 10 June 2002; W.T. Door 1947 B, 6 June 2002; W.T. Door 1949 A, 3 June 2002; W.T. Door 1950 C, 14 June 2002; W.T. Door 1952 F, 25 June 2002; W.T. Door 1955 E, 12 June 2002; W.T. Door 1960 A, 10 June 2002.

²⁸ W.T. Door 1964 A, 4 June 2002: “accommodations.” W.T. Door 1940 B, 6 February 2002: “sacrifices.” W.T. Door 1953 A, 3 June 2002: “concessions.” W.T. Door 1962 C, 17 June 2002: “compromises.”

²⁹ *Naval Leadership*, 10.

The necessity of sometimes subordinating personal needs, such as religion, to the needs of the service did not attract religious Jews. Stereotypical Jewish mothers were known to say, ““What kind of a profession is this for a nice Jewish boy?””³⁰ After all, “it was impossible to keep Kosher,” “no strict Sabbath observer would want to go to a service academy,” and “if one did not accept [compromise], one did not stay.”³¹ As a result, “Jews were not that interested in going to USNA,” and “practicing Jews didn’t try to enter the Academy in any great numbers.”³² Of the 215 graduates who were surveyed for this study, about twenty percent stated they were non-observant before attending the Naval Academy. Another thirty-five percent were Reform Jews, many of who often noted that they were barely observant.³³

American Jews did not attend the Naval Academy to be devout. Instead, they attended to serve their country with duty, honor, and loyalty.

5. Early Jews at the U.S. Naval Academy

American Jews have attended the Naval Academy since 1860. Like most Naval Academy graduates, many have often gone on to serve with honor and distinction. The first recorded Jewish midshipman was Raphael Jacob Moses Jr., who entered the Academy in the Class of 1864. Moses did not complete his stay at the Naval Academy,

³⁰ W.T. Door 1954 B, 6 June 2002. The author’s mother still says this.

³¹ W.T. Door 1950 B, 11 June 2002. W.T. Door 1955 D, 20 June 2002. W.T. Door 1950 H, 6 June 2002.

³² W.T. Door 1949 G, 3 June 2002. W.T. Door 1950 E, 28 May 2002.

³³ See Appendix 3 for a breakdown of the Jews who attended the Naval Academy by denomination and year group.

but rather went south during the Civil War, eventually becoming a purchasing agent in England. Other Moseses followed, including Raphael Moses's son, Lawrence Henry Moses, who graduated in 1890. Other Jews during this early time period included Adolph Marix, Class of 1868; Albert A. Michelson, Class of 1873; Charles Henry Lauchheimer, Class of 1881; and Joseph Strauss, Class of 1885.³⁴ Harry Goodstein, Class of 1919, a Jewish Navy football player, became a hero to his classmates when he made the first touchdown against the Army football team in seven years. Ironically, Goodstein had joined the football team to avoid anti-Semitic hazing he believed he would find at the Naval Academy. Although one of his classmates was often hazed, presumably for anti-Semitism, Goodstein rarely encountered religious prejudice.³⁵

Despite the number of Jews who attended the Naval Academy from 1860 to 1938, there was no Jewish religious service. When the Naval Academy was initially founded,

³⁴ Lindauer, 2-5. Although religious affiliations were not marked on the records of midshipmen until 14 May 1885, Colonel Harry Lindauer conducted "extensive research at the archives" in order to create a fairly comprehensive listing of the names of the Jewish midshipmen who have attended the Naval Academy. The archives contain a great deal of information, and famous Jews like Michelson were publicly Jewish, if not observant. For the years of 1860 to 1938, Colonel Lindauer's research was wholly trusted. Following up on the Colonel's research, especially during the time period when religious affiliation was not recorded, would be a fascinating venue of study. Lindauer's research is also a rebuttal to the conclusions drawn by Peter Karsten, *The Naval Aristocracy: The Golden Age of Annapolis and the Emergence of Modern American Navalism* (New York: The Free Press, 1972), 218. In a sampling Karsten conducted of 1,443 Academy graduates between 1885 and 1920, only 16 were Jewish, of which only 8 graduated, and of these, none stayed in the service for five years. Colonel Lindauer's research found 26 Jews in the same time period, and obviously men like Strauss and Claude C. Bloch, who later earned the rank of full Admiral, stayed in the service for more than five years. Adolph Marix was commander of USS *Maine* just before her catastrophic explosion in Havana harbor. Albert Michelson became the first American to earn the Nobel Prize. Charles Lauchheimer served with distinction in the Marine Corps, earning the rank of Brigadier General. Joseph Strauss became a naval hero of the First World War.

³⁵ Richard C. Goodwin, Mt. Laurel, to the author, Annapolis, 10 April 2002, letter and photocopies signed by Richard C. Goodwin. Harry Goodstein later changed his name to Goodwin. Also, George C. Dyer, *Reminiscences of Vice Admiral George C. Dyer, U.S. Navy (Retired)*, Oral History Collection (Annapolis: U.S. Naval Institute, 1973), 22-26. Dyer was a classmate of Goodstein. Dyer's Plebe Summer roommate was named Ed Friedman. As a Jew, Dyer says Friedman was hazed brutally by his upperclassmen, who even made him drink pen ink. Dyer also notes that hazing, in general, was a particular problem at the Naval Academy in 1915.

its services were modeled after the U.S. Military Academy's system. West Point required all of its cadets to attend chapel every Sunday. While the services were nominally nonsectarian, they were actually Episcopalian in format, since "the service of that church was deemed to be the most appropriate to the discipline of a military academy."³⁶ The Naval Academy followed suit with a mandatory "nonsectarian" service as well. Eventually, the growing number of Catholics at the Academy was recognized when they were allowed to march to their own service.³⁷

Jewish midshipmen, if they wanted to, could also have requested a special Church Party to march out in town. Annapolis's only Jewish community, Kneseth Israel, had been created in 1906, and had converted the old St. Anne's Church into the community synagogue ten years later. The synagogue, fortuitously, was only two blocks outside the gates of the Naval Academy.³⁸ However, the Church Party could only march out on Sunday mornings since classes were held on Saturday mornings. Since Kneseth Israel was an Orthodox synagogue, the midshipmen did not believe that Kneseth Israel would be willing to provide a Sunday morning service.³⁹

Furthermore, few Jewish midshipmen wanted to call unnecessary attention to themselves. One graduate pointed out that "the attitude of Jews in the 20's and 30's was

³⁶ John P. Lovell, *Neither Athens nor Sparta? The American Service Academies in Transition* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), 19. The quote belongs to General Joseph Swift.

³⁷ "Centenary, 1853-1953, St. Mary's Parish, Annapolis, Maryland," U.S. Naval Academy Reference File: "United States Naval Academy – Religious Life," William W. Jeffries Memorial Archives, Nimitz Library, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis.

³⁸ Gary Rosenblatt, "The Only Rabbi in Town," *Baltimore Jewish Times*, 7 November 1975, no page number. Future references will be referred to only as "Gary Rosenblatt."

³⁹ Rear Admiral Herschel Goldberg, "Before There Was a Church Party," *The Wave: U.S. Naval Academy Jewish Chapel Newsletter* 3, no. 3 (November 1988): 7.

to behave so as not to draw attention to one's Jewishness ... due to the considerable amount of anti-Semitism in the U.S. and the fact that the Holocaust was just beginning."⁴⁰ It was a common feeling. Jews in the 1930s were admonished "to be 'nice' ... to fade into the crowd [and] most Jews ... went to great lengths and at times engaged in complex circumlocutions to avoid calling attention to [being Jewish.]"⁴¹ A 1928 graduate felt that it was important for him not to create problems, so he practiced "privately [with] many difficulties."⁴² However, Jewish midshipmen could sometimes request to attend High Holy Day services in town. Some did so, finding, to their surprise, that their requests were usually granted.⁴³

6. The Formation of the Jewish "Church" Party

Until 1938, the Jewish midshipmen had a choice between attending either Catholic services or a "nonsectarian" service with a decidedly Episcopalian bent. Then, in 1937, Seymour Einstein entered the Naval Academy from Chicago. A determined young man, Einstein resolved that he would not "be forced to attend a church not of my faith."⁴⁴ Einstein met with the rabbi at Kneseth Israel, Rabbi Eliezer Cohen, and asked about whether he would be willing to host the Jewish midshipmen on Sunday mornings.

⁴⁰ W.T. Door 1938 A, 3 June 2002.

⁴¹ Silberman, 29.

⁴² W.T. Door 1928 A, 11 July 2002.

⁴³ Captain Herbert Mandel, "'Alnav's and Bar Mitzvahs in Hawaii,'" *The Wave: U.S. Naval Academy Jewish Chapel Newsletter* 3, no. 3 (November 1988): 4.

⁴⁴ Seymour Einstein, "Pride Without Prejudice," in *Tales From Annapolis: A Ring-Knocker's Bedtime Companion*, ed. Rich Zino and Paul Larie (Rockville: Omega Resources, 2000), 90-92.

Rabbi Cohen expressed enthusiasm, so Einstein then met with the senior chaplain at the Naval Academy, Chaplain William Thomas. Thomas empathized with Einstein, since he was a Baptist minister having to conduct Episcopalian services. He cautioned Einstein to wait for a year, when he would no longer be an easy Plebe target. Once Einstein became a Youngster, Chaplain Thomas provided him with a list of Jewish midshipmen. Einstein and his friend, Howard Schoenbaum, began to enlist as many Jews as possible to form the Church Party. Although their list mentioned 75 names, they only found 13 volunteers, including themselves.⁴⁵

Thirteen men were enough, however. On 13 November 1938, the Jewish Church Party formed up for the first time, marched out Gate 1, and went two blocks up East Street to join Congregation Kneseth Israel for the first time.⁴⁶

Only four days before the Jewish Church Party marched into Annapolis for the first time, Nazi Germany enacted the brutal *Kristallnacht*, a warning that the world was far from safe for Jews.⁴⁷ While the timing of *Kristallnacht* and the first Jewish Church Party was undoubtedly coincidence, the new Jewish Church Party took on greater significance for its young founders. Einstein proudly felt that the Church Party “broke a

⁴⁵ Einstein, 92-93 and letter to the author, dated 11 June 2002, from Tucson, Arizona. In his letter to the author, 7 July 2002, from Columbus, Ohio, Schoenbaum cites the number of Jews and the success that he and Einstein had in finding volunteers. Lindauer lists 15 initial members of the Jewish Church Party on page 8 of his manuscript. He probably thought Schoenbaum and Einstein had found thirteen *other* midshipmen to join them. Schoenbaum is pretty intent on having only 13 initial members, though. At one point in his letter, he wrote: “Interesting fact: we had 13 men to start. The colonies started with 13. Wow.”

⁴⁶ Lindauer, 8.

