“IN A POCKET OVER THE HEART”: A LITURGICAL EXAMINATION OF PRAYER BOOKS FOR JEWS SERVING IN THE UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES

ANNALISA GRIMES STRYER

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for Ordination
Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion
Rabbinical School
Cincinnati, OH

2021

Advisers: Rabbi Gary P. Zola, Ph.D., and Rabbi Richard Sarason, Ph.D.

Table of Contents

Abstract

Since its founding in 1917, the Jewish Welfare Board (today known as JWB Jewish Chaplains Council) has sought to meet the religious needs of Jewish personnel serving in the United States Armed Forces. Serving a military population that reflects the denominational diversity of the broader American Jewish community requires an unparalleled degree of cooperation between representatives of the Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox movements—which, over the past century, has extended to intermovement collaboration on prayer books. By examining the liturgy (with an emphasis on the Shabbat worship services) of five distinct "generations" of JWB prayer books for American Jews in uniform over the past century, we attempt to shed light on some of the factors and trends in American Jewish liturgy that have shaped each effort to facilitate prayer for service members facing the challenges of military life.

Acknowledgements

Dr. Gary Zola and Dr. Richard Sarason, who have done so much to help me see this project to fruition despite many challenges, have my sincere and humble gratitude for their patience, their generosity with their time and expertise, and their unfailing encouragement throughout the process. Thank you for believing in me.

To the members of my Cincinnati cohort who have also spent this season striving to complete their theses and capstone projects under circumstances none of us could have imagined, I will take this opportunity to express my gratitude and admiration. It has been my honor and my pleasure to learn with such generous, insightful, dedicated human beings during our time at HUC-JIR. Although the COVID-19 pandemic has prevented us from spending our culminating year together on campus, I have felt the warmth of your humor and your encouragement even from afar and mediated largely through computer screens. To be classmates is a matter of happenstance, but for classmates to become friends—that is an enduring blessing.

Finally, the firm foundation upon which I have been privileged to build all of my efforts is the loving support of my family—both by birth and by marriage. My husband, Michael Stryer, deserves every bit of praise one might conjure for a steadfast spouse and then some. Mike, you have been the dearest companion of my heart for nearly twenty years. To walk side by side with you into the next twenty is the most wonderful gift I can imagine.

Introduction

On December 15, 2017, the JWB Jewish Chaplains Council Facebook page prominently featured a photograph of an airplane cabin crowded with people wearing parachute harnesses. Their expressions betray varying degrees of nervousness and excitement. Strapped in front of a smiling, curly-haired fellow in sunglasses, there is a man, his eyes bright, proudly holding up a book for the camera. The cover of the small volume is splashed with camouflage patterns in muted shades of green and gray and brown, and a sharp-eyed viewer might just be able to make out the word "SIDDUR" in white letters. In the next photo, the plane is nowhere to be seen as the two men hurtle toward the clouds and ground below, grins of elation on both of their faces. Now the curly-haired man is gripping the book against the force of the wind generated by their tandem skydive—an occasion for prayer, perhaps, but probably not for formal liturgy, no matter how well the little book might equip him to *daven Minchah* at terminal velocity.

The photo's caption reads, "From 12,00[0] feet, Irv says, 'I usually don't jump out of a perfectly good airplane, but when I do, I always carry a JWB Siddur with me.'" Rabbi Irving Elson, director of the JWB Jewish Chaplains Council since his 2016 retirement from the U.S. Navy, "had the honor of parajumping with a former Navy SEAL" and took the opportunity to demonstrate the go-anywhere versatility of the latest edition of *Siddur: Prayer Book for Jewish Personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States*.[1] The book was published a century after the Jewish Welfare Board—an organization founded expressly to

[1] JWB Jewish Chaplains Council, "Yesterday, JWB Jewish Chaplains Council Director Irv Elson Had the Honor of Parajumping with a Former Navy SEAL," Facebook, December 15, 2017, https://www.facebook.com/JWBJewishChaplainsCouncil/posts/10155279652182099.

support Jews serving in the U.S. military—issued its first military siddur in an effort to care for the spiritual needs of those mobilized for what would later be known as World War I. The 2017 edition of the JWB siddur is the most recent installment in their series of compact prayer books, each of which bears the liturgical fingerprints of a particular moment in American Jewish culture over the past hundred years.

Each edition of the JWB prayer book represents the determination of the American Jewish community to provide men and women who don the military uniform of the United States with access to the moral, ethical, and spiritual sustenance that comes from Jewish prayer and worship. In a sentiment that applies to every JWB prayer book, the preface of the 1941 *Abridged Prayer Book for Jews in the Armed Forces of the United States* expressed the hope that all Jewish service members—Reform, Conservative, or Orthodox—might bear with them tangible reminders of their connection to God and to the Jewish people in the form of a liturgy tailored especially for their unique needs: "May this prayer book, small enough in size to be carried in a pocket over the heart, bear the spiritual message of Israel's ancient prayers to the heart of the American Jewish soldiers and sailors serving their country."[2] Running parallel to that hope was the longstanding conviction that maintaining a strong *Jewish* identity was precisely how one expressed a proud *American* identity. As Chester J. Teller (1883–1962), executive director of the Jewish Welfare Board, noted in an address he delivered in March of 1918:

---

[2] Jewish Welfare Board, *Abridged Prayer Book for Jews in the Armed Forces of the United States*, ed. Solomon B. Freehof, Eugene Kohn, and David de Sola Pool (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1941), iii. The 1943 edition, in recognition of services other than the Army and the Navy, would update the preface to speak more generally of "the Jewish members of the armed forces serving their country."

> We do the work of the larger American community when we remind them that America permits them to be Jews—nay … wants them to be Jews for what they *as Jews* may contribute to the permanent culture-values of America in the making…. Thank God we understand now better than ever before what America means…. The democracy for which we are fighting now is not a democracy that merely tolerates distinctive culture values—it insists upon them…. It challenges every man to be himself and to look to his neighbor likewise to be himself.[3]

In providing Jewish service members with the liturgy of their own religious tradition, therefore, the JWB viewed itself as not only facilitating particularistic Jewish ritual practice, but upholding the foundational ideals of the United States of America.

In this thesis, we shall seek to identify and analyze some of the distinctive liturgical features of seven iterations of the prayer books that the JWB has produced since 1917. The liturgical and stylistic characteristics of these siddurim reflect the notable changes that were taking place on the American Jewish liturgical landscape throughout the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Each of the following five chapters will focus on a particular edition or closely related set of editions of the prayer books produced from 1917 to 2017. We attempt to briefly situate each edition within its historical context to identify some of the liturgical trends taking place in the broader (i.e., civilian) American Jewish community that influenced the editors' decisions regarding the material to include in a space-efficient, portable prayer

---

[3] Chester Teller, address to the 31st Annual Meeting to the Jewish Publication Society of America, March 24, 1918, National Jewish Welfare Board, Army-Navy Division [JWB Army-Navy] Records, I-180, box 337, folder "Reports 1917-1918" (3 of 3), American Jewish Historical Society, New York, quoted in Jessica Cooperman, *Making Judaism Safe for America: World War I and the Origins of Religious Pluralism*, The Goldstein-Goren Series in American Jewish History (New York: New York University Press, 2018), 1.

book meant to accommodate the broadest spectrum of denominational preferences. For each of these editions, we will conduct a close reading of the Sabbath liturgy in an effort to reveal something of the particular character of each edition. Where appropriate, we will also delve into some of the prayers and liturgical readings of special significance to the military community. For the purposes of this study, these prayer books serve as primary source documents

In Chapter One, we explore the first liturgical effort of the nascent Jewish Welfare Board, the *Abridged Prayer Book for Jews in the Army and Navy of the United States* (1917), published in the year of the organization's founding and intended to accompany Jewish service members into camp and battle during World War I. Twenty-four years later, the United States' massive mobilization for World War II spurred the Jewish Welfare Board's next attempt to create a siddur for service members. In Chapter Two, we investigate the *Abridged Prayer Book for Jews in the Armed Forces of the United States* (1941) and the revised edition that followed closely on its heels, *Prayer Book Abridged for Jews in the Armed Forces of the United States* (1943). In 1958, five years after the Korean War armistice was signed, the JWB issued a new prayer book, the *Prayer Book for Jewish Personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States*, analyzed in Chapter Three. This would serve Jewish members of the U.S. military for more than a quarter of a century—a period characterized by transformational social and political events, including the Vietnam War and long-term tensions with the Soviet Union, which provoked significant changes in the American military. In Chapter Four, we will examine the profound philosophical shift underlying the 1984 *Prayer Book for Jewish Personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States*, which broke with its predecessors' pattern of including separate Reform services. This

transdenominational siddur created a single, integrated liturgy that aspired to serve the spiritual needs of Reform, Orthodox, and Conservative Jews, who might see their own distinctive prayer tradition reflected in the pages of a unified liturgy. Chapter Five, the final chapter, investigates the current edition of the JWB Jewish Chaplains Council's *Siddur: Prayer Book for Jewish Personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States* (2017). The newest edition is a revision and refinement of the 2014 edition, which had been the first time the JWB issued a new prayer book since 1984. These two twenty-first-century liturgies serve the spiritual needs of the post-9/11 generation, and they represent by far the most complete liturgy the JWB has ever produced.

Shabbat—the Sabbath—is a day set apart from the other days of the week; so, too, have we elected to "set apart" its particular liturgy for consideration and comparison across the corpus of JWB prayer books. At the core of our endeavor is the careful analysis of the Sabbath services, which include *Kabbalat Shabbat* (Service for Welcoming the Sabbath), *Ma'ariv L'Shabbat* (Sabbath Evening), *Shacharit L'Shabbat* (Sabbath Morning), *Seder K'riat haTorah* (Torah Service), *Musaf L'Shabbat* (Additional Service for the Sabbath), and *Minchah L'Shabbat* (Sabbath Afternoon). Not every edition includes every Shabbat service; some, notably the ones published in the 1940s and 1950s, include more than one version of certain services. We describe the content of each Shabbat service separately, with attention to where the traditional liturgy has been abridged or otherwise altered to fit in a portable prayer book. We note innovative elements and offer some speculation as to the reasons for their inclusion. In the course of our investigation, we hope to draw out those features that give each edition a particular "texture" that sets it apart from the others.

Even the slimmest and most heavily abridged of these books contains more than the Shabbat liturgy that we have analyzed in detail, but a comprehensive analysis of every service in the collection lies beyond the scope of this thesis. Broad segments of the liturgy, such as weekday services, holiday prayers, and burial services, are necessarily left untapped. Similarly, though we discuss some of the cultural trends and Jewish liturgical developments that have influenced the JWB's prayer books over the past century, we do not present a detailed historical analysis of the innumerable factors that shaped each edition. Our goal is to identify some of the particular characteristics of each JWB prayer book that will help us to plot the developmental trajectory of this unique body of American Jewish liturgical work.

For us to see the entire picture of a century of cross-denominational liturgical creativity, it behooves us to begin at the beginning—or at least, *a* beginning. Our story, therefore, starts in 1917, just as the United States was mobilizing for what was supposed to be "the war to end all wars."

Chapter One: The Jewish Welfare Board's First Military Prayer Book: *Abridged Prayer Book for Jews in the Army and Navy of the United States* (1917)

In April 1917, the United States officially entered the Great War already raging in Europe and began mobilizing for military action on an unprecedented scale. With the institution of the draft, many more Jews from all denominations would be called upon to serve in the U.S. Armed Forces. Orthodox, Reform, and Conservative Jewish communal institutions would be called on to set aside their differences and figure out how best "to meet the diverse spiritual and welfare needs of American Jewish soldiers under wartime conditions."[1] Under the auspices of the newly established Jewish Welfare Board (JWB), representatives of the three major branches attempted to present to the U.S. military a unified Jewish front—by no means an easy task. In this process, the JWB became one of only five official civilian partners with the War Department's Commission on Training Camp Activities (CTCA).[2] The CTCA had been tasked with "creating a clean and morally uplifting military by helping each man don what [Secretary of War Newton Baker (1871–1937)] called an 'invisible armor' designed to protect him from temptation" by "provid[ing] wholesome activities … designed to boost morale and promote patriotism, self-sacrifice, teamwork, fair play, physical fitness, temperance and sexual self-restraint."[3] The military quickly entered into a partnership with the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) to help run the ostensibly nonsectarian programs for the improvement of both morale and

---

[1] Jonathan D. Sarna, *American Judaism: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 212.

[2] Jessica Cooperman, "The Jewish Welfare Board and Religious Pluralism in the American Military of World War I," *American Jewish History* 98, no. 4 (2014): 237–61.

[3] Ibid., 239.

morals for service members of all religious backgrounds, but as historian Jessica Cooperman observed, American Jews and Catholics were immediately sensitive to the "invisible sectarianism" of having a single organization—one with its own Protestant Christian character and agenda—act as the CTCA's sole civilian associate.[4] The War Department was at first unwilling to admit that the YMCA's status was a de facto endorsement of Protestantism over Catholicism and Judaism but eventually relented and allowed that Catholic and Jewish welfare agencies might be better able to meet the needs of their military coreligionists. The Knights of Columbus were granted official status as the Catholic CTCA partner, but it was not immediately clear which organization would become its Jewish counterpart.[5] It was not until "a small group of well-established men met in New York City to create 'a single, all-embracing agency for unified Jewish efforts in connection with welfare work among military personnel'" that the many Jewish organizations that wanted to be involved in supporting Jewish soldiers and sailors began to work together in earnest.[6] Under the management of influential leaders who could both facilitate the cooperation of diverse Jewish groups and provide the streamlined interface with the Jewish community that the military desired, the Jewish Welfare Board was officially recognized by the CTCA as its official Jewish partner in September of 1917.[7]

One of the JWB's earliest acts was to form a committee to produce a nonsectarian, unified siddur for use by American Jewish service members. Three of the founding JWB executive board members joined together to take on the project, funded in part by the U.S.

---

[4] Ibid., 242.
[5] Ibid., 243.
[6] Ibid., 244.
[7] Albert Isaac Slomovitz, *The Fighting Rabbis: Jewish Military Chaplains and American History* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), Kindle Location 774.

government. Dr. Cyrus Adler (1863–1940) represented the Conservative movement's United Synagogue of America, Dr. William Rosenau (1865–1943) represented the Reform movement's Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR), and Dr. Bernard Drachman (1861–1945) represented the Union of Orthodox Congregations.[8] Adler's "achievements were many, including the assistant secretaryship of the Smithsonian Institution and the presidency of Dropsie College, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, the American Jewish Committee and numerous other organizations,"[9] including the American Jewish Historical Society. He also played a founding role in the Jewish Publication Society and had worked with Solomon Schechter to establish the United Synagogue of America, which would eventually become the United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism. At the time of the founding of the JWB, Adler was also serving as the president of the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS); his term had begun on a pro tem basis after Schechter's death, but in 1924 "his title was altered simply to President, a position he held until his death."[10] William Rosenau was an 1889 ordinand of the Hebrew Union College who, in addition to his congregational and professorial duties in Baltimore, served many local and national Jewish organizations. At the time he was helping to establish the JWB and working on the prayer book to be distributed to the troops, he was the sitting president of the CCAR (1916–1918) and just about to begin his term as a member of the Board of Governors of Hebrew Union College, a role in which he would serve until the year of his death.[11] Bernard Drachman was

---

[8] *Abridged Prayer Book for Jews in the Army and Navy of the United States* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1917), v.

[9] Ira Robinson, "Cyrus Adler and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America: Image and Reality," *American Jewish History* 78, no. 3 (1989): 363.

[10] "Cyrus Adler Papers, 1866-1942, 1907-1939 (Bulk).," accessed January 18, 2021, http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/ead/ead.html?id=EAD_upenn_cajs_PUCJSARCMS26USUSUSPUCJS.

[11] "William Rosenau Papers," accessed January 18, 2021, http://collections.americanjewisharchives.org/ms/ms0041/ms0041.html.

born in New Jersey and began his studies in the Reform world and received a scholarship for study in Europe from Temple Emanu-El Theological Seminary. Upon arriving in Europe, however, and "[m]uch to the chagrin of his New York patron, which sought to prepare young American men for advanced Reform rabbinical training at the Berlin Lehranstalt," he embarked upon a traditional course of study that led to his ordination and career as an Orthodox rabbi. With his traditional European education and his English and cultural fluency, he found himself uniquely situated for an emerging American Orthodox rabbinate. He was "an outspoken advocate of cooperation between Orthodox leaders and their more theologically liberal contemporaries in community organizational life," a conviction embodied in his work with the interdenominational JWB.[12] Though they differed on numerous theological points, all three men shared some characteristics. First, they were highly accomplished and respected within their own religious circles, which lent legitimacy to their claim to represent their interests to the broader Jewish community. Second, they were not parochial in their thinking. The latter trait was perhaps the most important in creating the prayer book, as their success would require cooperation, compromise, and a willingness to put the needs of Jewish service members ahead of denominational differences.

The siddur that supplied the bulk of the material from which Adler, Rosenau, and Drachman would carve the *Abridged Prayer Book* was *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire*, the first edition of which was published in 1890 and soon rose to ubiquity throughout the British Empire. The siddur was known colloquially as "Singer's Prayer Book" (as it is called in the preface to the first JWB

---

[12] Moshe D. Sherman and Marc Raphael, *Orthodox Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 1996), 51-52.

prayer book) or the "Singer Siddur" in honor of Rabbi Simeon Singer (1846–1906), who translated the Hebrew text of Isaac Seligman Baer's 1868 *Avodat Yisrael*. The caliber of the translation, which was designed "to unite accuracy and even literalness with due regard to English idiom, and to that simplicity of style and diction which befits the language of prayer,"[13] no doubt helped make Singer's Prayer Book welcome in synagogues and homes alike. However, literary appeal alone may not account for its popularity. The publication costs were subsidized by the prominent, wealthy Montefiore family, which allowed *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book* to go to market at the compelling price of one shilling.[14] This provided a complementary economic rationale to the more aesthetic or scholarly arguments for its widespread adoption.[15]

The goal of producing a portable, pocket-sized prayer book for service members required the committee to wield its editorial knife with ruthless efficiency. The reduction of the traditional liturgy to its bare bones was so severe that only the exigencies of war could warrant its use in place of a more complete prayer book; the preface offers the disclaimer that the *Abridged Prayer Book* "is not intended in any way to supersede existing books of prayer, and is designed solely for the emergency for which it is being published."[16] Such a proviso may also reflect something of the competing priorities of the men responsible for its creation, each of whom nurtured a commitment to his own religious perspective (and would have little desire to see a new liturgy replace the one he treasured) and to the JWB's mission to provide

---

[13] Simeon Singer, *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire*, 9th edition (Eyre and Spottiswoode, Ltd., 1912), http://archive.org/details/AuthorisedDailyPrayerBook9thEdition1912, vii.

[14] According to the currency converter on the British National Archives Website (https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/), one shilling in 1890 was approximately equivalent to £4.10 (about $5.54) in 2017 purchasing power.

[15] Singer, *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, vii.

[16] *Abridged Prayer Book for Jews in the Army and Navy of the United States*, vi.

for the religious needs of all Jews in the military. The disclaimer in the preface may be, on some level, a reassuring denial that the multidenominational cooperation of the JWB entailed some hidden agenda for a postdenominational future.

Organization

In a format that would have been familiar to readers of the Singer Siddur, each two-page spread in the main body of the book contains the Hebrew liturgy (with a few English notes to indicate service choreography or insertions for special days) on the right-hand page and its English translation on the left. Each Hebrew page and its facing English page are numbered identically; only in the preface and the final section of the book—which contains a prayer for the government, a selection of patriotic songs, and a calendar of Jewish holidays for 1917–1920—do the page numbers differ within a single spread.

Liturgical Decisions

In the following sections, we will explore the ways in which Adler, Rosenau, and Drachman adapted the traditional liturgy to suit what they considered to be the most basic requirements of service members in wartime. While our primary focus will be on the services that belong to the Shabbat liturgy, we will also examine a few other features particular to the needs of a military community.

Friday Evening Service | קבלת שבת וערבית

The *Kabbalat Shabbat* service that usually welcomes the Sabbath with the recitation of psalms and liturgical poems such as *Lecha Dodi* is here reduced to a single biblical

selection, Psalm 92, known familiarly as *Mizmor shir l'yom haShabbat*, "a psalm, a song for the Sabbath day." The translation for this text, as well as all the biblical texts in this prayer book, is from the 1917 Jewish Publication Society translation. The decision to begin the service with Psalm 92 adheres to that of the *Union Prayer Book*, though that volume follows the scriptural reading with a responsive reading in English imbued with themes from the other psalms traditionally recited during *Kabbalat Shabbat*.