⁴⁷ Lieutenant Commander Norman Auerback, “We’ve Come Far Since 1938: ‘Being in the minority can become an energizing principle,’” *The Wave: U.S. Naval Academy Jewish Chapel Newsletter* 3, no. 3 (November 1988): 2.

significant barrier of prejudice” by forcing his peers and the Naval Academy to acknowledge that there was a Jewish presence at the Naval Academy.⁴⁸

7. Religious Service

At first, services for the new Jewish Church Party were not too religious. Instead, the midshipmen and Kneseth Israel’s Rabbi Cohen decided to hold an open forum. With the help of Professor Sebastian B. Littauer, a Jewish mathematics professor at the Naval Academy, they invited speakers from Baltimore and Washington to speak on various topics. They felt they could not hold a religious service since almost all the midshipmen were of differing denominations and religious adherence. Consequently, Rabbi Cohen and Professor Littauer pointedly chose to invite various rabbis representing different Jewish denominations in order to expose the Jewish midshipmen to as many different aspects of Judaism as possible. Other speakers included representatives of the Jewish Welfare Board and some distinguished Jewish civilians. This policy proved to be extremely popular with the midshipmen.⁴⁹ Even during the Second World War, when one would expect that visiting speakers were scarce, there “were no services” and midshipmen “were made to feel at home in the company of men ... who were completely disinterested in any religious teachings or rituals.”⁵⁰ While “the local rabbi ... was

⁴⁸ Einstein, 93.

⁴⁹ Sebastian B. Littauer, Assistant Professor of Mathematics, U.S. Naval Academy, Volunteer Representative for the Jewish Welfare Board, “History of the Naval Academy Jewish Church Party,” 2 March 1942, unpublished TMs (photocopy), personal possession of Joel Ira Holwitt, care of the U.S. Naval Academy Alumni Association, 247 King George Street, Annapolis, MD 21402-5068, phone number: (410) 263-4448. See also: Howard R. Schoenbaum, Columbus, to the author, Annapolis, 7 July 2002, survey form filled in by Howard R. Schoenbaum.

⁵⁰ W.T. Door 1944 B, 28 January 2002.

slightly offended” by the secular nature of the services, the program continued to find “diverse and stimulating speakers.”⁵¹

In September 1945, the services changed when Kneseth Israel acquired a new rabbi, Morris D. Rosenblatt. Just before he arrived in Annapolis, Rosenblatt and his wife, Esther, were warned by friends not to get too settled in, since “rabbis don’t seem to last very long in Annapolis.”⁵² Instead of his expected short tenure, Rabbi Rosenblatt would be Kneseth Israel’s rabbi until 1983, and he remained in Annapolis until his tragic death in 1985.⁵³

When Rabbi Rosenblatt arrived, the Jewish Welfare Board appointed him to be the chaplain for the Naval Academy’s Jewish midshipmen.⁵⁴ The number of midshipmen attending services had already grown greatly since 1938. Instead of thirteen men, over one hundred midshipmen would often march to Kneseth Israel. Townspeople would gather just to watch the midshipmen march to the synagogue. The rabbi had to admit, “it was quite an impressive sight.”⁵⁵

⁵¹ W.T. Door 1945 E, 3 June 2002.

⁵² Gary Rosenblatt. Also, Mrs. Esther Rosenblatt, interview by author, 11 July 2002, Annapolis, written notes, personal possession of Joel Ira Holwitt, care of the U.S. Naval Academy Alumni Association, 247 King George Street, Annapolis, MD 21402-5068, phone number: (410) 263-4448. Future references to this interview will be “Interview with Mrs. Rosenblatt, 11 July 2002.”

⁵³ Interview with Mrs. Rosenblatt, 11 July 2002. Rabbi Rosenblatt was struck and killed by a hit-and-run drunk driver while walking back across the street from the synagogue to his home on the evening of Saturday, 29 June 1985. Over thirteen hundred people attended his funeral. A lecture series in his honor at Kneseth Israel and an award in his name to Jewish midshipmen for academic achievement remember Rabbi Rosenblatt’s wonderful reputation, quiet strength, and dignity.

⁵⁴ Gary Rosenblatt wrote that “from the outset of his career in Annapolis, the rabbi has served as the National Jewish Welfare Board Chaplain to the Jewish midshipmen of the U.S. Naval Academy.” Mrs. Rosenblatt said that the rabbi wasn’t officially appointed until the spring of 1946.

⁵⁵ Gary Rosenblatt.

As the new rabbi, Rosenblatt began to change the nature of the service from secular to religious. Exactly how much the Rabbi actively participated in this change is a matter of conjecture, limited by the fog of the past. Mrs. Rosenblatt recalled that the rabbi would lead the service, while the midshipmen would participate.⁵⁶ On the other hand, members of the Class of 1949 and 1950 recall not having a rabbi for many periods of time.⁵⁷ Whatever the participation of the rabbi and the community, the midshipmen were thrust into the roles of lay leaders as the service turned into a hands-on experience with Judaism. A midshipman in the class of 1952, who had been raised Orthodox, stepped easily into a leadership role. Even though he was a plebe, he was instrumental in conducting services, and he earned the friendship and respect of his classmates and upperclassmen.⁵⁸

Services for the midshipmen were an odd blend. As one 1950 alumni noted, “The rabbi was Orthodox, the prayer book Conservative (Jewish Welfare Board), and the bulk of the mids either Reform or nothing.”⁵⁹ Even so, the mids began to find the services more significant, especially if they conducted the service themselves, even with Rabbi Rosenblatt in attendance.⁶⁰ Often, the midshipmen conducting services were the Plebes,

⁵⁶ Interview with Mrs. Rosenblatt, 11 July 2002.

⁵⁷ W.T. Door 1949 H, 29 May 2002, who said, “in the fall of 1948 ... no Rabbi was available.” W.T. Door 1950 A, 2 July 2002, fumed, “In the four years I went to Sunday morning service the rabbi never once joined with us ... not once! Or, for that matter, not one member of the *schul*.”

⁵⁸ W.T. Door 1949 H, 29 May 2002: “... when no Rabbi was available, an Orthodox Plebe conducted our service. He became my lifelong friend (I was a First-classman).” W.T. Door 1952 C, 15 August 2002: “A classmate of mine, who was brought up Orthodox, would conduct services when the Rabbi was absent ... we were grateful for him doing it.”

⁵⁹ W.T. Door 1950 E, 28 May 2002.

⁶⁰ W.T. Door 1954 C, 31 May 2002.

while the upperclass midshipmen sat with girls from the local community.⁶¹ Despite the midshipmen leadership, many recognized Rabbi Rosenblatt's role, stating that "Rabbi Rosenblatt was our man and he was good."⁶²

8. The Benefits of Community

Although there was now an emphasis on making the services religious, most Jewish midshipmen found that the Sunday morning services provided a social rather than religious experience. This was not surprising, since the Jewish American identity often focused on the social aspects of the Jewish culture. American Jews may have abandoned significant religious practices as they acculturated themselves, but they continued to emphasize the Judaic value of community.⁶³ The interaction with the community was immensely important to the young midshipmen. One graduate in the Class of 1948 B felt that "meeting the Jewish Annapolis community was by far the most important part of my Academy experience."⁶⁴

An important aspect of the American Judaic experience, and the Naval Academy Judaic experience, revolved around food. Although Jewish cuisine hardly differed from other American foods, the sheer amount of it served at services and other events often

⁶¹ W.T. Door 1955 A, 1 July 2002.

⁶² W.T. Door 1952 A, 14 June 2002. These words were almost echoed, in verbatim, by W.T. Door 1952 B, no date.

⁶³ Silberman, 72-76.

⁶⁴ Joe Gish 1948 B, 3 September 2002. W.T. Door 1961 F, 11 February 2002, echoed his words, saying, "The contact with members of the Annapolis community was especially valuable."

amazed non-Jewish Americans.⁶⁵ As early as 1944, midshipmen could remember being served delicious breakfasts of “schnapps and matjes herring.”⁶⁶ In 1951, one midshipman quipped that his “roommates wanted to convert, because I got bagels and lox every Sunday.”⁶⁷ The breakfasts became so popular that on days when it was known that the Jewish Welfare Board would be providing an especially good spread, the numbers of midshipmen in the Jewish Church Party would jump from about 50 to around 200, as non-Jewish mids signed up for that week’s Jewish Church Party.⁶⁸ One Class of 1973 atheist tried out the Protestant and Methodist Church Parties before joining the Jewish Church Party, admitting that “the major draw of the Jewish service was the nice food spread they put out for those in attendance.”⁶⁹

Food was not the only benefit that the Jewish community offered the midshipmen. The Jewish midshipmen were among the very few midshipmen allowed to drink within seven miles of the Naval Academy for religious events.⁷⁰ During the 1950 *seder*, the midshipmen dutifully drank four cups of wine “or more” during the service to recall the

⁶⁵ Silberman, 75.

⁶⁶ W.T. Door 1944 B, 28 January 2002.

⁶⁷ W.T. Door 1951 D, 26 June 2002. His classmate, W.T. Door 1951 F, 1 June 2002, recalled that he “would catch holy hell” if he “didn’t bring some extra bagels back for my Protestant roommate, also from Chicago.”

⁶⁸ W.T. Door 1954 C, 31 May 2002. This would continue for many years, as W.T. Door 1961 B, 4 June 2002, noted: “As the year progressed, the numbers of personnel mustering with our ‘church party’ swelled as many less committed non-Jews joined up with us for the other-than-religious benefits we enjoyed.”

⁶⁹ W.T. Door 1973 A, 29 May 2002. Due to his attendance with the Jewish Church Party, this graduate received the survey, despite the fact he was atheist.

⁷⁰ W.T. Door 1955 C, 4 July 2002: “This was a big deal since any kind of alcohol use within 7 miles of the USNA was a serious offense (we did get several non-Jewish midshipmen to sign-up to attend *seders*).”

exodus from Egypt and the crossing of the Red Sea. Apparently not being used to so much alcohol at one time, the Jewish Church Party staggered back to the Academy, where they bumped right into the Naval Academy Officer of the Watch. Without giving the duty officer a chance to speak, one of the first class midshipmen stumbled up to him, and blurted, “If you think this is bad, you should have seen us when we crossed the Red Sea!”⁷¹

The large number of Jewish men also attracted the opposite sex. One alumnus noted, “On Sunday mornings, every Jewish mother of a teenaged daughter within 50 miles would bring the daughter to synagogue.”⁷² Even though Plebes were not allowed to date during this time period, upperclass midshipmen allowed the Plebes to sit with the local girls during the service and to socialize with them before marching back to the Academy, an experience very few other Plebes were able to enjoy.⁷³ A number of Jewish midshipmen met their future wives at the Sunday morning services.⁷⁴

Although the service was “very correct,” it truly served as “more of a cultural get-together.”⁷⁵ A 1964 graduate put the motivations of the Jewish Church Party the most succinctly and pragmatically:

We went because:
1) We had to.

⁷¹ W.T. Door 1954 A, 17 September 2002. The Jewish midshipmen promptly fled, and the duty officer “was so dumfounded or just plain dumb, that he didn’t know what to do.”

⁷² W.T. Door 1949 C, 3 June 2002.

⁷³ W.T. Door 1957 B, no date.

⁷⁴ To list just a few: W.T. Door 1953 D, 1 June 2002; W.T. Door 1954 E, 29 May 2002; W.T. Door 1956 A, 28 May 2002; W.T. Door 1961 C, 12 June 2002. There were many others as well.

⁷⁵ W.T. Door 1961 C, 12 June 2002.

- 2) We wanted to get out of the Yard.
- 3) We wanted the good food.
- 4) We wanted to talk to the good-looking girls.⁷⁶

9. The Reform Rebellion of 1963

Harbingers of change appeared as early as 1942. In April 1942, Professor Sebastian Littauer, the Jewish Welfare Board's representative for the Jewish midshipmen at the time, invited Captain Joshua Goldberg, the senior Jewish chaplain in the Navy, to lead a Sunday morning service at Kneseth Israel. While Goldberg was extremely impressed with Littauer's stewardship of the midshipmen as well as the demeanor and religiosity of the Jewish midshipmen, Kneseth Israel's congregation horrified him. Goldberg characterized the congregation as "*sans* culture, fanatical in their religious concepts, quarrelsome, and ... deeply rooted in an outlook on life that in no way corresponds to the environment, character, spirit and purposes of the Academy."⁷⁷ Goldberg strongly recommended that the Navy send a Jewish chaplain, preferably himself, to Annapolis to lead the Jewish Church Party. No matter what, Goldberg felt it was imperative to remove Kneseth Israel's control over the Jewish Church Party's

⁷⁶ W.T. Door 1964 C, 17 June 2002. Alumni who said basically the same thing, sometimes in uncannily similar ways, are: W.T. Door 1951 B, 12 June 2002; W.T. Door 1951 D, 26 June 2002; W.T. Door 1953 B, 24 June 2002; W.T. Door 1953 C, 30 May 2002; W.T. Door 1953 D, 1 June 2002; W.T. Door 1954 C, 31 May 2002; W.T. Door 1954 E, 29 May 2002; W.T. Door 1955 A, 1 July 2002; W.T. Door 1956 A, 28 May 2002; W.T. Door 1957 B, W.T. Door 1959 B, 4 June 2002; W.T. Door 1960 A, 10 June 2002; W.T. Door 1961 A, 12 June 2002; W.T. Door 1961 B, 4 June 2002; W.T. Door 1961 C, 12 June 2002; W.T. Door 1961 F, 11 February 2002; W.T. Door 1962 C, 17 June 2002; W.T. Door 1964 A, 4 June 2002; and W.T. Door 1973 A, 29 May 2002.

⁷⁷ Joshua L. Goldberg, Chaplain, U.S. Naval Reserve, Chaplain's Office, Headquarters of the Commandant Third Naval District, Federal Office Building, 90 Church Street, New York, N.Y., to Chaplain Robert D. Workman, Bureau of Navigation, Navy Department, Washington, D.C., 16 April 1942, unpublished letter (photocopy), personal possession of Joel Ira Holwitt, care of the U.S. Naval Academy Alumni Association, 247 King George Street, Annapolis, MD 21402-5068, phone number: (410) 263-4448, 3.

services.⁷⁸ Whether or not Goldberg's characterizations of the Annapolis Jewish community were correct, his recommendations were not enacted.

Chaplain Goldberg's attempt to shift the Jewish Church Party away from Kneseth Israel's control did not end in 1942, however. In an experiment in 1957, he conducted High Holy Day services at the Naval Academy. The midshipmen mustered in full dress whites to attend the service in St. Andrew's Chapel, underneath the Main Chapel. At least one midshipman felt Goldberg's service was "probably the most inspiring service ... ever experienced."⁷⁹ A Plebe in the Class of 1961 felt that "it was awe-inspiring to have the attention of such a high ranking and special Naval officer. But it was also strange and uncomfortable worshiping in the main chapel."⁸⁰

The Annapolis Jewish community was not pleased. They felt that since Judaism was a religion of the community, services needed to be observed with the Annapolis families in town. Due to their opposition, the shift towards services at the Naval Academy ended.⁸¹

However, the need for a change was becoming greater since the Orthodox Kneseth Israel service did not appeal to all of the midshipmen. As early as 1955, "there

⁷⁸ Goldberg to Workman, 16 April 1942, 4-6.

⁷⁹ W.T. Door 1959 A, 17 June 2002.

⁸⁰ W.T. Door 1961 B, 4 June 2002.

⁸¹ Lindauer, 9. The exact date of the service is in dispute. Colonel Lindauer believes the service took place on Rosh Hashanah, in St. Andrew's Chapel. W.T. Door 1959 A recalled the service took place on the eve of Yom Kippur, Kol Nidre, in St. Andrew's Chapel. W.T. Door 1961 B also recalled that the service was on Yom Kippur, though he didn't specify which service.

was occasional chafing at the rabbi's orthodoxy."⁸² The discontent only grew among some of the midshipmen. One non-observant midshipman, who attended services only because they were mandatory, disliked the rabbi and the congregation intensely. The midshipman felt the rabbi was "one of the world's true bigots and would frequently challenge his remarks as such."⁸³

The impetus for a Reform service grew, especially when a Reform congregation, Temple Beth Sholom, was established near Annapolis. Initially, Beth Sholom was outside the seven miles midshipmen were limited to for Church Parties, but in 1963, the temple relocated to Arnold, just within the seven-mile limit.⁸⁴ The previous year, Kneseth Israel moved to a larger synagogue on the outskirts of Annapolis.⁸⁵ Realizing that busing was now necessary just to reach Kneseth Israel, the Reform Jews made their move.

Like 1938, it was Youngsters forcing the change, since many Reform Jews in the Class of 1966 universally disliked the way Rabbi Rosenblatt "gave no quarter to reform Jews."⁸⁶ Some upperclassmen and Rabbi Rosenblatt exerted pressure on the Youngsters to remain at Kneseth Israel, but the Youngsters found that they enjoyed the relationship

⁸² W.T. Door 1955 D, 20 June 2002. W.T. Door 1961 A, 12 June 2002, found the Orthodoxy of the rabbi to be "very stiff, formal, and lacking in personality."

⁸³ W.T. Door 1961 G, 30 May 2002. Determined to be married at the Naval Academy, and not in a synagogue, W.T. Door 1961 G and his wife, also a non-observant Jew, became the first couple to be married in St. Andrew's Chapel. According to him, the only person who attempted to stop the wedding was Rabbi Rosenblatt.

⁸⁴ Lindauer, 9.

⁸⁵ Gary Rosenblatt.

⁸⁶ W.T. Door 1966 B, 22 June 2002.

they had with Beth Sholom. At Beth Sholom, the midshipmen participated even more in the activities, taught Sunday school, and interacted with young rabbis who were being trained at the Baltimore Hebrew Union College.⁸⁷

With the Reform Rebellion of 1963, there were now two Jewish Church Parties, though the two groups would occasionally consolidate.⁸⁸ According to Colonel Lindauer, “the next nine years were not the best ... in some instances brothers were in different groups, company mates did not speak to each other; it was a competition between the two synagogues for who could assemble the greatest number of Jewish Midshipmen each year.”⁸⁹ This may be hyperbole. None of the alumni from this time period remembered any religious bickering among the midshipmen. In fact, if anything, the differences between the groups focused on the social elements of the services, not the religious. One midshipman in the Class of 1967 remarked, “I knew of no internal strife between Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Jews at the Academy ... we used to kid each other about the various benefits, who got fed better, and which congregation had the prettiest daughters.”⁹⁰ In his case, he chose to continue attending Kneseth Israel not for religious reasons but “because it allowed one a bit more rack time on Sunday morning,

⁸⁷ W.T. Door 1966 B, 22 June 2002.

⁸⁸ Lindauer, 9-10. According to W.T. Door 1973 B, 7 July 2002, the two Church Parties consolidated every four weeks, but Lindauer states it was only four times a year.

⁸⁹ Lindauer, 9-10.

⁹⁰ W.T. Door 1967 A, 3 June 2002.

and the JWB put on an awesome breakfast after services – all the eggs, herring, bagels and lox you could eat!”⁹¹

Perhaps some midshipmen carried the differences between the Church Parties to the illogical extreme. Based on the recollections of alumni, though, this does not appear to have been the general case.

10. The End of Mandatory Chapel

In 1972, the Supreme Court of the United States decided mandatory religious attendance was unconstitutional after reviewing a suit brought up by West Point cadets and Naval Academy midshipmen.⁹² Mandatory chapel had never been popular with the majority of the midshipmen and its demise was not mourned.⁹³

Concurrent with the end of mandatory chapel, the Naval Academy also changed its liberty policy so that first class midshipmen could take full weekend liberty every three out of four weekends. The Jewish Church Party now lost the leadership of its first class as most of them went on weekend liberty and many midshipmen took advantage of their ability to sleep in on Sunday mornings.⁹⁴ The two Jewish Church Parties rapidly

⁹¹ W.T. Door 1967 A, 3 June 2002: “One of the congregants owned what is now Chick & Ruth’s and we always had good chow.” Chick & Ruth’s, located on Main Street, remains a popular Annapolis restaurant and continues to serve Kosher meals.

⁹² W.T. Door 1973 B, 7 July 2002.

⁹³ W.T. Door 1948 A, 3 June 2002: “No choice.” W.T. Door 1949 A, 3 June 2002: “Didn’t have any option.” W.T. Door 1949 G, 3 June 2002: “There was nothing to be done about it.” W.T. Door 1950 G, 10 June 2002, and W.T. Door 1957 C, 3 June 2002: “It was mandatory.” W.T. Door 1961 G, 30 May 2002: “The whole effort of forced worship, of any religion, [is] foolish.” W.T. Door 1964 A, 21 June 2002: “I had to.” W.T. Door 1959 B: “Mandatory chapel was a PR ploy.” W.T. Door 1953 B, 24 June 2002 and W.T. Door 1968 B, no date: “Had it not been mandatory, I would have not attended.”

⁹⁴ W.T. Door 1973 B, 7 July 2002.

became more “civilized” in order to consolidate numbers, and began to alternate between each synagogue every week, with the agreement of the two congregations’ rabbis.⁹⁵ Even with this arrangement, no more than five to ten midshipmen attended Jewish services. With so few midshipmen attending services, the community began to lose interest.⁹⁶ By the time the Class of 1977 went through the Academy, “there was no community interaction.”⁹⁷

In February 1976, the Naval Academy decided to create a Jewish chapel in the midshipmen dormitory, Bancroft Hall, in response to news that the Military Academy at West Point was collecting money for a Jewish chapel.⁹⁸ The new chapel was located on the second deck in the central area of Bancroft Hall, the Rotunda.⁹⁹ Supplied with candelabras from Chaplain Goldberg and a Torah from the Jewish Welfare Board, the small chapel was dedicated on 1 February 1976. Due to the large number of dignitaries who were present, the ceremony was held in Memorial Hall, next to the Rotunda. When one of the dignitaries told Colonel Lindauer his pleasure with the “*schul* [meaning Memorial Hall] you have dedicated,” Colonel Lindauer could not help but show the official the *real* Jewish chapel, which was, in reality, just a closet with an ark, two book

⁹⁵ W.T. Door 1974 A, 20 June 2002. Thea Lindauer, “From a Classroom to a True Chapel,” *The Wave: U.S. Naval Academy Jewish Chapel Newsletter* 3, no. 3 (November 1988): 5. Future references to this article will be as “Mrs. Lindauer, 5.” Lindauer, 10-11.