In an unabridged traditional prayer book, the transition from *Kabbalat Shabbat* to *Ma'ariv*, the evening service proper, would be marked by the recitation of the Mourner's Kaddish followed by the *Bar'chu*, the formal call to worship for praying with a congregation. The *Abridged Prayer Book* omits both from its Shabbat evening service and fails even to point the user toward the more complete version in the weekday evening service on page fourteen. Moreover, neither of the two blessings that customarily introduce the *Shema*, *Ma'ariv Aravim* and *Ahavat Olam*, are included, which makes for a rather precipitous launch into the *Shema* itself. Only the first paragraph of the *Shema*, the *V'ahavta* (Deut. 6:5–9), is included. *Birkat Geulah*, the blessing on the theme of redemption that is the first of two blessings recited after the *Shema*, is omitted, while the second blessing for protection at nighttime, *Hashkiveinu*, is retained. In a nod to the pluralistic aspirations of the project, an asterisked comment explains that the *Union Prayer Book*, in keeping with the Reform movement's universalist ideals as expressed in the 1885 Declaration of Principles (also known as the "Pittsburgh Platform"), does not close the *Hashkiveinu* with an invocation of God's blessing over Jerusalem.

In keeping with the traditional liturgy, the service continues with the recitation of *V'shamru* (Exod. 31:16–17), but instead of marking the transition to the *Amidah* with a

Chatzi Kaddish, the *Abridged Prayer Book* takes the radical step of reducing the Shabbat evening *Amidah* to a selection from just one of its component blessings, *Kedushat HaYom*, the Sanctification of the Day. Perhaps the editors, recognizing the limited time that service members would likely have for Friday night prayers during wartime, chose to emphasize the description of God's rest on the seventh day (Gen. 2:1–3) and the request that God accept the rest of God's people in imitation of the divine as the aspects of the *Amidah* that best express a sense of the day's holiness. At the end of its abbreviated Shabbat evening service, the *Abridged Prayer Book* first directs its users to the *Aleinu* and the Mourner's Kaddish printed in the weekday section of the siddur. The service concludes with *Yigdal*, the poem listing Maimonides' Thirteen Principles of Faith. The *Kiddush* is not included, nor are the blessings for children or the reading of *Eishet Chayil* (Prov. 31), presumably because the siddur was intended for use by service members far from home and family.

Shabbat Morning Service | שחרית לשבת

While it is possible that the editors of the *Abridged Prayer Book* assumed worshippers would know to begin their Shabbat morning prayers with the preliminary blessings it shares with weekday mornings, no note to that effect is present; the "Morning Service for Sabbaths" begins with *Nishmat Kol Chai*, *Shochen Ad*, and *Yishtabach*. Unlike Singer's Siddur, the *Abridged Prayer Book* does not point to the *Chatzi Kaddish* before moving into the call to worship and the recitation of the *Shema* and its blessings. In *Entering Jewish Prayer*, Reuven Hammer notes that under normal circumstances, "On the Sabbath, when time is of no consequence, several *piyyutim* [liturgical poems] are added, most of

which are not specifically connected to the Sabbath as such."[17] During wartime, however, every minute might be of great consequence, and the Sabbath services for which this prayer book was designed would most likely not allow for leisurely worship. As such, the poetic expansions that typically enrich the *Yotzer* benediction on Shabbat—*Ha-Kol Yoducha*, *El Adon*, and *L'El Asher Shavat* (which *does* have a Shabbat theme)—are omitted. The abridged first and second blessings before the *Shema*, *Yotzer* and *Ahavah Rabbah* include footnotes indicating that Reform worshippers do not pray for God to "cause a new light to shine upon Zion" in the first blessing or that God return them from exile to the Holy Land in the second. All three paragraphs of the *Shema* (*V'ahavta*, *V'haya im Shamoa*, and *Vayomer*) are included, in contrast to the evening service above, as is *Emet v'Yatziv*, the blessing after the *Shema* that leads into the *Amidah.*

The *Amidah* largely follows the version in the *Authorised Prayer Book*, though it notes that the *Union Prayer Book* omits the request in the *R'tzeih* section that God "restore the service to the oracle of Thy house" and the attendant Temple sacrifices—practices that the Reformers considered relics with no place in an enlightened, rational Judaism. The *Abridged Prayer Book* provides both the traditional *Chatimah* (ending in "who restores Thy divine presence unto Zion") and an alternative from the *Union Prayer Book*, which concludes, "whom alone we serve in reverence." After the meditation at the end of the *Amidah*, the traditional liturgy includes a paragraph praying "that the temple be speedily rebuilt in our days," which the *Abridged Prayer Book* notes is left out entirely in the Reform liturgy.

---

[17] Reuven Hammer, *Entering Jewish Prayer: A Guide to Personal Devotion and the Worship Service*, 1st ed (New York: Schocken Books, 1994), 139.

At this point the *Abridged Prayer Book* departs sharply from the *Authorised Prayer Book*, which would have concluded *Shacharit* with a *Kaddish Shalem* before beginning *Seder K'riat haTorah*, the service for the reading of the Torah. There is no Torah service of any kind in the *Abridged Prayer Book*. One possible explanation, in addition to the purely practical constraints on the number of pages available, is that the editors assumed that should a group of Jewish service members be lucky enough to have access to a Torah scroll, they would also be likely to have access to a more complete prayer book—which, after all, the abbreviated volume was "not intended in any way to supersede."[18]

Shabbat Additional Service | מוסף לשבת

No separate Shabbat *Musaf* service is included in the *Abridged Prayer Book*. A very few elements, however, are transposed to the end of the morning service: *Ein Keloheinu*, the *Aleinu,* the Mourner's Kaddish, and, as the concluding hymn, *Adon Olam*.

Shabbat Afternoon Service | מנחה לשבת

Similarly, there is no separate Shabbat afternoon service in the *Abridged Prayer Book*. The weekday afternoon service prescribed on page fourteen is extremely brief, containing just three lines that refer the reader to a handful of readings (*Ashrei*, "Praise ye the Lord," the *Amidah*, the *Aleinu*, and the Mourner's Kaddish) cobbled together from other parts of the liturgy.

---

[18] National Jewish Welfare Board, *Abridged Prayer Book for Jews in the Armed Forces of the United States*, vi.

Patriotic Readings and Songs

The concluding section of the *Abridged Prayer Book* contains a prayer for the country and its citizens and three patriotic songs: "America (My Country, 'Tis of Thee)" with lyrics by Samuel Francis Smith,[19] "The Star-Spangled Banner" with lyrics by Francis Scott Key, and "Hail! Columbia!" composed by Philip Phile with lyrics by Joseph Hopkinson.[20] Prior to the designation of "The Star-Spangled Banner" as the national anthem by an act of the Seventy-first Congress in 1931,[21] all three songs enjoyed the status of unofficial national ballads and were employed at appropriate occasions. Although the U.S. Navy had selected "The Star-Spangled Banner" to be played during morning colors—the daily ceremony for hoisting the National Ensign—as far back as 1889,[22] at the time of the *Abridged Prayer Book*'s publication in 1917 there was no definitive frontrunner among the trio. Their equivalent status may explain why the committee deemed all three worthy of the space they required in a prayer book intended to be especially brief.

The "Prayer for the Government" preceding the songs is adapted from one that appeared in the 1895 *Union Prayer Book* edited by Rabbi Kaufmann Kohler.[23] The original version is in the Shabbat morning Torah service, to be read after the Haftarah reading and before returning the Torah to the Ark at the conclusion of the Torah service. The version in

---

[19] "My Country 'Tis of Thee," Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA, accessed December 30, 2020, https://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200000012/.

[20] "Hail Columbia," Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA, accessed December 30, 2020, https://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200000008/.

[21] "H.R. 14, An Act To Make The Star-Spangled Banner the National Anthem of the United States of America, April 21, 1930," U.S. Capitol Visitor Center, accessed December 30, 2020, https://www.visitthecapitol.gov/exhibitions/artifact/hr-14-act-make-star-spangled-banner-national-anthem-united-states-america-0.

[22] "Star Spangled Banner," Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA, accessed December 30, 2020, https://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200000017/.

[23] Central Conference of American Rabbis, *Seder Tefilot Yirael = The Union Prayer-Book for Jewish Worship* (Cincinnati: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1895), http://archive.org/details/sedertefilotyira01cent, 99.

the *Abridged Prayer Book* is presented alone, not moored to any particular service or occasion. The *Union Prayer Book* was designed for synagogue use; in that context, the requests that God "bless this congregation and be with all its members" and that God "bless those who guide and serve this congregation and those who contribute willingly to its support" made perfect sense, as did the reference to "the prayers of all who worship here this morning." A military environment, by contrast, would almost certainly entail ad hoc gatherings of a few service members. The adapted version yields (emphasis added), "May He who is the source of all good gifts bless *the men assembled here*"—an identification which assumes that only men served in the U.S. military, tacitly excluding the possibility that among the tens of thousands of American women who would serve (mostly, though not exclusively, as military nurses) during World War I,[24] there might be some Jewish women seeking the comfort of their tradition's prayers. Another military-specific change from the *Union Prayer Book* elides, "may He prosper them in their various callings and occupations, help them in their needs and guide them in their difficulties" to "may He prosper and help them in their needs and guide them in their difficulties"; there is no need, after all, to mention various occupations when all present share the same profession of arms in some capacity. The second paragraph of the prayer, with its more universal call for God's blessing on the country, its people, and its leaders, only underwent minor adjustments to spelling and capitalization.

[24] "Women in the United States Army," accessed December 30, 2020, https://www.army.mil/women/history/.

Reception

The *Abridged Prayer Book for Jews in the Army and Navy of the United States* was the product of compromise between representatives of Conservative, Reform, and Orthodox Judaism, and the criticism it received would seem to lend credence to the old wisecrack that "a good compromise leaves everyone unhappy." Cooperman records objections to the finished product from both the Orthodox and Reform ends of the spectrum. Some Orthodox Jews perceived an anti-Orthodox bias in the JWB's unwillingness to advocate for kosher food and variance from military inspections on Shabbat, as well as that most military chaplains were Reform graduates of Hebrew Union College and thus less familiar with the Orthodox style of worship expected by more recent immigrants.[25] That the supposedly inclusive prayer book had made such extensive cuts to the traditional liturgy could have been taken by tradition-minded Jews as yet another indicator of how little Orthodox Jews were valued. Some Reform Jews had equally harsh words for the *Abridged Prayer Book*, claiming that it was far too steeped in Orthodox thought to be appropriate for American-born Reform Jews.[26] In trying to meet the religious needs of *all* Jewish service members, the JWB's first attempt at a military prayer book was perhaps not a resounding success at meeting the needs of anyone particularly well—though the JWB claimed that its "prayer books and Bibles have both been warmly welcomed by the soldiers, who have found Jewish inspiration in them and by religious leaders of all denominations."[27]

---

[25] Jessica Cooperman, "'Real Jews,' 'Poor Yehudahs,' and Resistance to the JWB's Agenda" in *Making Judaism Safe for America: World War I and the Origins of Religious Pluralism*, The Goldstein-Goren Series in American Jewish History (New York: New York University Press, 2018).

[26] Ibid., see "Reform Complaints."

[27] Jewish Welfare Board, *Purpose, Scope and Achievement of the Jewish Welfare Board* (New York, 1918), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t83j3xm57, 15.

Cooperman notes that the JWB eventually relegated the *Abridged Prayer Book* to use only outside the continental United States and turned its efforts to providing copies of the Singer Siddur and the *Union Prayer Book* to service members in the United States.[28] In the 1920 *Final Report of War Emergency Activities*, the JWB provides "a list of articles distributed by the Jewish Welfare Board during the war emergency period in the camps of this country and abroad." In the "Religious Supplies" category, the number of "Soldiers and Sailors Prayer Books" provided totals 282,423; "Singer Prayer Books" are a separate line item at a total of 17,500.[29] Despite uneven reviews of the JWB's first prayer book, each copy represented the American Jewish community's hope that it "might prove of strength and comfort to our young men offering their lives in the noble cause for which America has entered the war."[30] A second attempt to produce a unified military prayer book would have to wait until a second World War thrust the United States into large-scale combat once again.

---

[28] Ibid.

[29] Jewish Welfare Board, *Final Report of War Emergency Activities* (New York, 1920), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/coo1.ark:/13960/t9280x68c, 62.

[30] Jewish Welfare Board, *Abridged Prayer Book for Jews in the Army and Navy of the United States*, vi.

Chapter Two: The Jewish Welfare Board's Military Prayer Books for World War II: *Abridged Prayer Book for Jews in the Armed Forces of the United States* (1941) and *Prayer Book Abridged for Jews in the Armed Forces of the United States* (1943)

Even before the 1941 Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor that was the catalyst for a formal declaration of war, the United States was preparing for what appeared to be the inevitable consequence of the turmoil gripping Europe and the Pacific. The national shift to a war footing began more than a year prior to the United States' officially becoming a combatant in World War II:

> In 1940 Congress began passing larger appropriations for the military. President Roosevelt initiated industrial-military planning meetings, anticipating the cooperation of major industries in any war effort. By fall, the National Guard and other reserve units were mobilized to serve a year of active duty. A bill authorizing a one-year conscription quickly passed through Congress.[1]

The Jewish Welfare Board did not sit idle during this tense period of military buildup. Anticipating the massive influx of Jews about to don the uniform and the need to provide for their spiritual sustenance as it had in what would thereafter be known as World War I, the JWB began to make preparations of its own. One of the projects begun around this time was the creation of a new, expanded prayer book for Jewish troops.

---

[1] Albert Isaac Slomovitz, *The Fighting Rabbis: Jewish Military Chaplains and American History* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), Kindle Locations 1247-1250.

The editors behind the 1941 JWB prayer book were Dr. Solomon B. Freehof (1892–1990), Rabbi Eugene Kohn (1887–1977), and Dr. David de Sola Pool (1885–1970). Freehof was a Reform rabbi whose erudition made him a prominent figure on the national Jewish stage as well as in his own Pittsburgh community. He had served as a chaplain in the American Expeditionary Forces in World War I, an experience he carried into his eventual role as chairman of the Committee on Army and Navy Religious Activities (CANRA) Responsa Committee, which issued *halakhic* guidance for service members with questions about the right thing to do when the needs of the military and the requirements of Jewish law collided.[2] The Responsa Committee "required rabbis from the Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox Jewish movements to render legal decisions together—unheard of in civilian life,"[3] but part and parcel of the JWB's unifying *raison d'etre*. Freehof's liturgical experience was equally unimpeachable. He chaired the Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR) Committee on Liturgy at the time of the 1941 prayer book's production and was fresh from his editorial collaboration with Samuel S. Cohen on *The Union Prayer Book for Jewish Worship: Newly Revised Edition* (1940).[4] Kohn was a Conservative rabbi and past president of the Rabbinical Assembly who would be best remembered as one of the founders of the Reconstructionist movement. Perhaps encouraged by his editing experience with the JWB prayer book, he would go on to collaborate with Mordechai Kaplan on the 1945 *Sabbath*

---

[2] See Freehof's introduction to "Collected Responsa in Wartime," https://www.sefaria.org/Collected_Responsa_in_Wartime. See also Daniel M. Bronstein, "Freehof's Laws: A Guide for the Perplexed During World War II," Reform Judaism, accessed January 17, 2021, https://reformjudaism.org/blog/freehofs-laws-guide-perplexed-during-world-war-ii, and Joan S. Friedman, *"Guidance, Not Governance": Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof and Reform Responsa* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2013).

[3] Ronit Y. Stahl, *Enlisting Faith: How the Military Chaplaincy Shaped Religion and State in Modern America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: Harvard University Press, 2017), 82.

[4] "MS-435: Solomon Bennett Freehof Papers 1927-1983," http://collections.americanjewisharchives.org/ms/ms0435/ms0435.html.

Prayer Book.[5] De Sola Pool was a scholar, liturgist, and luminary of the Sephardic Orthodox tradition, serving as the rabbi of the oldest Jewish congregation in the United States, New York City's Congregation Shearith Israel (also known as the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue) from 1907 until his semiretirement in 1955.[6] His role as editor of the new JWB prayer book coincided with the beginning of his term as chairman of CANRA, a position for which historian Rabbi Albert I. Slomovitz, himself a retired Navy chaplain, observed that he was well suited:

> In the First World War, he had served as a field organizer and director of army camp work for the JWB. In the interwar years, he held significant leadership positions with the New York Board of Rabbis and the Synagogue Council of America; he was also the president of the Union of Sephardic Congregations of America. Rabbi de Sola Pool's stature in the Jewish and secular communities constituted a crucial element in the substantial accomplishments of his committee.[7]

Among those accomplishments would be the publication and distribution of the next prayer book for Jewish military personnel—one, it was hoped, that would better accommodate the liturgical preferences of Jewish service members from Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox backgrounds than had its predecessor.

---

[5] "Eugene Kohn," the Open Siddur Project, https://opensiddur.org/profile/eugene-kohn/.

[6] "Rev. Dr. David de Sola Pool Dies at 85," *The New York Times*, December 2, 1970, https://www.nytimes.com/1970/12/02/archives/rev-dr-david-de-sola-pool-dies-at-85.html. See also David de Sola Pool and Marc Angel, *Rabbi David de Sola Pool: Selections from Six Decades of Sermons, Addresses, and Writings* (New York: L. Amiel : Union of Sephardic Congregations, 1980).

[7] Slomovitz, *The Fighting Rabbis,* Kindle Locations 1292-1296.

The acknowledgements section of the 1941 JWB prayer book cites a set of denominationally diverse sources from which its editors drew. As in the 1917 edition, the Jewish Publication Society's biblical translation provided the text for the bulk of the scriptural passages. The CCAR gave permission for the use of the *Union Prayer Book for Jewish Worship: Newly Revised Edition*; *Blessing and Praise: A Book of Meditations and Prayers for Individual and Home Devotion*; and the *Union Hymnal for Jewish Worship*. Simeon Singer's *Authorised Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire*, which had been a significant source for the 1917 JWB siddur, was also referenced, as was the *Prayer Book for Jewish Soldiers and Sailors* of the British military. Editor de Sola Pool was himself an accomplished liturgist and translator of the Sephardic (or "Spanish and Portuguese") rite, and his contributions on that front are recognized.[8]

As the title declares, the slim, brown-covered volume is indeed highly abridged. The editors envisioned that the circumstances under which the book could be employed would be quite narrow, and they fully acknowledged that the worship experience it could facilitate would not be ideal. "Including only the essence of the principal Jewish services of prayer," explains the preface, "[the *Abridged Prayer Book*] is designed to be used where the exigencies of life in the army or the navy do not permit attendance at regular synagogue services with their incomparable richness of spiritual inspiration."[9] Like their 1917 predecessors, the editors understood their miniature prayer book to be for emergency use

---

[8] 1941 was a banner year on the prayer book front for de Sola Pool, who also published *Seder Ha-Tefilot / Book of Prayer According to the Custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews* (New York: Union of Sephardic Congregations) at that time.

[9] Jewish Welfare Board, *Abridged Prayer Book for Jews in the Armed Forces of the United States*, ed. Solomon B. Freehof, Eugene Kohn, and David de Sola Pool (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1941), iii-iv.

only, a liturgical last resort when the choice was between an abbreviated service and no service at all.

1943 Revised Edition

Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein (1901–1985), a Reform rabbi who had been ordained as part of the Jewish Institute of Religion's first graduating class in 1926, became the executive director of CANRA in 1942.[10] When he came to this role, although "the vast majority of Jews in America appeared to feel that [the JWB] represented their needs,"[11] some in the Orthodox world felt that their interests were not being best served by an organization that endorsed Reform and Conservative rabbis, who were "by no means regarded by the Orthodox rabbinical boards and people as well as rabbis in the true sense of Rabbinical leadership, or rabbis in Israel, neither in private affairs, and especially not in army life."[12] Such disapproval was far from universal in the Orthodox community, however, and many Orthodox rabbis stepped up to serve their country as chaplains or to work with the JWB to ensure that the religious needs of their constituents were met. Prayer was definitely one of those needs, and those who longed for the Orthodox mode of prayer would certainly have found the 1941 *Abridged Prayer Book* wanting. When CANRA under Bernstein's leadership

---

[10] "Bernstein, Philip S. - Introduction | RBSCP," accessed January 19, 2021, https://rbscp.lib.rochester.edu/3323. A few years later, Rabbi Bernstein would be "best known for his work after the war, helping to find homes for over 200,000 displaced Jews"—see "RABBI PHILIP BERNSTEIN: HELPED DISPLACED JEWS (Published 1985)," *The New York Times*, December 21, 1985, sec. 1, page 21 https://www.nytimes.com/1985/12/21/nyregion/rabbi-philip-bernstein-helped-displaced-jews.html.