⁹⁶ Lindauer, 10-11.

⁹⁷ W.T. Door 1977 A, 22 June 2002.

⁹⁸ Lindauer, 11.

⁹⁹ Janie L. Mines, “The Jewish Chapel,” *Shipmate* 58, no. 1 (January-February 1995): 28.

shelves, and enough floor space for eight chairs.¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately, the new Jewish chapel did not interest the Jewish midshipmen anymore than the Sunday morning services did:

Now there was absolutely *no* involvement with the local community. Church Party tended to dwindle to 3-6 since it didn't involve going out into town. No one from the community came in either. I believe having the chapel in Bancroft Hall set back Judaism at USNA by a great amount.¹⁰¹

In the end, the chapel ended up as a place of solace and religious comfort for at least one midshipman. Janie L. Mines was the only African-American female midshipman in the Class of 1980, the first class with women midshipmen. During the dark days of her Plebe year, she found “refuge” in the Jewish chapel, where she developed “a relationship with God that continue[d] to guide [her] through life’s joys and adversities.”¹⁰² Ironically, the Jewish chapel had fulfilled its purpose, though not for Jewish midshipmen.

Meanwhile, attendance at Sunday morning services continued to drop and the Jewish presence at the Naval Academy seemed ready to implode. When asked about the problem by Colonel Lindauer, an exasperated midshipman in the Class of 1977 exploded,

The Jewish Church Party was always small because it was held on Sunday – hence there was little to no interaction with the community ... there was no chance to meet a Jewish girl of college age (something all of the other Christian Church Parties could do). Without this as an incentive it was very difficult to justify getting up early on Sunday (the *only* day you could sleep in) just to get 6-10 mids together at 0830 or so, to go to an empty synagogue to pray (without ever having a *minyan*). Very few mids are *that* religious. Colonel Lindauer never seemed to understand this on the one occasion that he asked why the mids didn't seem to come to Jewish Church Party in 1976/1977.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Lindauer, 11-12.

¹⁰¹ W.T. Door 1977 A, 22 June 2002. Emphasis by W.T. Door 1977 A.

¹⁰² Mines, 28.

¹⁰³ W.T. Door 1977 A, 22 June 2002. Emphasis by W.T. Door 1977 A.

Actually, Colonel Lindauer *did* understand, and he and his wife were about to make a major change in the Judaic experience at the Naval Academy.

11. A Judaic Presence in the Naval Academy

In the fall of 1977, the Superintendent of the Naval Academy and the Jewish Welfare Board officially appointed Colonel Lindauer as a lay leader to the Naval Academy. Colonel Lindauer and his wife were an Army family who had helped establish Temple Beth Sholom and eventually retired in the Annapolis area. As a military officer and a Jew, Colonel Lindauer was determined to help other Jews in the military, particularly those in the nearby Naval Academy.¹⁰⁴ Once he was appointed as lay leader, he requested permission to hold a Friday night service on the Yard. The service would be held once a month, followed by an *oneg Shabbat* hospitality dinner.¹⁰⁵

The Lindauers were convinced that in order to keep the Jewish presence at the Naval Academy alive, they needed to integrate it into the Brigade of Midshipmen. When religious services had been mandatory, it had been both uniform and loyal to attend synagogue. Now, the only way to incorporate Judaism into midshipmen's lives, while retaining the uniformity of the Brigade, was to incorporate Judaism into the Naval Academy.¹⁰⁶ The Lindauers were supported by some of the midshipmen, one of whom

¹⁰⁴ Colonel Harry and Mrs. Thea Lindauer, interview by author, 12 July 2002, Annapolis, tape recording, personal possession of Joel Ira Holwitt, care of the U.S. Naval Academy Alumni Association, 247 King George Street, Annapolis, MD 21402-5068, phone number: (410) 263-4448. Future references to this interview will be "Interview with Colonel and Mrs. Lindauer, 12 July 2002."

¹⁰⁵ Lindauer, 12.

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Colonel and Mrs. Lindauer, 12 July 2002.

felt very strongly “that the Jewish midshipmen needed their own place to worship within the Yard.”¹⁰⁷

The first Friday night service took place in a lecture room in Sampson Hall, with the *oneg* being held in the home of one of the officers on the Yard. There were none of the usual accoutrements for a Jewish service, but to the Lindauers’ surprise, fifteen to twenty midshipmen showed up. As the months progressed, the midshipmen took a more active role and shifted the services from being once a month to being every week.¹⁰⁸ As one midshipman in the class of 1979 enthused, “I went ... most Friday nights. We led a lot of our own services and always had a *minyan*. They were great.”¹⁰⁹

Unfortunately, not all midshipmen could attend these services. The Naval Academy was still holding Saturday morning classes, which would continue until 1984.¹¹⁰ Other midshipmen do not seem to have ever gotten the word.¹¹¹ One midshipman felt there was still too much control by the local community and the lay leaders. As a result he stopped attending services during his second class and first class

¹⁰⁷ W.T. Door 1980 D, 20 June 2002. W.T. Door 1979 C, 12 September 2002, recalls him being one of the midshipmen who really pushed for change while at the Naval Academy.

¹⁰⁸ Lindauer, 12-13. Mrs. Lindauer, 5. Colonel Lindauer cites the number of midshipmen who originally showed up as fifteen. Mrs. Lindauer cites the number higher at twenty.

¹⁰⁹ W.T. Door 1979 A, 10 June 2002.

¹¹⁰ W.T. Door 1979 B, 3 June 2002: “Had Saturday morning classes ... could never go Friday night.”

¹¹¹ W.T. Door 1978 A, no date, said: “I do not believe that they were held – at least more than once or twice in 1976-1978 because if they had been, I would have attended.” However, according to W.T. Door 1979 C, 12 September 2002, and W.T. Door 1982 B, no date, the services did not go into full swing until late 1978 or 1979.

years. He did, however, successfully push for the first Baccalaureate service to be held at the Academy, inside Memorial Hall.¹¹²

During the 1978 academic year, the Jewish midshipmen started their own extracurricular club at the Naval Academy, named L'Chaim.¹¹³ They invited speakers, including the naval attaché from Israel, who brought twenty or so disabled Israeli tank veterans from the 1967 Six-Day War to eat with the Brigade.¹¹⁴ Dramatically, Jewish midshipmen were becoming a presence once again at the Naval Academy.

To solidify their presence, though, the Jewish midshipmen needed a true space of their own. The small chapel in the Rotunda was completely unsatisfactory for this purpose. Looking around, Mrs. Lindauer and Chaplain John Rosenblatt, a Navy rabbi on temporary duty to the Naval Academy, found three small and dilapidated classrooms in Mitscher Hall being used for weekday Catholic Mass. Mrs. Lindauer's inspection of these rooms planted the seed for the idea of an All Faiths Chapel to take over this obviously unused space.¹¹⁵

¹¹² W.T. Door 1980 D, 20 June 2002. Erroneously, he believes his baccalaureate service “was the first time the Jewish Church Party held a service within the Yard.” Based on his responses, however, he seemed to feel that Colonel Lindauer “had it all wrong” and that “the folks in town . . . viewed the Jewish Church Party as their own.” Perhaps, due to his adverse feelings towards the lay leaders and the civilians in town, he chose to deliberately avoid the Friday night Jewish services, despite his own support for them. Otherwise, the fact that he does not remember the services at all seems very odd. He is not the only one, however. W.T. Door 1982 A, 12 August 2002, doesn't remember the services at all, either.

¹¹³ W.T. Door 1980 A, 4 June 2002, claims that he “started [the] Jewish Student Group, L'Chaim,” while W.T. Door 1979 C, 12 September 2002, claims that W.T. Door 1980 D, 20 June 2002, started L'Chaim.

¹¹⁴ W.T. Door 1980 D, 20 June 2002.

¹¹⁵ Mrs. Lindauer, 5.

In the summer of 1980, Captain Aaron Landes, a Naval Reserve rabbi, was stationed for two weeks at the Naval Academy on temporary duty. During his two-week stay at the Naval Academy, Landes actively went to work on how to provide a better environment for Jewish midshipmen. He interviewed all the Jewish midshipmen, his fellow chaplains, community volunteers including the Lindauers, and congregants from Kneseth Israel and Beth Sholom. At one point, Landes learned about a number of religious storerooms on the Yard. Inside the storerooms, he found two large freestanding menorahs. He had also seen the rooms in Mitscher, and he had the same idea as Mrs. Lindauer. When his two weeks came to an end, Rabbi Landes prepared a memorandum for the Superintendent, Rear Admiral William Lawrence, in which he proposed to take the rooms in Mitscher and convert them into an All Faiths Chapel. Landes felt it would be simple to make the Chapel accessible for all religions by simply using removable fixtures and a curtain that could be drawn across a recessed ark. Landes hand-delivered the memorandum to Admiral Lawrence, who looked it over and then asked Rabbi Landes why the Naval Academy did not seem to have more Jewish students. Landes replied, frankly, that the Naval Academy was sending the message that Jewish midshipmen were not welcome. There was no rabbi, Landes pointed out, and services seemed inconvenient at best. Lawrence, the rabbi recalled, “nearly went through the roof.”¹¹⁶ The response would be more than Landes had hoped for.

¹¹⁶ Rabbi Aaron Landes, interview by George Goodwin, 11 June 1993, Elton Park, tape recording, Naval War College Oral History 158, Naval War College, Newport. After his tour at the Naval Academy, Landes would eventually be promoted to Rear Admiral, the second Jewish rabbi to earn this honor, and also become the Director of Naval Reserve Chaplains.

At about this time, without knowing that Rabbi Landes had laid the foundation for change with Admiral Lawrence, Mrs. Lindauer approached the Naval Academy Command Chaplain, Captain Charles Greenwood. She wanted to, at the very least, clean up the rooms in Mitscher for use as a chapel. She provided Captain Greenwood with sketches and drawings, and within a week, her plans were approved. The Naval Academy Alumni Association, with the prodding of the Superintendent, raised the necessary funding, especially through the donations of Jewish philanthropies. The menorahs that Rabbi Landes found were placed on both sides of the recessed ark, which was decorated with Hebrew letters. With the help of Rabbi Landes, Rabbi Rosenblatt, and the staff of the Naval Academy, the new All Faiths Chapel was dedicated on 30 August 1981. Importantly, noted Colonel Lindauer, it was dedicated as first and foremost a *Jewish* chapel.¹¹⁷

With the new chapel, the Jewish presence was now solidified on the Yard. In 1984, the Jewish midshipmen took another step forward when the first *seder* was held at the Naval Academy. Although Passover food had been served at the Academy at specially designated tables for many years, this was the first time that a *seder* was actually held on the Yard.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Lindauer, 15-16. Colonel Lindauer provides the details about the fundraising and building of the chapel, as well as its dedication. Mrs. Lindauer, 5. Mrs. Lindauer provides detail on the planning that went behind the Chapel. Also, Interview with Colonel and Mrs. Lindauer, 12 July 2002.

¹¹⁸ Lindauer, 17-18. Colonel Lindauer thinks “maybe this was the first time that midshipmen ate matzo ball soup at the Academy.” However, based on the responses of the graduates this is not so. In fact, the Naval Academy actually served Kosher for Passover food at one point! W.T. Door 1963 A, 4 June 2002, wrote: “I still remember the Passover tables in the mess hall. The interesting thing is that a lot of the seats were taken by non-Jewish friends of Jewish mids, who just wanted to [see] what it was like.”

12. A Jewish Chaplain

However, even with a chapel, there was still no dedicated Jewish chaplain for the midshipmen despite the continued requests by Colonel Lindauer for a Naval rabbi.

The Navy and the Naval Academy had many valid reasons for turning down Lindauer's requests. There were only fourteen active duty rabbis in the Navy in the early 1980s. To permanently assign one to the Naval Academy for only forty or so midshipmen seemed ridiculous. Furthermore, Colonel Lindauer was doing such an effective job as a lay leader that it did not seem necessary to assign one. In early 1985, in response to Lindauer's repeated requests, the Jewish chaplain at the Bethesda Naval Hospital was authorized to conduct services at the Naval Academy once a month. Despite this step forward, the Colonel still pointed to the Jewish chaplains at the Air Force Academy and West Point. Continually, though, the Colonel was informed that his presence alone was satisfactory. Finally, in frustration, the Colonel wrote that the assignment of a Naval rabbi would "not only ... assist fifty to sixty Jewish midshipmen but [would] assist four thousand five hundred future Admirals and Generals who in their performance of duty have to know something about religions to help them understand the servicemen and women in their command."¹¹⁹ By making the assignment of the rabbi a benefit not only to the Jewish midshipmen, but also to the moral development of the entire Brigade of Midshipmen, Colonel Lindauer linked his argument to the mission of the Naval Academy, something that was not overlooked. Late in 1985, the

¹¹⁹ Lindauer, 19-20.

Superintendent of the Naval Academy, Rear Admiral Chuck Larson, informed Colonel Lindauer that he had made room in his staff for a Jewish chaplain.¹²⁰

The new rabbi, Lieutenant Commander Norman Auerback was delayed for a year due to his treatment for Hodgkin's Disease. In 1987, he reported for duty.¹²¹ While at the Academy, Rabbi Auerback created programs and Holocaust commemorations that benefited the entire Brigade of Midshipmen, while reminding all of the presence of the Jewish faith within the Academy and the Navy.¹²²

Rabbi Auerback's successors at the U.S. Naval Academy, Rabbis Slomovitz (1989-1992), Feinberg (1992-1995), Panitz (1995-1998), Elson (1998-2002), and Newman (2002), have continued to build upon his efforts. The chaplains developed services in commemoration of the Holocaust, created interfaith programs within the Brigade of Midshipmen, initiated trips for the Jewish Midshipmen Club to Israel, and cemented an impressive Jewish presence at the Naval Academy.¹²³

While at the Naval Academy, the fourth chaplain, Rabbi Panitz, developed a deep friendship with Annapolis resident and businessman Harvey Stein. For many years an irreligious Jew, Stein felt the need to turn back towards his faith in 1992. Since he had long sponsored midshipmen, he went to the Naval Academy to help find his spirituality. He was *bar mitzvahed* in the All Faiths Chapel in 1992, at fifty-five years of age. In

¹²⁰ Interview with Colonel and Mrs. Lindauer, 12 July 2002.

¹²¹ Lindauer, 20.

¹²² "USNA Marks Holocaust – WWII preserved Torah to be donated," U.S. Naval Academy Reference File: "United States Naval Academy – Religious Life," William W. Jeffries Memorial Archives, Nimitz Library, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis. Slomovitz, 128. Interview with Colonel and Mrs. Lindauer, 12 July 2002.

¹²³ Slomovitz, 128. Lindauer, 21.

1995, Stein invited the newly arrived Rabbi Panitz to stay at his house while the Panitz family searched for a home. The intended two-week stay lasted for two years. Due to his deep friendship with the Panitzes, Stein became even more involved with the Naval Academy Jewish community. He founded a non-profit organization to help fund Jewish activities for the midshipmen, known as the Friends of the Jewish Chapel. Soon, the Friends of the Jewish Chapel were raising enough money that the idea of a solely Jewish chapel became tangible. Under Rabbi Panitz's successor, Rabbi Irving Elson, fundraising for a dedicated Jewish Chapel began in earnest and the Naval Academy officially endorsed the chapel, to be named after the first prominent Jewish naval officer, Uriah P. Levy.¹²⁴

13. Anti-Semitism at the Naval Academy

In little over sixty-five years, the Naval Academy has gone from having no Jewish service to having a dedicated Jewish chapel built on the Yard. The Judaic experience has changed immensely. However, despite great differences in time, one cannot help but notice an eerie similarity in the experiences of midshipmen.

One of the common experiences of all midshipmen regarded prejudice and bigotry. Based upon the responses of alumni and the research of Colonel Lindauer and Rabbi Slomovitz, anti-Semitism at the Naval Academy was always the exception, not the rule. Both researchers felt this conclusion was so important that it merited a space at the very beginning of their studies. In the second sentence of his manuscript, Colonel

¹²⁴ Ariel Sabar, "A Jewish space at academy. Chapel: Midshipmen look forward to worship under the Star of David without going to shared space or into town," *Baltimore Sun*, 10 February 2002, sec. A, p. 6.

Lindauer wrote, “One of those traditions believed by the outside world is a history of covert anti-Semitism throughout [the Naval Academy’s] existence ... [but] I have found nothing but complete cooperation from all departments of the Academy structure.”¹²⁵ In his history of Jews and rabbis in the military, Rabbi Slomovitz agreed:

When contemporary society was infused with anti-Semitism, the military functioned as an institutional force representing equity and religious sensitivity. This notion is contrary to what many American Jews think. They believe erroneously, in a view often expressed to me, that the armed forces represented yet another segment of American society tainted with anti-Semitism. The truth, borne out by numerous primary documents and countless personal experiences, indicates that exactly the opposite is the case.¹²⁶

Even during the dark days of anti-Semitism in the Depression-era United States, when some midshipmen were afraid to draw attention because of the national tendency towards anti-Semitism, others, who had attended college before the Naval Academy, found it to be a “completely liberal and accepting religious environment!”¹²⁷ The Naval Academy also provided a buffer to outside society. During the turbulent years of the 1960s and the struggle over Civil Rights, “it [was] easy to be Jewish at the Naval Academy.”¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Lindauer, 1.

¹²⁶ Slomovitz, xi.

¹²⁷ W.T. Door 1938 A, 3 June 2002, felt the attitude of the Jews in the 20s and 30s was to not draw attention to themselves because of the national anti-Semitism. W.T. Door 1944 B attended Cornell for two years before entering the Naval Academy. One should note that W.T. Door 1944 B attended Cornell right after W.T. Door 1938 A graduated, and he entered the Naval Academy only two years after W.T. Door 1938 A’s departure. Other graduates who had gone to college before attending the Naval Academy repeated these sentiments. W.T. Door 1952 C, 15 August 2002: “Being Jewish at Colgate was a definite negative experience. At USNA, it was far better. I never had a feeling of religious difference.” W.T. Door 1961 E, 25 June 2002: “I found USNA a much more liberal-minded and egalitarian institution than the college I attended prior to USNA.”

¹²⁸ W.T. Door 1964 A, 4 June 2002.

Much of this had to do with the actions by the chain-of-command at the Naval Academy and the attitude it passed down to the midshipmen. Since “the Academy was interested in producing professional and dedicated officers ... there was no room for bigotry and other small-minded activities.”¹²⁹ The Naval Academy chain-of-command clearly stated that issues like discrimination and bigotry ran counter to the core values of duty, honor, and loyalty. Hence, anti-Semitism was completely against regulations.¹³⁰ The Naval Academy also naturally wanted to avoid complaints of discrimination that would bring bad press.¹³¹ As a result, “a clear command policy and enforced standards effectively suppressed anti-Semitic actions and speech.”¹³²

Anti-Semitism, when it did occur, was isolated and individualized.¹³³

Unfortunately, some “individual midshipmen, left to their own devices, could reflect the sentiments and prejudices of their own background and family.”¹³⁴

Despite these incidents, the vast majority of graduates felt that they were never hazed, and especially not by the Academy. Of the 215 respondents to the survey, 140 graduates, or two-thirds of the total, did not recall, or vehemently denied, ever being

¹²⁹ W.T. Door 1956 A, 28 May 2002. W.T. Door 1952 C, 15 August 2002: There was “little or no anti-Semitism,” because “the emphasis was on skill, not religion.”

¹³⁰ W.T. Door 1947 C, 29 May 2002.

¹³¹ W.T. Door 1950 C, 12 August 2002.

¹³² W.T. Door 1955 D, 20 June 2002.

¹³³ W.T. Door 1946 B, 4 June 2002.

¹³⁴ W.T. Door 1961 C, 12 June 2002.

hazed for anti-Semitic reasons.¹³⁵ Of the fifty-seven graduates who had been hazed, forty-eight of them felt that the hazing had been an isolated and individual incident. For the nine who felt that the Naval Academy had condoned anti-Semitism, the most vehement graduate did not give his name or his class, but instead dripped his “30+ year resentment of Navy hypocrisy” into his letter.¹³⁶ He wrote that “Jews and certain other minorities received unconcealed discrimination and excessive hazing” which “reflected the mind set of a Christian nation, Navy, and administration ... I left [the Navy] at the first opportunity ... as an observant Jew today, I regret my entire experience at the Academy.”¹³⁷ Even the other eight letters that stated the Naval Academy condoned anti-Semitism did not contain this pent-up anger.

Conversely, complaints of anti-Semitism usually did not merit much sympathy from other Jewish midshipmen. Jewish midshipmen who did complain about anti-Semitism were often viewed by their Jewish shipmates as professionally substandard.¹³⁸ As a result, this feeling may have carried over into the responses of Jewish graduates. Proud of their alma mater and unwilling to have its reputation sullied by the slur of anti-Semitism, some may have consciously chosen not to remember anti-Semitism. However, based on the massive amount of similar responses, this seems unlikely. Perhaps the

¹³⁵ See Appendix 4 for a breakdown of the “hazed” numbers by year group and category. 19 respondents did not answer this question.

¹³⁶ W.T. Foxtrot 1964-1972, 29 June 2002.

¹³⁷ W.T. Foxtrot 1964-1972, 29 June 2002.

¹³⁸ Joe Gish 1948 B, 29 May 2002; W.T. Door 1951 E, 4 June 2002; W.T. Door 1955 C, 4 July 2002; W.T. Door 1985 B, 11 June 2002; all knew midshipmen who blamed anti-Semitism for their own poor performance.

perfect example of the ambiguity regarding the Naval Academy and anti-Semitism is the 1922 *Lucky Bag* incident.