[11] Slomovitz, *The Fighting Rabbis,* Kindle Location 1318.

[12] "Letter from Aryeh Lev to Louis Kraft," March 19, 1941, AJHS-JWBC, quoted in Albert Isaac Slomovitz, *The Fighting Rabbis: Jewish Military Chaplains and American History* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), Kindle Locations 1308-1310.

undertook to revise the 1941 edition of the armed forces siddur, two Orthodox rabbis and one Conservative rabbi joined the editorial lineup.

The preface of the revised edition lists the original team—Freehof, Kohn, and de Sola Pool— alongside the three new editors: Philip Goodman (1911–2006), Leo Jung (1892–1987), and Leon S. Lang (1899–1956). Goodman was an Orthodox rabbi and author who served in the armed services division of the JWB while helping to revise the prayer book. He would go on to serve as director of the Jewish education and Jewish center division of the JWB the following year. Jung, by the time he served as a trustee of the JWB, had "emerged as one of the best-known spokesmen of neo-Orthodoxy in America" and "was instrumental in Americanizing the Orthodox rabbinate and in making the Orthodox synagogue prestigious for American Jews."[13] Lang, a graduate of the JTS, had served as president of the Rabbinical Assembly and would be remembered for his eventual role on the Chaplaincy Availability Board of that body as well as his service to the JWB.[14]

With two additional Orthodox rabbis joining the editorial team, it is unsurprising that the 1943 edition contains far more traditional liturgy than had appeared in either the 1917 or 1941 editions. Not only did the editors add more services, but they expanded the services already in the 1941 edition, in numerous cases picking up prayers or parts of prayers that had been left on the cutting room floor. Their efforts to include a more acceptable (i.e., not as ruthlessly abbreviated) version of the traditional liturgy did not come at the expense of the Reform section, which was also slightly expanded. Ultimately, the new JWB siddur would provide Jewish chaplains and GIs with more options—more material out of which to build a

---

[13] "Jung, Leo," Jewish Virtual Library, accessed January 18, 2021, https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jung-leo.

[14] "Rabbi Leon Lang Dies; Native of Palestine," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 27, 1956.

meaningful prayer experience for Jewish service members who had different opinions on exactly what such an experience ought to entail.

Features

1941 Edition

Whereas the abbreviated weekday services in the 1917 siddur came first in the book, the 1941 edition is arranged so the Shabbat services begin on page one, which demonstrates the priority the editors placed on making the Shabbat liturgy easy to locate. The exception is the Reform-style "Evening Service for the Sabbath," which is at the end of the book. The inclusion of an explicitly Reform service is a new feature of the 1941 edition; the most significant accommodation to Reform liturgical preferences in the 1917 edition had been a few footnotes about some of the places where the *Union Prayer Book* differs from the traditional Hebrew text.

The 1941 JWB prayer book includes three passages in transliteration: the Mourner's Kaddish, *Ein Keloheinu*, and the Hanukkah hymn *Maoz Tzur*.[15] The 1917 edition had been entirely untransliterated, meaning those who did not read Hebrew would be unable to perform the rite of reading it aloud. *The Army and Navy Hymnal*, if a copy were available, could supply transliteration for a few more of the commonly sung passages in its Jewish section, but juggling two books during a fast-moving service would not have been easy.[16]

---

[15] Two English translations of *Maoz Tzur* are provided in the 1941 edition: one from *The Union Hymnal: Newly Revised* by F. de Sola Mendes and one written by Gustav Gottheil and Marcus Jastrow; only the latter, whose popularity eclipsed the other, is included in the 1943 edition.

[16] For transliterations of common congregational responses as well as *Adon Olam* and *Yigdal*, see J.E. Yates and Evan W. Scott, eds., *The Army and Navy Hymnal - Hymn Edition* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1925), http://archive.org/details/TheArmyAndNavyHymnal-HymnEdition, 128-137.

Subsequent editions of the JWB siddur would include more and more passages in transliteration, but the trend began with the handful of selections rendered in English characters in the 1941 edition.

As in the 1917 edition, there is no Shabbat *Musaf*, Shabbat Afternoon, or any kind of Torah service included, so our consideration of the Shabbat liturgy will cover primarily the features of the evening and morning Shabbat services that differ substantially from their counterparts in the 1917 edition.

1943 Edition

As mentioned above, the 1943 revised edition adds several more Shabbat services—including a brief *Kabbalat Shabbat* service, a Torah reading service, a *Musaf* service, and a *Minchah* service—to the Shabbat evening and morning services that had been in the 1941 edition. To fit so much more content into what had to remain a pocket-sized book often required the editors to prioritize space efficiency over ease of use, which meant that the users would do a great deal of flipping back and forth to find a particular prayer.

The Reform Shabbat evening service from the *Union Prayer Book* that had been tucked away at the end of the 1941 edition was now joined in the 1943 revision by a *UPB* weekday morning service, but perhaps even more significant is a shift in the way it was printed. Whereas all of the services (including the single *UPB* service) in the 1941 edition had been paginated for reading right to left, the new edition presented the pages of the Reform services to be read from left to right. The result is a book with two "fronts," depending on how one holds the book and turns the pages. If opened as a Hebrew book, the traditional liturgy appears first; if opened as an English book, the text begins with the *UPB*

excerpts, and the pages turn in the direction to which Reform Jews would have been accustomed.

Inauguration of the Sabbath (1943; omitted in 1941)

The service opens with Psalm 95 and leaps straight to Psalm 29. The rhyming English translation of *Lecha Dodi* is David de Sola Pool's, declaring in cadence, "Come, loved Israel, greet thy bride; / Welcome the coming of Sabbath tide."[17] The rhyming rendition also appeared in his Sephardic *Book of Prayer According to the Custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews* (1941) and would appear again in his 1960 Ashkenazic siddur *Traditional Prayer Book for Sabbath and Festivals*.[18] Psalm 92, which opened the Friday evening service in the 1941 edition, is returned to its traditional *Kabbalat Shabbat* setting. The service ends with a direction to turn elsewhere in the book to recite the Mourner's Kaddish before moving into *Ma'ariv*.

Evening Service for the Sabbath

1941 Edition

The Shabbat evening liturgy in the 1941 siddur is very similar to that in the preceding edition. The separate Reform service eliminates the need to footnote the differences between Reform and traditional wording. As in the previous edition, the *Amidah* is reduced only to a

---

[17] Jewish Welfare Board, *Abridged Prayer Book* (1943), 6.

[18] Not everyone appreciated the rhyming. In a review of the *Traditional Prayer Book*, Robert Alter noted rather scathingly, "The exigencies of an ABAB rhyme-scheme used with a short, regular line reduce such fine pieces of poetry as *Lecha Dodi* and *Adon Olam* to chiming doggerel"—see Robert Alter, "The Traditional Prayer Book for Sabbath and Festivals, Edited by David de Sola Pool; Weekday Prayer Book, Edited by Gershon Hada," *Commentary Magazine*, November 1, 1961, https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/robert-alter-2/the-traditional-prayer-book-for-sabbath-and-festivals-edited-by-david-de-sola-pool-weekday-prayer-book-edited-by-gershon-hadas/.

selection from the *Kedushat HaYom* benediction characteristic of Shabbat evening, but the 1941 edition then adds part of the *Brachah Me'ein Sheva* that on Friday nights stands in place of the usual repetition of the *Amidah*. The service concludes with *Aleinu*, the Mourner's Kaddish (with a helpful reference to the transliteration elsewhere in the volume), and *Yigdal* (with a reference to the *Army and Navy Hymnal*). The Shabbat evening *Kiddush* appears immediately afterward.

1943 Edition

To save space and facilitate the reuse of the many parts of the Friday night liturgy shared with its weekday counterparts, one passage (*V'hu rachum*) not recited on Shabbat evenings is included before the *Bar'chu*. The 1943 edition restores the first and second blessings before the *Shema* and renders all three paragraphs of the *Shema* in full. The *Ga'al Yisrael* blessing follows, and then *Hashkiveinu* (which includes another weekday-only reference). *V'shamru* (Exod. 31:16–17) precedes the *Chatzi Kaddish* that marks the transition to the *Amidah*, almost all of which had been omitted in the 1941 edition. A passage in the *Hodaah* (Thanksgiving) benediction recited during the *Shacharit* and *Musaf* services follows, as those services will refer the user back to the Friday evening *Amidah* rather than waste precious page space. Similarly, both *Shalom Rav* (evening and afternoon) and *Sim Shalom* (morning and *Musaf*) are printed here with notes to choose the appropriate version of the *Birkat Shalom* benediction for the time of day.

A note directs the reader back a few pages for *Vay'chulu* (Gen. 2:1–3), to be followed by the full *Brachah Me'ein Sheva,* which stands in place of a full repetition of the *Amidah* on Friday nights. Rather than printing a separate *Kaddish Shalem*, the 1943 book has the reader turn forward a few pages to the Mourner's Kaddish, then back for *Aleinu*, which leads right

back into the Mourner's Kaddish. Where the 1941 edition had provided a translation opposite the Hebrew and directed the reader to the back of the book for a transliterated version, the 1943 edition does the opposite. Perhaps the editors imagined a soldier struggling to follow the Hebrew all through the rest of the service and took pity on him, allowing him to pronounce the hallowed words without any further shuffling of pages. *Yigdal* and new addition *Shalom Aleichem* are also transliterated; the references to the *Army and Navy Hymnal* that had appeared in the 1941 edition are absent.

Evening Service for Shabbat (Reform)

1941 Edition

Reform Jewish service members longing for the comfort of familiar liturgy could turn to the end of the slim volume to find a Shabbat evening service borrowed from the *Union Prayer Book for Jewish Worship: Newly Revised Edition* (1940). As compared to the 1895 *UPB*, which might be called the liturgical apotheosis of radical Reform universalism, the 1940 edition reveals a tentative shift back toward the particular, which "reflected the growing influence on the movement of Jews from Eastern Europe, who had greater attachment to Hebrew and to traditional customs."[19] This shift also hews to the CCAR's 1937 Columbus Platform, which states:

> Judaism as a way of life requires in addition to its moral and spiritual demands, the preservation of the Sabbath, festivals and Holy Days, the retention and development of such customs, symbols and ceremonies as

[19] Richard S. Sarason, *Divrei Mishkan T'filah: Delving into the Siddur* (New York, NY: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 2018), xvii.