In 1922, a Jewish midshipman of the graduating class, Midshipman Leonard Kaplan, had his picture and caption placed on an unnumbered and perforated page of the Naval Academy yearbook, known as the *Lucky Bag*.¹³⁹ The incident has excited a great deal of speculation, and it has been generally regarded as an infamous instance of anti-Semitism.¹⁴⁰

Leonard Kaplan was not popular with his classmates. While at the Academy, Kaplan lived all four years alone “in coventry.” In 1920, one of Kaplan’s classmates, Jerauld Lockwood Olmsted, was elected to be the Editor of the 1922 *Lucky Bag*. Olmsted told his classmates that he wanted their inputs and advice. In response, about twenty to thirty midshipmen individually approached him and “stated that they did not care to send a book containing Midshipman Kaplan’s picture home.”¹⁴¹

Olmsted refused to completely cut Kaplan out of the book. Instead, he decided to place Kaplan on an unnumbered perforated page. As amazing as this idea was, even more amazing was the fact that the Thomsen-Ellis Company, which was publishing the *Lucky*

¹³⁹ J.L. Olmsted, ed., *The Lucky Bag 1922: The Annual of the Regiment of Midshipmen, United States Naval Academy* (Baltimore: Thomsen-Ellis Company, 1922), perforated page between pages 326 and 327. The copy of the *Lucky Bag* available for the common use of midshipmen in the Nimitz Library contained this perforated page as of 3 December 2002.

¹⁴⁰ Lindauer, 5-6. The Colonel notes many of the legends regarding this incident, and also states most of the true facts regarding it.

¹⁴¹ Midshipman J.L. Olmsted, Annapolis, to the Superintendent of the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, 28 May 1922, typed transcript; in Midshipman Personnel Jacket, Jerauld Lockwood Olmsted, Record Group 405, National Archives—Affiliated Archives: record on deposit at William W. Jeffries Memorial Archives, Nimitz Library, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD. Future references to midshipmen personnel records will be “Record Group 405.”

Bag, decided to accept the plan for a perforated page. Olmsted thought that since almost no one had offered any suggestions about the *Lucky Bag*, the fact that so many people had talked to him about Kaplan must have meant that the general sentiment of the Class was against Kaplan.¹⁴²

In February 1922, however, when the subject was broached at a Class of 1922 meeting, the majority of the Class voted against the perforated page.¹⁴³ Olmsted wrote to the Thomsen-Ellis Company and requested that the perforated page be changed into a normal part of the book.¹⁴⁴ At this point, though, it was too late, and the Thomsen-Ellis Company informed Olmsted that it was impossible to make a normal page, repaginate the text, and include Kaplan's name in the index. However, they assured Olmsted, "the perforation is going to be close to the binding so that it will not be prominent."¹⁴⁵

When the book came out, Kaplan's picture and biography were on the last page of midshipmen biographies, along with the picture and biography of a fictional midshipman named "Porky A. List". Just as Olmsted had planned, the page was unnumbered, and was preceded and followed by pages numbered sequentially, and the page was perforated in order to be easily ripped out. Kaplan's biography was apparently untouched, based on

¹⁴² Midshipman J.L. Olmsted, Annapolis, to the Superintendent of the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, 28 May 1922.

¹⁴³ Midshipman J.L. Olmsted, Annapolis, to the Superintendent of the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, 28 May 1922.

¹⁴⁴ Midshipman J.L. Olmsted, Annapolis, to Mr. R.C. Sheriden, care of the Thomsen-Ellis Company, Baltimore, 17 February 1922, typed transcript; in Midshipman Personnel Jacket, Jerauld Lockwood Olmsted, Record Group 405.

¹⁴⁵ Mr. R.C. Sheriden, care of the Thomsen-Ellis Company, to Midshipman J.L. Olmsted, Annapolis, 23 February 1922, typed transcript signed by Mr. Sheriden; in Midshipman Personnel Jacket, Jerauld Lockwood Olmsted, Record Group 405.

the fact that Olmsted mentioned “the writing under Midshipman Kaplan’s picture is an autobiography which was not even changed in punctuation.”¹⁴⁶ Next to Kaplan’s caption was a mirroring caption for the fictional midshipman nicknamed “Porky.” Fictional midshipmen in the *Lucky Bag* were nothing new; they had been in many previous *Lucky Bags* and would be in others afterwards. However, Porky’s biography was a direct parody of Kaplan’s biography. Unlike Kaplan, who was “born in the township of Weston, county of Lewis, State of West Virginia,” Porky was “born in the township of Zion, county of Cork, State of Ignorance.”¹⁴⁷ Whatever the intent of the Porky biography, it was probably not meant to be a benign parody of Kaplan’s similar biography.

As it turned out, despite the assurances of the Thomsen-Ellis Company, the perforation *was* noticed, and the Naval Academy ordered Olmsted to return a letter of commendation for his work on the *Lucky Bag*. The letter was promptly destroyed.¹⁴⁸ Olmsted then wrote a memorandum to the Superintendent of the Naval Academy, detailing what he had done and why. He concluded by saying, “Personally I have had

¹⁴⁶ Midshipman J.L. Olmsted, Annapolis, to the Superintendent of the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, 28 May 1922.

¹⁴⁷ Olmsted, *The Lucky Bag 1922*, perforated page between pages 326 and 327. In previous versions of this thesis, I had speculated that Kaplan might have written this caption, since midshipmen generally wrote the biography of their roommate, who usually appeared on the same page. The Kaplan family, however, stated that the List biography was entirely the product of J.L. Olmsted. Elin Kujat to the author, 31 March 2006. E-mail. Personal possession of Joel Ira Holwitt, care of the U.S. Naval Academy Alumni Association, 247 King George Street, Annapolis, MD 21402-5068, phone number: (410) 263-4448.

¹⁴⁸ Captain Eli Vinock, Miami, to U.S. Naval Academy Nimitz Library, 21 December 1991, typed transcript, U.S. Naval Academy Reference File: “Kaplan, Leonard, Class of 1922, 1958,” William W. Jeffries Memorial Archives, Nimitz Library, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, 2. Captain Vinock and the Naval Academy archivists have done the most research into this incident, and Captain Vinock’s letter is a good summary of the events regarding the *Lucky Bag* incident.

nothing to do with Midshipman Kaplan and I have no reason for trying to spite him, if any one could consider that such a poor means would be used to do it.”¹⁴⁹

Olmsted’s letter to the Superintendent was duly forwarded the Bureau of Navigation, the precursor to the Bureau of Personnel, where the letter was made a permanent part of Olmsted’s record.¹⁵⁰

The incident ignited a lasting controversy. As Colonel Lindauer noted: “The question to this date is was it a competitive, personal fight for class standing or was it anti-Semitism?”¹⁵¹

There are no solid answers to this question. Certainly, anti-Semitism may have played a role. After all, Kaplan *was* obviously of Jewish descent. Furthermore, the 1920s was a period of prevalent anti-Semitism and many naval officers were not untouched by the racial stereotypes of the era. And yet, Olmsted did not place any of the other sixteen Jewish midshipmen, including Hyman Rickover, on a perforated page. Indeed, one of Olmsted’s assistants on the *Lucky Bag* staff was Jewish.¹⁵² Furthermore, Kaplan did not actively identify himself as Jewish when he entered the Naval Academy, but rather as “none.”¹⁵³ What seems to have been most important was the bitter and tight

¹⁴⁹ Midshipman J.L. Olmsted, Annapolis, to the Superintendent of the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, 28 May 1922.

¹⁵⁰ Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, Washington D.C., to the Superintendent of the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, 23 June 1922, typed transcript signed by E.B. Fenner, by direction; in Midshipman Personnel Jacket, Jerauld Lockwood Olmsted, Record Group 405.

¹⁵¹ Lindauer, 6.

¹⁵² Norman Polmar and Thomas B. Allen, *Rickover: Controversy and Genius: A Biography* (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1982), 58.

¹⁵³ Midshipman Personnel Jacket, Leonard Kaplan, Record Group 405.

competition between the two men for the top standing in the class, which Olmsted eventually earned.¹⁵⁴

Ultimately, the only person who truly knew what motivated Jerauld L. Olmsted to carry out this hurtful scheme was Olmsted himself, and he took his rationale to the grave when he died only a year after graduation from poliomyelitis.¹⁵⁵

The 1922 *Lucky Bag* incident is a metaphor for anti-Semitism at the Naval Academy. If it was an act of anti-Semitism, it was the act of an individual, with the individualized support of only five percent of his classmates.¹⁵⁶ Tellingly, when the mass of the Class of 1922 learned of Olmsted's scheme, the majority voted against it. Most importantly, the Naval Academy did not condone his actions and the chain-of-command moved promptly to address the matter. In the end, one cannot be sure if anti-Semitism played an important role in the incident, or whether it boiled down to the youthful immaturity of the midshipmen in the Class of 1922.

¹⁵⁴ Vinock, 2-6. In 1984, Leonard Kaplan's family established a four hundred dollar prize for the midshipman who graduates second in the class. Ironically, Olmsted's brother, George H. Olmsted, who was the Cadet First Captain at West Point in the Class of 1922, went on to sponsor the Olmsted Scholarship. Captain Vinock noted, on page 6 of his letter, "One interesting aspect is that during the entire history of the Naval Academy ... there appears to be no other instance of the number one and two graduates being memorialized or remembered in prizes ... prizes growing out of a regrettable incident ... if that incident had not occurred, I wonder if these prizes would exist today?" See also: Polmar and Allen, *Rickover*, 53-58.

¹⁵⁵ Vinock, 2-3. Kaplan died in 1983 after a full career in the Navy and civilian practice as a noted and respected engineer. Olmsted contracted polio just a little over a year after his graduation, dying at the U.S. Naval Hospital in Brooklyn on 23 August 1923, at 23 years of age. His early death robbed him of the opportunity to redeem his name. Perhaps, postulates Captain Vinock, the Olmsted Scholarship is "an unspoken remembrance of a beloved brother, a brilliant young man whose life was cut short by an early and tragic death and whose unrealized promise is being fulfilled in those who become Olmsted Scholars." See also: Polmar and Allen, *Rickover*, 58-59.

¹⁵⁶ The Class of 1922 graduated 539 midshipmen according to the U.S. Naval Academy Alumni Association, Inc., *Register of Alumni, 1997 Edition* (Annapolis: U.S. Naval Academy Alumni Association, Inc., 1997), 147.

14. Conclusions

Despite the absence of overt anti-Semitism, the inclusion of Judaism into the Naval Academy is owed almost entirely to people acting outside the Naval Academy chain-of-command. Seymour Einstein's actions were not encouraged by his chain-of-command, and he had to wait for a year in order to start the Jewish Church Party. The education of Jewish midshipmen as lay leaders occurred not because the Naval Academy requested it, but because Rabbi Rosenblatt felt the need to make Jewish services religious. Despite the creation of a Jewish chapel in 1976, Jewish services did not really take place on the Yard until the forceful Lindauers led them. The assignment of a rabbi to the Naval Academy took place within military channels, but it occurred because of the continued requests of Colonel Lindauer. Without opposing Judaism, the Naval Academy infrastructure did very little to encourage its religious inclusion into the Naval Academy community.