> possess inspirational value, the cultivation of distinctive forms of religious art and music and the use of Hebrew, together with the vernacular, in our worship and instruction.[20]

The service nonetheless differs significantly from the more traditional (if still highly abbreviated) version at the beginning of the 1941 *Abridged Prayer Book*. The Reform service opens with two English readings, the second of which is a responsive reading on themes from the psalms traditionally recited during *Kabbalat Shabbat*. The section containing the *Shema* and its blessings provides more Hebrew. The *Amidah* reflects a few Reform changes, such as replacing גואל ("redeemer") with גאלה ("redemption"). The Adoration, as the *Union Prayer Book* names the *Aleinu*, presents only two lines in Hebrew, with the remainder in English, following the custom of that prayer book. The Mourner's Kaddish differs from the traditional text, which offers praise to God and does not explicitly mention the departed, by including a paragraph that speaks directly of the deceased. For service members who grew up in Reform congregations where this text was recited, this must have been a meaningful comfort.

1943 Edition

The service is unchanged except for slight differences in formatting and the change in the direction one turns the pages.

---

[20] Central Conference of American Rabbis, "The Guiding Principles of Reform Judaism," Central Conference of American Rabbis, https://www.ccarnet.org/rabbinic-voice/platforms/article-guiding-principles-reform-judaism/.

Shabbat Morning Service

1941 Edition

The first blessing before the *Shema* is abridged far more than is the version in the 1917 edition, reducing it to a mere three sentences: the opening blessing that praises God as the one who "makest light and creates darkness, who makest peace and createst all things"; the request that God "cause a new light to shine upon Zion"; and the closing *Chatimah*.[21]

After the *Amidah*, in the absence of a Shabbat *Musaf* or Torah service, the morning service continues with *Ein Keloheinu*. Where the 1917 JWB siddur had included the line "Thou art He unto whom our father burnt the incense of spices" (which is not really part of the poem, but serves as a transition to a brief study passage) in both English and Hebrew,[22] the 1941 edition omits it entirely. The reason may be found in the note that directs worshippers to the relevant page in *The Army-Navy Hymnal*, which omits the oft-appended incense line from its transliterated and translated versions.[23] The line might have been left out of the 1941 prayer book to ensure consistency with the musical resources most readily available to service members. After the recitation of *Aleinu* and the Mourner's Kaddish (from the Shabbat evening service prior), the morning service concludes with *Adon Olam*; a reference to *The Army-Navy Hymnal* is provided here, as well.

---

[21] Jewish Welfare Board, *Abridged Prayer Book* (1941), 16.

[22] *Abridged Prayer Book for Jews in the Army and Navy of the United States* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1917), 40.

[23] Yates and Scott, *The Army and Navy Hymnal - Hymn Edition*, 132.

1943 Edition

Unlike the 1941 edition, the 1943 edition provides references to begin Shabbat *Shacharit* with preliminary prayers from the weekday morning service. After *Nishmat Kol Chai*, *Shochen Ad*, and *Yishtabach*, the *Chatzi Kaddish* that had been omitted in previous editions leads into the *Shema* and its blessings. The *Yotzer* benediction, which had been pruned back almost to the root in the 1941 edition, is back to its full glory in the revised edition. *Ahavah Rabbah* and all three paragraphs of the *Shema* are included, as is the *Ga'al Yisrael* benediction.

Among the various configurations of the *Amidah* in this Shabbat liturgy, only the Shabbat evening version is in a relatively straightforward, start-to-finish fashion; in the *Shacharit*, *Musaf*, and *Minchah* services, the central prayer is constructed from building blocks elsewhere in the prayer book. The Shabbat morning section prints the benedictions *Avot*, *Gevurot*, *Kedushat HaShem,* and *Kedushah*, plus *Kedushat HaYom* through "זכר למעשה בראשית" / "in remembrance of the creation," at which point the user is instructed to turn back to *Kedushat HaYom* in the Shabbat evening *Amidah* for the rest of the recitation. If the user remembers the correct page number to which to return after the concluding blessings of the *Amidah*, he or she will stay there only long enough read the direction to flip back to the *Kaddish* in the evening service.

Torah Service (1943; omitted in 1941)

The Torah service begins with the expected *Ein Kamocha* and *Vayhi Binsoa*, which lead into the *Shema* and *Gadlu* and congregational responses after the Torah is brought out. The passage from the *Zohar* is omitted, as are verses I Chronicles 29:11 and Psalm 99:5, 9,

which are customarily sung or chanted during the procession of the Torah scroll. After the reading and its attendant blessings, the reader is instructed to turn to "Prayer for Our Country"—a new prayer that replaces the "Prayer for the Government" (adapted from the *Union Prayer Book* version) that appeared in the 1917 and 1941 JWB prayer books. The prayer calls for God to "safeguard our country, the United States of America"—naming the nation explicitly, as the previous edition had not—"and the people who dwell therein." When service members recited these words, they might have been struck with a sober awareness that it was, in part, through *them* that such security might be afforded. The prayer also asks God to protect the protectors, the very people for whom the prayer book was intended:

> We beseech the, O God, to shield and protect our armed forces, in the air, on sea, and on land. Bless them with victory. May it be Thy will that the dominion of tyranny and cruelty be speedily brought to an end and the kingdom of righteousness established on earth with liberty and freedom for all mankind.[24]

Surely a prayer for a swift end to the war and bloodshed would have been among the most fervent of the service.

After the "Prayer for Our Country," the reader must then turn to *Ashrei* in the weekday morning service, then back to the Torah service for *Y'hallelu* / *Hodo al-eretz*, then all the way back to Psalm 29 before flipping back to the end of the Torah service. Once the Torah is safely put away, the reader must once again flip back to the *Chatzi Kaddish.*

---

[24] Jewish Welfare Board, *Prayer Book Abridged (1943)*, 318.

Shabbat Additional Service (1943; omitted in 1941)

The *Musaf Amidah* is constructed from components in the Shabbat morning service, which provide the proverbial bookends for the elements in the *Kedushah* and *Kedushat HaYom* that are unique to the *Musaf* service. In contrast to the 1941 edition, *Ein Kelhoheinu* and *Adon Olam* are accompanied by their transliterations, with references to English translations toward the back of the book; notes referring to the *Army and Navy Hymnal* are omitted. Between the two poems are directions to passages already printed (*Aleinu*, the Mourner's Kaddish, Psalm 92, and the Mourner's Kaddish again).

Shabbat Afternoon Service (1943; omitted in 1941)

The Shabbat *Minchah* service is a "recipe" printed on a single page; all elements except for the unique Shabbat afternoon passage for the *Kedushat HaYom* are printed elsewhere.

"Prayer for Home" (1941 and 1943 editions)

The composition titled "Prayer for Home" seems ideally suited to putting into words the heartfelt concerns of a service member deployed overseas and thinking of those he left behind. There is some disagreement as to its authorship, however. The appendix to the *Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the 77th Congress* records the remarks of Senator Harvey M. Kilgore (1893–1956) of West Virginia, who on October 13, 1942, requested "unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a prayer by Sgt. Conley M. Abbott, 23 years old, of Hemphill, W. Va., who is now stationed at New

Caledonia."[25] The young Army sergeant (1919–1973[26]) reportedly wrote a letter to his sister from the islands east of Australia, where he had been stationed since February 1942, which suggested that "our youths who are serving on far-flung battlefronts are looking at this conflict philosophically and still find time to pray"[27] for God's blessings to help them through the separation from loved ones. Abbott's sister, wishing for "others with loved ones in the service also to read it" that they might "find their hope and faith renewed," forwarded the touching words to the *Welch Daily News*, a local West Virginia paper.[28] From there, it found its way to the desk of Senator Kilgore and thence to the halls of the U.S. Capitol, and Sgt. Conley M. Abbott was duly recorded in the *Congressional Record* as the author of this moving prayer.

Something does not add up, however. One major discrepancy suggests that Abbott was not the original composer: The prayer appears on page 119 of the JWB's 1941 edition, published well before the young soldier arrived in Australia and picked up a pen to write to his sister. One might imagine a scenario in which he encountered "Prayer for Home" in the course of his Army duties—perhaps overhearing it at a Jewish service, or perhaps in conversation with a Jewish soldier who found comfort in the JWB prayer book. Maybe an unattributed copy was already circulating separately. He might have been moved to write out the words to share with his family back home and neglected to inc lude an attribution. His fond sister might have then mistakenly assumed that it was her brother's original work and

---

[25] United States Congress, *Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the 77th Congress*, vol. 88, part 10 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942), A3657.

[26] "Conley Morris Abbott (1919-1973) - Find A Grave...," accessed January 5, 2021, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/155569742/conley-morris-abbott.

[27] Congress, *Congressional Record*, A3657.

[28] Ibid.

shared it more broadly in that belief. No matter the precise circumstances under which he first came across the "Prayer for Home," it is apparent that although Abbott was not himself Jewish, the words published in a Jewish military siddur resonated with him.

The universal themes of love of family, yearning for home, and striving against loneliness in "Prayer for Home" had a clear appeal that transcended religious boundaries. More than merely asking for God's blessings upon distant loved ones, the prayer asks that God help the service member avoid the temptation to behave poorly in an environment far removed from the moderating effect of normal Stateside family life: "Keep me under the influence of the ties that bind me to them," prays the service member, "so that even in strange surroundings I may conduct myself in ways that do them honor." To bolster the family connections attenuated by the exigencies of military service, the service member offers his own efforts "to bring cheer to [his] comrades, who like [him] are separated from their dear ones." Finally, the service member calls upon God as "the Father of all" and "the source of all love" as the ultimate comfort of those who feel "friendless or forsaken" during a time of separation from everything familiar.[29]

The prayer, which fulfilled the hope expressed in the preface that the book might "link those far from home with some of the most beautiful and uplifting associations of family life,"[30] was popular with the troops, according to a 1952 essay by Rabbi Morris N. Kertzer (1910–1983), in which he related a story from his service as a military chaplain during World War II:

---

[29] Jewish Welfare Board, *Prayer Book Abridged* (1941), 119.
[30] Ibid., iii.