The lack of religious inclusiveness at the Naval Academy probably affected the feelings Jewish alumni regarding the consequence the Naval Academy had upon their personal faith. When asked whether their experience at the Academy influenced their future practice of Judaism, 40 respondents said yes, 110 alumni said no, and 65 did not answer the question.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ See Appendix 5 for a breakdown of the Jewish midshipmen and their feelings on whether or not their future practice of the faith was affected by the Naval Academy. Some graduates did not answer this question, others seemed confused by it, and others wrote an answer that touched upon this issue, but did not answer it.

Those who were influenced, however, found the effect on their lives to be extraordinary. A number of graduates remained grateful to the lessons they learned at the Naval Academy when they became Jewish lay leaders in the Fleet.¹⁵⁸ Others found the experience to be a “wake-up call” and one of “spiritual awakening ... the inspiration I gained there started me on the road to Jewish leadership and activism.”¹⁵⁹ One Vietnam Marine veteran was able to draw a direct parallel between his experiences in the Fleet and his time at the Naval Academy: “When you are alone in a foxhole, you remember the prayers you learned in Annapolis.”¹⁶⁰

From the beginning of the Jewish Church Party in 1938, Jewish midshipmen and their community sponsors attempted to mesh Judaism with the Naval Academy core values of duty, honor, and loyalty. By attending Jewish services on Sundays, Jewish midshipmen maintained their uniformity with the other midshipmen. When mandatory chapel ended, services eventually moved onto the Yard so that Jewish midshipmen could worship without having to feel separate from the rest of the Brigade. The assignment of a rabbi to the Naval Academy was justified as being in concurrence with the mission of the Academy, since midshipmen would be morally developed by their exposure to one of America’s largest and most influential minority faiths. The construction of a freestanding

¹⁵⁸ W.T. Door 1945 C, 1 June 2002; W.T. Door 1953 D, 1 June 2002; W.T. Door 1954 A, 17 September 2002; W.T. Door 1954 D, 3 June 2002; W.T. Door 1955 C, 4 July 2002; W.T. Door 1961 B, 4 June 2002; W.T. 1961 H, W.T. Door 1986 A, no date, W.T. 1992 B, W.T. Door 1999 B, 7 October 2002.

¹⁵⁹ W.T. Door 1949 M, no date. W.T. Door P1976 B, 10 June 2002. W.T. Door 1961 B, 4 June 2002, calls the Naval Academy the “single life experience or circumstance [that] can be credited with my positive Jewish growth.” Others who said that they grew tremendously more observant or spiritual because of their Jewish experience at Annapolis were W.T. Door 1948 C, 30 May 2002; W.T. Door 1953 D, 1 June 2002; W.T. Door 1992 B, 31 July 2002; W.T. Door 2000 A, 2 July 2002.

¹⁶⁰ W.T. Door 1964 C, 17 June 2002.

Jewish chapel at the Naval Academy represents the fulfillment of the Judaic incorporation in the Naval Academy.

With the inclusion of Judaism at the Naval Academy, the Judaic Experience is no longer an addendum to the midshipmen experience. By incorporating the Judaic faith in accordance with the values of the Naval Academy, Jewish midshipmen have been enriched by religious inclusion and strengthened in the commitment to serve with duty, honor, and loyalty.

Appendix 1: History Honors Thesis Questionnaire Questions

Below, listed in a shortened format, are the questions that the questionnaire asked of the Jewish alumni.

1. Were you of the Jewish faith while at the Academy? How many Jewish mids did you know?
2. If you were Jewish:
 - (a) Were you a practicing Jew before you came to the Academy? What kind of Judaism did you practice (Orthodox, Conservative, Reform)?
 - (b) How well were you able to practice your faith at the Academy? Why?
 - (c) Until 1938: How did you practice your faith? What were the difficulties in being Jewish at an institution where you could not attend Jewish services?
 - (d) From 1938-1976: Did you always join the Jewish Church Party? Which synagogue did you attend? How did you feel about attending services on a day other than the Jewish Sabbath?
 - (e) From 1976-Present: How often did you go to Chapel at the Academy? How did you feel about these services?
 - (f) How do you feel the assignment of a Rabbi to the Naval Academy has changed the environment for Jews at the Naval Academy?
 - (g) After your graduation, do you feel you practiced Judaism as much as before? Why or why not? Did your Academy experience play a role in your post-Academy practice of your faith?
3. Were Jewish mids ever singled out because they were Jewish? Please be as specific as possible.
 - (a) How often did this happen? What were the feelings of most of the upperclass about singling out Plebes for religious reasons?
 - (b) Was the treatment of Jewish mids usually the same as other midshipmen or even other minorities who attended the Academy?
 - (c) Were any other minority faiths present while you attended the academy? How were they treated in relation to the Jewish mids?
 - (d) Was there any internal strife between Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Jewish mids?
 - (e) Were any of the faculty Jewish to your knowledge?
 - (f) Were any of the active military Jewish to your knowledge?
 - (g) Did Jewish faculty and/or active military play a role in incorporating Jewish mids into the academy culture?
 - (h) Did the administration appear to have a “policy” regarding Jewish mids?
 - (i) If you feel that there was little or no anti-Semitism directed at you while you were at USNA, why do you think that USNA was such an accepting religious environment?
 - (j) What were your feelings about mandatory chapel on Sunday, a day that Jews traditionally do not consider the Sabbath? What were your feelings about the lack of Friday night services until 1976?

4. Which group was more flexible in regard to Jewish midshipmen – the faculty, military chain of command, or fellow midshipmen? This is in regard to religious obligations, religious differences, and cultural identity.
5. (a) How successful were Jewish Mids in the Brigade?
(b) Did you think a disproportionate number of Jewish Mids gained leadership positions in the Brigade? Alternatively, did a disproportionate number of Jewish Mids do poorly professionally, athletically, and academically?
(c) How do you feel being Jewish affected your leadership and training at the Academy and in the Fleet?
6. How successful would you consider your Jewish classmates in the Fleet? Is this amount disproportionate? Do you have anything you would like to add about the Jewish experience at the Naval Academy?
7. Any diaries, pictures, or other collected items that have relevance to this subject would also be greatly appreciated. After their use for this topic, they would either be returned or, with your approval, made part of the soon-to-be-built Uriah P. Levy Center & Jewish Chapel at the Academy.
8. May I have your permission to look at your Academy performance jacket, which is held at the Archives in Nimitz Library? This will also help me compile data about performance.
9. This is not related to my thesis, but I am on a midshipmen advisory committee to reorganize Army-Navy Week for next year's game. If you have any ideas or traditions that you would like to see the Brigade carry out as it prepares to beat Army on 7 December 2002, please include them.

**Appendix 2:
Responses by Graduating Class**

| Class | Responses | Class | Responses |
|-------|-----------|---------------|-----------|
| 1928 | 1 | 1979 | 3 |
| 1938 | 5 | Unknown 1970s | 3 |
| 1939 | 1 | 1980 | 4 |
| 1940 | 2 | 1982 | 6 |
| 1941 | 3 | 1983 | 1 |
| 1942 | 2 | 1985 | 2 |
| 1943 | 1 | 1986 | 1 |
| 1944 | 5 | 1987 | 1 |
| 1945 | 5 | 1988 | 1 |
| 1946 | 5 | 1989 | 1 |
| 1947 | 7 | 1990 | 2 |
| 1948A | 4 | 1991 | 1 |
| 1948B | 4 | 1992 | 2 |
| 1948? | 5 | 1993 | 3 |
| 1949 | 15 | 1994 | 1 |
| 1950 | 8 | 1995 | 2 |
| 1951 | 7 | 1996 | 3 |
| 1952 | 6 | 1997 | 1 |
| 1953 | 4 | 1999 | 3 |
| 1954 | 5 | 2000 | 1 |
| 1955 | 6 | Unknown | 16 |
| 1956 | 1 | | |
| 1957 | 5 | | |
| 1958 | 3 | | |
| 1959 | 2 | | |
| 1960 | 3 | | |
| 1961 | 8 | | |
| 1962 | 5 | | |
| 1963 | 5 | | |
| 1964 | 3 | | |
| 1965 | 4 | | |
| 1966 | 2 | | |
| 1967 | 1 | | |
| 1968 | 2 | | |
| 1971 | 1 | | |
| 1973 | 4 | | |
| 1974 | 1 | | |
| 1976 | 1 | | |
| 1977 | 2 | | |
| 1978 | 3 | | |

**Appendix 3:
Denominations of Jewish Midshipmen at the U.S. Naval Academy by Year Group**

| Years | Orthodox | Conservative | Reform/ Practicing | Non-observant | Atheist | Didn't Say | Totals |
|------------|----------|--------------|-----------------------|---------------|---------|---------------|--------|
| 1928 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 1930s | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 6 |
| 1940s | 3 | 12 | 26 | 15 | 1 | 1 | 58 |
| 1950s | 2 | 20 | 13 | 8 | 1 | 3 | 47 |
| 1960s | 2 | 13 | 3 | 12 | 0 | 3 | 33 |
| 1970s | 1 | 9 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 18 |
| 1980s | 1 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 17 |
| 1990s-2000 | 0 | 4 | 12 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 19 |
| Didn't Say | 1 | 6 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 16 |
| Totals | 11 | 70 | 75 | 44 | 4 | 11 | 215 |

Appendix 4:
Responses to the question: “Were Jewish mids ever singled out because they were Jewish?”

| Years | No. | Isolated and Individual Incidents | Anti-Semitism was a general condition of USNA | Didn't Say | Totals |
|------------|-----|-----------------------------------|---|------------|--------|
| 1928 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 1930s | 2 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| 1940s | 35 | 13 | 4 | 6 | 58 |
| 1950s | 35 | 6 | 0 | 6 | 47 |
| 1960s | 20 | 11 | 0 | 2 | 33 |
| 1970s | 8 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 18 |
| 1980s | 12 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 17 |
| 1990s-2000 | 14 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 19 |
| Didn't Say | 14 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 16 |
| Totals | 140 | 47 | 9 | 19 | 215 |

Appendix 5:
Responses to the question: “Did your Academy experience play a role in your post-Academy practice of your faith?”

| Years | Yes | No | Didn't Say | Totals |
|------------|-----|-----|------------|--------|
| 1928 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 1930s | 0 | 6 | 0 | 6 |
| 1940s | 11 | 36 | 11 | 58 |
| 1950s | 7 | 21 | 19 | 47 |
| 1960s | 7 | 16 | 10 | 33 |
| 1970s | 4 | 8 | 6 | 18 |
| 1980s | 3 | 7 | 7 | 17 |
| 1990s-2000 | 6 | 5 | 8 | 19 |
| Didn't Say | 2 | 10 | 4 | 16 |
| Totals | 40 | 110 | 65 | 215 |