> In one medical unit in Italy no one minded if under pressure I deleted some of the age-old prayers, but if I dared overlook [the page] containing the Prayer for Home, the murmurs and glances of reproach would be more than I could withstand. I still see before me the look of serenity on the face of an American boy as he repeated by heart, like a pious Jew reciting the Ashre, "Far from home and those I love, I find my thoughts turning to them with affectionate longing."[31]

So popular was the prayer, in fact, that Abbott was not the only one to send a copy home. A February 1945 article in the *Republican and Herald* of Pottsville, Pennsylvania, reports on a letter that an Army nurse, Lt. Roslyn Friebrand (d. 2010), stationed in Burma, wrote to her grandmother, saying that "the servicemen and women in that theater, during their religious services, pray for the people back home in America" in the words of the "Prayer for Home," a copy of which she included.[32] The prayer continued to resonate with people even after their return to civilian life; someone signing himself "Ex-G.I." wrote a 1946 letter to an advice columnist asking for help finding a prayer of which he could only remember the first line. The columnist came to the rescue and wrote, "You have in mind a supplication from the Abridged Prayer Book for Jews in the Armed Forces of the United States"[33]—an attribution more convincing than that in the *Congressional Record*. The enduring popularity of the "Prayer for Home" is a testament to its ability to speak to challenges common to all service

---

[31] Morris N. Kertzer, "Tolerance Is Real In Barracks Life," *The Daily Oklahoman*, March 24, 1952, 7. http://www.newspapers.com/image/449435636/.

[32] "Americans in Burma Pray for Loved Ones," *Republican and Herald*, February 2, 1945, 5. http://www.newspapers.com/image/448229218/.

[33] Martha Carr, "My Opinion," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 9, 1946, 2D. http://www.newspapers.com/image/138621959/.

members, and it is that universality that must have resonated with the editors of subsequent editions of the JWB prayer book, who have included a version of the prayer in each new iteration.

Wartime Unity

In her book *Enlisting Faith: How the Military Chaplaincy Shaped Religion and State in Modern America*, Ronit Y. Stahl observes that the policies of the military chaplaincy in its response to the needs of service members had a corollary effect on the religious groups that provided guidance for their adherents in balancing the requirements of faith with service to their country. One of the ways the government dealt with the country's religious diversity was to try to simplify the issue. Rather than attempting to address the myriad denominations individually, the military superimposed a scheme that assumed everyone fell into one of three categories, as Stahl writes:

> In World War I and the interwar years, the chaplaincy consolidated a panoply of white immigrant and native-born Americans into three more manageable religious groups: Protestants, Catholics, and Jews…. [T]he military recognized Catholics and Jews as equals, successfully building a tri-faith model that, though more fictive than real, would permeate midcentury American culture.[34]

To meet the state's need for a single interface with a religious group that was now treated as equal to Catholics and Protestants, "the Jewish Welfare Board had to present a united front even though American Judaism consisted of multiple movements with differing perspectives

---

[34] Stahl, *Enlisting Faith*, 82.

on theology, law, and ritual."[35] This requirement necessitated cooperation among the denominations that simply would not have happened were it not for the pressures of the war effort. The 1941 *Abridged Prayer Book* and its 1943 revision were the liturgical fruit of Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform stakeholders choosing to work together because the alternative would mean failure to support Jewish service members. Such a failure was unthinkable for the editors, who believed that fostering the connection of Jews in uniform to their Judaism was itself a patriotic act: "In furthering this high purpose," they wrote in the preface, "this little volume of devotion serves not only the men who use it, but also the highest ideal of America."[36]

Jonathan Sarna notes that "[s]ome 550,000 Jewish men and women, 11 to 12 percent of the national Jewish population, eventually served in America's armed forces during World War II."[37] During that time, more than half a million American Jews may have had occasion to open the unassuming, brown, pocket-sized prayer book stamped with the logo of the JWB, an organization that "modeled in war a spirit of Jewish unity that so often eluded American Jews in times of peace."[38] Each of the 311 Jewish chaplains who served during the war had to be ready to serve a diverse Jewish population. While the 1941 revision of the prayer book was not perfect (still too incomplete for the traditionalists and too traditional for the liberals), it nonetheless saw six printings and about 400,000 copies produced. The 1943 edition addressed some of the missing pieces of its predecessor, and its initial print runs were even larger. Each of these two prayer books represented the best efforts of Conservative,

---

[35] Stahl, *Enlisting Faith*, 82.
[36] Jewish Welfare Board, *Abridged Prayer Book* (1941), iii.
[37] Jonathan D. Sarna, *American Judaism: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 264.
[38] Ibid., 265.

Orthodox, and Reform Jews to provide chaplains with a liturgical tool they could use in a time of great need—and use it they would. In the European and Pacific Theaters, clustered about Army Jeeps and aboard Navy ships, on the eve of battle and in its aftermath, Jewish service members could turn to a little book intended to "bear the spiritual message of Israel's ancient prayers to the heart of American Jewish soldiers and sailors serving their country"—and perhaps be comforted thereby.

Chapter Three: A Postwar Prayer Book Revision: *Prayer Book for Jewish Personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States* (1958)

The years following the end of World War II brought something of a religious renaissance to the United States. The massive numbers of service members returning home brought with them not only the experiences of the Pacific and European Theaters that might inspire recourse to God, but of serving within a context of a military that "recognized that the religion and patriotism could be linked, with God, country, and brotherhood coalescing into a state-supported religious adhesive critical to national defense."[1] Indeed, some took it as given that religion and American identity were inextricably bound, as Will Herberg (1901–1977) opined in his 1955 bestseller *Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology*:

> Americans believe in religion in a way that perhaps no other people do. It may indeed be said that the religious affirmation of the American people, in harmony with the American Way of Life, is that religion is a "good thing," a supremely "good thing," for the individual and the community. And "religion" here means not so much any particular religion, but religion as such. "Our government makes no sense," President Eisenhower recently declared, "unless it is founded in a deeply felt religious faith—*and I don't care what it is*" (emphasis added).[2]

---

[1] Ronit Y. Stahl, *Enlisting Faith: How the Military Chaplaincy Shaped Religion and State in Modern America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: Harvard University Press, 2017), 72.

[2] Will Herberg, *Protestant - Catholic - Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1955), 84.

All three of the major religious groups enshrined as the tripartite foundation of American spiritual life in works such as Herberg's experienced a renewed interest in and commitment to faith that Jonathan Sarna observes may have been "a response … to wartime horrors and to the postwar threat from 'godless' Communism."[3] American Jews thrived during what Arthur Goren, borrowing from Lucy Dawidowicz's characterization of the period from 1945 to 1967 as "The Golden Age in America," called the "golden decade" from the end of the war to the mid-1950s.[4] Antisemitism was on the decline due in part to "federal and state legislation, pressure from returning veterans, government and media exposure … and the stigma of being compared to the Nazis."[5] This resulted in new opportunities, both social and professional, for American Jews to move into the middle class as they migrated from the cities to the more affluent suburbs. They did so in droves, changing the landscape of Jewish communal life.

The synagogue "became the primary guardian of ethnic identity and continuity" for suburban Jews seeking a new anchor for Jewish community outside the old urban network of Jewish organizations, which ranged from religious to secular and formal to informal. Between 1945 and the end of the 1950s, this restructuring drove "the construction of some six hundred synagogues and temples."[6] Most of the new congregations were under the auspices of the Conservative movement; the number of their synagogues far outstripped that of Reform and Orthodox combined. Conservative Judaism offered what seemed to be a temperate halfway point between Orthodoxy and Reform Judaism, a centrist outlook that appealed to those looking for a balance between their increasing integration into middle-

---

[3] Jonathan D. Sarna, *American Judaism: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 274.

[4] Arthur A. Goren, "A 'Golden Decade' for American Jews: 1945-1955," in *American Judaism: A History*, ed. Jonathan D. Sarna (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 294–311.

[5] Sarna, *American Judaism*, 276.

[6] Goren, 295.

class, secular American life and their sense of connection to Jewish tradition. This position ultimately led to its "capturing the allegiance of a clear plurality of America's Jews and becoming the largest of the Jewish religious movements." [7] Although neither Reform Judaism nor Orthodoxy remained stagnant during the post–World War II period, Conservative Judaism's popularity made its liturgy the clear candidate for the primary source from which the JWB would draw for its new military siddur, the 1958 *Prayer Book for Jewish Personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States*.

In 1944, the flagship organizations of Conservative Judaism, the Rabbinical Assembly of America and the United Synagogue of America, had established the Joint Prayer Book Commission with an eye toward publishing a siddur that would "serve the needs of all who are striving to perpetuate traditional Judaism in the modern spirit."[8] Rabbi Morris Silverman (1894–1972) had been working on his own new English translation for just such a prayer book, and with Silverman as editor, his manuscript formed the nucleus around which the official liturgical expression of Conservative Judaism in America would be constructed. Rabbi Robert Gordis (1908–1992) served as the chairman of the commission, and Rabbi Max Arzt (1897–1975) served as secretary. Together with the other members of the commission, Silverman, Gordis, and Arzt sought to produce a prayer book based on three principles, which Gordis enumerates in the foreword: "continuity with tradition, relevance to the modern age, and intellectual integrity."[9]

---

[7] Sarna, *American Judaism*, 284.

[8] Rabbinical Assembly of America and United Synagogue of America, *Sabbath and Festival Prayer Book with a New Translation, Supplementary Readings and Notes*, ed. Morris Silverman, 1946, https://opensiddur.org/compilations/liturgical/siddurim/shabbat-siddur/seder-tefilot-yisrael-sabbath-festival-prayer-book-1946/, iv.

[9] Ibid., vii.

The Reform movement, though it did not grow as quickly during the postwar decade, remained an influential force on the American Jewish scene in both civilian and military contexts. Aryeh Lev (1912–1975), a Reform rabbi who served as an active duty Army chaplain during World War II and remained in the Army Reserve thereafter, was executive director of the National Jewish Welfare Board's Committee on Army and Navy Religious Activities (later called the Division of Religious Activities and then the Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy) from 1946 until his death.[10] Under his leadership, the JWB continued its mission to serve the range of religious needs of a Jewish military population that echoed the denominational diversity of the American Jewish population as a whole. This effort is reflected in the composition of the 1958 JWB siddur. As an alternative to the more traditional liturgy intended to satisfy the requirements of Conservative and Orthodox service members, a set of six services derived from the 1940 *Union Prayer Book* are provided for those seeking a Reform-style experience: a weekday morning service, evening and morning services for Shabbat, evening and morning services for festivals, and a memorial service.