Sources Consulted

Published Materials

- Auerback, Norman, Lieutenant Commander USN. "We've Come Far Since 1938: 'Being in the minority can become an energizing principle.'" *The Wave: U.S. Naval Academy Jewish Chapel Newsletter* 3, no. 3 (November 1988): 2.
- Bock, Martin. *Religion with the Armed Forces: Military Chaplaincy in an International Comparison*. Strausberg: Sozialwissenschaftliches Institut der Bundeswehr, 1998.
- Budd, Richard M. *Serving Two Masters: The Development of American Military Chaplaincy, 1860-1920*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002.
- "Centenary, 1853-1953, St. Mary's Parish, Annapolis, Maryland." U.S. Naval Academy Reference File: "United States Naval Academy – Religious Life." William W. Jeffries Memorial Archives, Nimitz Library, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis.
- Dyer, George C. *Reminiscences of Vice Admiral George C. Dyer, U.S. Navy (Retired)*. Oral History Collection. Annapolis: U.S. Naval Institute, 1973.
- Einstein, Seymour. "Pride Without Prejudice." In *Tales From Annapolis: A Ring-Knocker's Bedtime Companion*, ed. Rich Zino and Paul Larie, 90-93. Rockville: Omega Resources, 2000.
- Eisenstadt, Merry M. "Solidifying the 'Jewish presence' at U.S. Naval Academy." *Jewish World Review*, 18 July 2000.
[<http://www.jewishworldreview.com/0700/middie.shul.asp>]. As of 16 December 2002.
- Fredman, J. George and Louis A. Falk. *Jews in American Wars*. Washington, D.C.: The Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, 1954.
- Glazer, Nathan. *American Judaism*, 2nd ed. The Chicago History of American Civilization, ed. Daniel J. Boorstin. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972.
- Goldberg, Herschel, Rear Admiral USN (ret.). "Before There Was a Church Party." *The Wave: U.S. Naval Academy Jewish Chapel Newsletter* 3, no. 3 (November 1988): 7.
- Higham, John. "American Anti-Semitism Historically Reconsidered." In *Jews in the Mind of the America*, ed. George Salomon, 237-258. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966.

- Joseph, Samuel. *Jewish Immigration to the United States From 1881 to 1910*. The American Immigration Collection. New York: Columbia University, 1914. Reprint, New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969.
- Karp, Abraham J. *Jewish Continuity in America: Creative Survival in a Free Society*, Judaic Studies Series, ed. Leon J. Weinburger (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998).
- Karsten, Peter. *The Naval Aristocracy: The Golden Age of Annapolis and the Emergence of Modern American Navalism*. New York: The Free Press, 1972.
- Kingenstein, Susanne. *Jews in the American Academy, 1900-1940: The Dynamics of Intellectual Assimilation*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.
- Korn, Bertram W. "Jewish Chaplains in the Civil War." *American Jewish Archives I* (1948): 6-23.
- Lindauer, Thea. "From a Classroom to a True Chapel." *The Wave: U.S. Naval Academy Jewish Chapel Newsletter* 3, no. 3 (November 1988): 5.
- Lovell, John P. *Neither Athens nor Sparta? The American Service Academies in Transition*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979.
- Olmsted, J. L., ed. *The Lucky Bag 1922: The Annual of the Regiment of Midshipmen, United States Naval Academy*. Baltimore: Thomsen-Ellis Company, 1922.
- Mandel, Herbert, Captain USN (ret.). "'Alnav's and Bar Mitzvahs in Hawaii,'" *The Wave: U.S. Naval Academy Jewish Chapel Newsletter* 3, no. 3 (November 1988): 4.
- Mines, Janie L. "The Jewish Chapel." *Shipmate* 58, no. 1 (January-February 1995): 28.
- Mosesson, Gloria R. *The Jewish War Veterans Story*. Washington, D.C.: The Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, 1971.
- Naval Leadership with Some Hints to Junior Officers and Others: A Compilation by and for the Navy*, 4th Ed. Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 1939.
- Polmar, Norman and Thomas B. Allen. *Rickover: Controversy and Genius: A Biography*. New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1982.
- Reef Points Staff. *Reef Points 1926-1927: The Annual Handbook of the Regiment of Midshipmen*, 21st ed. Annapolis: U.S. Naval Academy, 1926.
- Reef Points Staff. *Reef Points 1999-2000: The Annual Handbook of the Brigade of Midshipmen*, 94th ed. Annapolis: U.S. Naval Academy, 1999.

Rosenblatt, Gary. "The Only Rabbi in Town." *Baltimore Jewish Times*, 7 November 1975, no page number.

Sabar, Ariel. "A Jewish space at academy. Chapel: Midshipmen look forward to worship under the Star of David without going to shared space or into town." *Baltimore Sun*, 10 February 2002, sec. A, p. 6.

Silberman, Charles E. *A Certain People*. New York: Summit Books, 1985.

Slomovitz, Albert Isaac. *The Fighting Rabbis: Jewish Military Chaplains and American History*. New York: New York University Press, 1999.

U.S. Naval Academy Alumni Association, Inc. *Register of Alumni, 1997 Edition*. Annapolis: U.S. Naval Academy Alumni Association, Inc., 1997.

"USNA Marks Holocaust – WWII preserved Torah to be donated." U.S. Naval Academy Reference File: "United States Naval Academy – Religious Life," William W. Jeffries Memorial Archives, Nimitz Library, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis.

Winter, Jay and Emmanuel Sivan. "Setting the framework." In *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, 6-39. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Unpublished Materials

Assorted letters and surveys to the author, Annapolis, various dates. Surveys and letters filled in and signed by 215 Naval Academy graduates. Personal possession of Joel Ira Holwitt, care of the U.S. Naval Academy Alumni Association, 247 King George Street, Annapolis, MD 21402-5068, phone number: (410) 263-4448.

Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, Washington D.C., to the Superintendent of the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, 23 June 1922. Typed transcript signed by E.B. Fenner, by direction. In Midshipman Personnel Jacket, Jerauld Lockwood Olmsted, Record Group 405, National Archives—Affiliated Archives: record on deposit at William W. Jeffries Memorial Archives, Nimitz Library, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD.

Einstein, Seymour, Tucson, to the author, Annapolis, 11 June 2002. Survey filled in by Seymour Einstein. Personal possession of Joel Ira Holwitt, care of the U.S. Naval Academy Alumni Association, 247 King George Street, Annapolis, MD 21402-5068, phone number: (410) 263-4448.

Goldberg, Joshua L., Chaplain, U.S. Naval Reserve, Chaplain's Office, Headquarters of the Commandant Third Naval District, Federal Office Building, 90 Church Street,

- New York, N.Y., to Chaplain Robert D. Workman, Bureau of Navigation, Navy Department, Washington, D.C., 16 April 1942. Unpublished letter (photocopy). Personal possession of Joel Ira Holwitt, care of the U.S. Naval Academy Alumni Association, 247 King George Street, Annapolis, MD 21402-5068, phone number: (410) 263-4448
- Goodwin, Richard C., Mt. Laurel, to the author, Annapolis, 10 April 2002. Typed letter and photocopies signed by Richard C. Goodwin. Personal possession of Joel Ira Holwitt, care of the U.S. Naval Academy Alumni Association, 247 King George Street, Annapolis, MD 21402-5068, phone number: (410) 263-4448.
- Kujat, Elin to the author, 31 March 2006. E-mail. Personal possession of Joel Ira Holwitt, care of the U.S. Naval Academy Alumni Association, 247 King George Street, Annapolis, MD 21402-5068, phone number: (410) 263-4448.
- Lindauer, Harry, Colonel U.S. Army (ret.). "L'Chaim to the U.S.N.A.: Highlights of Jewish Involvement at the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland." TMs (photocopy). U.S. Naval Academy Archives Reference File: "Jewish Midshipmen," William W. Jeffries Memorial Archives, Nimitz Library, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis.
- Littauer, Sebastian B., Assistant Professor of Mathematics, U.S. Naval Academy, Volunteer Representative for the Jewish Welfare Board. "History of the Naval Academy Jewish Church Party," 2 March 1942. Unpublished TMs. Personal possession of Joel Ira Holwitt, care of the U.S. Naval Academy Alumni Association, 247 King George Street, Annapolis, MD 21402-5068, phone number: (410) 263-4448.
- Midshipman Personnel Jacket, Leonard Kaplan, Record Group 405, National Archives—Affiliated Archives: record on deposit at William W. Jeffries Memorial Archives, Nimitz Library, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD.
- Olmsted, Midshipman J.L., Annapolis, to Mr. R.C. Sheriden, care of the Thomsen-Ellis Company, Baltimore, 17 February 1922. Typed transcript. In Midshipman Personnel Jacket, Jerauld Lockwood Olmsted, Record Group 405, National Archives—Affiliated Archives: record on deposit at William W. Jeffries Memorial Archives, Nimitz Library, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD.
- Olmsted, Midshipman J.L., Annapolis, to the Superintendent of the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, 28 May 1922. Typed transcript. In Midshipman Personnel Jacket, Jerauld Lockwood Olmsted, Record Group 405, National Archives—Affiliated Archives: record on deposit at William W. Jeffries Memorial Archives, Nimitz Library, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD.

Schoenbaum, Howard, Columbus, to the author, Annapolis, 7 July 2002. Survey filled in by Howard Schoenbaum. Personal possession of Joel Ira Holwitt, care of the U.S. Naval Academy Alumni Association, 247 King George Street, Annapolis, MD 21402-5068, phone number: (410) 263-4448.

Sheriden, Mr. R.C., care of the Thomsen-Ellis Company, to Midshipman J.L. Olmsted, Annapolis, 23 February 1922. Typed transcript signed by Mr. Sheriden. In Midshipman Personnel Jacket, Jerauld Lockwood Olmsted, Record Group 405, National Archives—Affiliated Archives: record on deposit at William W. Jeffries Memorial Archives, Nimitz Library, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD.

Vinock, Captain Eli, Miami, to U.S. Naval Academy Nimitz Library, 21 December 1991. Typed transcript. U.S. Naval Academy Reference File: “Kaplan, Leonard, Class of 1922, 1958,” William W. Jeffries Memorial Archives, Nimitz Library, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis.

Interviews

Landes, Rabbi Aaron. Interview by George Goodwin, 11 June 1993, Elton Park. Tape recording. Naval War College Oral History 158, Naval War College, Newport.

Lindauer, Colonel Harry and Mrs. Thea Lindauer. Interview by author, 12 July 2002, Annapolis. Tape recording. Personal possession of Joel Ira Holwitt, care of the U.S. Naval Academy Alumni Association, 247 King George Street, Annapolis, MD 21402-5068, phone number: (410) 263-4448.

Rosenblatt, Mrs. Esther. Interview by author, 11 July 2002, Annapolis. Written notes. Personal possession of Joel Ira Holwitt, care of the U.S. Naval Academy Alumni Association, 247 King George Street, Annapolis, MD 21402-5068, phone number: (410) 263-4448.