The JWB's 1958 *Prayer Book for Jewish Personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States*, while still sufficiently abridged to declare in the preface that the siddur "is not intended for general use by the civilian population" and that "Jewish service personnel who desire to possess and employ a more complete prayer book are encouraged to do so,"[11] follows the trend of its predecessor in providing a fuller complement of the daily and Shabbat services than was attempted in the original 1917 edition. As had been the case with the 1941

---

[10] "Collection: National Jewish Welfare Board Military Chaplaincy Records," The Center for Jewish History Archives, accessed January 6, 2021, https://archives.cjh.org/repositories/3/resources/1655.

[11] The Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy of the National Jewish Welfare Board, *Prayer Book for Jewish Personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States* (The Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy of the National Jewish Welfare Board, 1958), v.

and 1943 editions, the efforts of the Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy of the Jewish Welfare Board to provide a prayer book of equal utility to Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox service members led not to the integration of all three modes of worship into a single, seamless military liturgy, but to a volume that provided its users with a choice between a "traditional" liturgy occupying most of the book's 470 pages and a much briefer liturgy excerpted from the Reform *Union Prayer Book*.[12] While the separation of the Reform services into their own section no doubt made them easier to find, their separation may have highlighted and reinforced a sense of dichotomy between liberal and traditional approaches to Jewish prayer. The Reform services are labeled with "(UPB)" after each title, whereas the more traditional services are not labeled. Such a convention might implicitly situate the unmarked services as the standard from which any marked services are deviations. Consider how the effect might have differed if the "Evening Service for the Sabbath" drawn primarily from Reform liturgy had been placed adjacent to the "Evening Service for Sabbath and Festivals" drawn from Orthodox and Conservative prayer books. Perhaps the two styles would have appeared to be on more equal footing—as equally viable alternatives within Jewish practice rather than as "standard" and "other."

Liturgical Decisions

As in previous chapters, we will consider how the Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy adapted the Shabbat liturgy in civilian prayer books for use in a more compact volume. Because the more "traditional" services take up the lion's share of the space in the 1958

[12] Although several more Reform services were provided in the 1958 edition than had been in the previous edition, parity was still not the result.

siddur, the bulk of the following examination is devoted to those services; however, we also mention noteworthy elements of the services borrowed from the *Union Prayer Book*.

Welcoming Shabbat | קבלת שבת

The "traditional" *Kabbalat Shabbat* service in the 1958 JWB siddur is abridged from the version in Silverman's *Sabbath and Festival Prayer Book*. Both services begin with Psalm 95, but where the civilian prayer book continues with Psalms 96–99, the military prayer book moves directly to Psalm 29. The sixteenth-century poem *Lecha Dodi* is included alongside a rhyming English translation by Solomon Solis-Cohen (1857–1948), a polymath who had filled the time left over from his career as a physician and professor with translating medieval Hebrew poetry, helping to found such institutions as the JTS and the Jewish Publication Society, and participating in early Zionist organizations.[13] The service continues with Psalm 92, omits Psalm 93, and concludes with the Mourner's Kaddish.

While the page layout of Silverman's prayer book afforded enough room to include both an English translation and transliteration on the same page as the Mourner's Kaddish, the 1958 siddur includes only an Ashkenazi transliteration next to the Aramaic text. Limited space required that the commission make a choice. That they prioritized the transliteration of the Mourner's Kaddish is both a concession to the reality that not all Jewish service members were proficient in Hebrew and a recognition of the power that reciting the Mourner's Kaddish held even for those unable to read it in the original. The commission even selected a transliteration that both approximates the words and indicates with italics which syllable

[13] "Collection: Papers of the Solis-Cohen Family," The Center of Jewish History Archives, accessed January 5, 2021, https://archives.cjh.org/repositories/3/resources/356.

should be stressed, which emphasizes the *performance*—not merely the presence on the pages of the book—of this rite in particular as something very meaningful.

Shabbat Evening Service | תפלת ערבית לשבת

The *Bar'chu* and the two blessings before the *Shema* appear with the same text as that in the Silverman siddur. Unlike the civilian version, however, the JWB siddur provides the transliteration for the first six words of the *Shema*, to accommodate those without Hebrew proficiency. All three paragraphs of the *Shema* (Deut. 6:4–9, Deut. 11:13–21, and Num. 15:37–41) are present. The translation is adapted from the Jewish Publication Society 1917 version, with a few minor changes (e.g., in Deut. 11:17, "the displeasure of the Lord will be aroused against you" rather than "the anger of the LORD be kindled against you"). As in the Silverman prayer book, the English translation of the first blessing after the *Shema*, *Emet v'emunah*, is formatted as a responsive reading.

The *Hashkiveinu* blessing has only one English interpretation rather than the two in the Silverman siddur; Silverman's own loose, poetic translation is omitted in favor of the version that more closely follows the Hebrew. The *Amidah* closely follows the Silverman version. For the *Magen Avot* paragraph of the shortened Friday night repetition of the *Amidah*, however, the JWB siddur provides a literal translation of the Hebrew, where the civilian prayer book includes only Silverman's own poetic version. The apparent preference for more literal English options may reflect an effort to accommodate the Orthodox stakeholders.

The JWB siddur, like the Silverman prayer book, places the Shabbat evening *Kiddush* conveniently adjacent to the rest of the evening service. Unlike its civilian antecedent, this

siddur adds the paragraph from Genesis 2:1–3, which is not typically included when the *Kiddush* is recited in the synagogue. Its inclusion here may have been a compromise to ensure that if the opportunity should arise for Jewish service members to recite the *Kiddush* on Friday night outside of a full service, they would have the correct version ready to hand even in the absence of a separate section of blessings meant to be recited at home.

Following the *Kiddush* is the *Aleinu*, the Mourner's Kaddish (transliterated as above), *Yigdal* (transliterated, with a reference to the translation in the weekday morning service), and *Shalom Aleichem* (transliterated only).

Evening Service for Shabbat (*UPB*)

The evening service derived from the 1940 *Union Prayer Book* is nearly identical to the version in the 1941 and 1943 JWB prayer books. It adds *Adon Olam* as a closing hymn, which is transliterated rather than translated into English.

Shabbat Morning Service | תפלת שחרית לשבת

A note at the beginning of the service points the reader to the "Morning Blessings" section at the beginning of the siddur, an abbreviated and space-saving set of blessings meant to cover the preliminaries shared by weekdays, Shabbat, and festivals. The Shabbat morning service picks up with *Nishmat Kol Chai* and follows the Silverman siddur through the end of *P'sukei d'Zimra* to the *Shema* and its blessings (including Silverman's translation of *El Adon* in the *Yotzer* benediction, rendered as a responsive reading), with few departures from the original except for page formatting. The 1958 JWB siddur's *Amidah* corresponds closely to

the Silverman version, though the *Kedushah* indicates which parts are chanted by the reader and which by the congregation.

The Torah service in the "traditional" section of the JWB siddur is slightly abridged from the version in the Silverman prayer book. In addition to leaving out some of the additional meditations in the larger book, this version omits the passage beginning *Brich sh'mei,* adapted from the *Zohar*, which is traditionally recited when reading the Torah on Shabbat. After the Torah scroll is brought out and the *Shema* is recited, the JWB siddur skips the passage beginning *Lecha Adonai* generally chanted during the Torah processional. Instead, the service moves right into the blessings for an *Aliyah* to the Torah. No recitation of the *Chatzi Kaddish* separates the *Maftir* reading from the seventh *Aliyah*. None of the usual prayers for the community (scholars, the congregation, the country, the martyrs of Israel, etc.) appear here, though the blessing for the new month is included. The service continues with *Ashrei* and returning the Torah to the Ark, as Psalm 29 and the passage beginning *Uvnuchah yomar* (which draws upon imagery from Num. 10:36, Psalms, Proverbs, and Lamentations) are recited.

Torah Service (*UPB*)

The Reform version of the Torah service in the JWB siddur includes a prayer for the community, a version of which appeared in the 1895 *Union Prayer Book* and was adapted for use in the first JWB siddur, in 1917. The 1958 JWB siddur follows the text in the 1940 *Union Prayer Book for Jewish Worship: Newly Revised Edition* that assumes a congregational setting, rather than preserving the military-specific adaptations used in the 1917 siddur.[14]

[14] See "Patriotic Readings and Songs" in Chapter 1 above.

Shabbat Additional Service | מוסף לשבת

Another recitation of the *Chatzi Kaddish* separates the *Shacharit* from the *Musaf* service. The *Amidah*—aside from the omission of a meditation before *Kedushat HaYom* by Robert Gordis, a slightly different translation of the *Avodah* blessing, and the omission of the passage about the restoration of Temple worship at the conclusion—closely follows the version in the Silverman prayer book. After the *Kaddish Shalem*, the JWB siddur includes *Ein Keloheinu* and its transliteration, though it leaves out the post-poem concluding line about burning incense to God (which is not really a part of the hymn proper but in Conservative practice is frequently sung along with it). This is a possible concession to Reform sensibilities, which are lukewarm at best on references to Temple rites; if so, the choice is a curious one in a service ostensibly designed with Orthodox and Conservative Jews—who generally take no issue with references to Temple offerings—in mind. Moreover, the Hebrew and transliteration of *Ein Keloheinu* are repeated in the *UPB* morning service, so the decision was not in effort to save space by printing only a single version. The service concludes with the expected *Aleinu*, Mourner's Kaddish (once again in transliteration only), and *Adon Olam* (transliterated, with a reference to the English translation available in the morning service).

Shabbat Afternoon Service | תפלת מנחה לשבת

Rather than reprinting material available elsewhere in the siddur, the JWB prayer book provides page numbers for most of the *Minchah* service. Only the part of the *Amidah*

that differs from its other versions on Shabbat, the *Kedushat HaYom* blessing, is printed in full here.

"For Home"

The prayer that first appeared in the 1941 JWB siddur as "Prayer for Home" is here called "For Home." The single difference between the two is the addition of the word "Amen" at the end of the prayer. The prayer retained its ability to help deployed service members express their profound feelings of love and concern for families left behind. One soldier, S.Sgt. Martin van Gelder (1944–2014), found comfort in the words, which he had likely encountered in a copy of the 1958 JWB siddur, in early 1968, while he was deployed to "an Army outpost so deep in Vietnamese jungles [that his wife's] letters [hadn't] reached him for six weeks." Knowing that he would be unable to buy his wife Liane a gift for her birthday and their anniversary, he had written to the *Orlando Sentinel* in hopes that he might be able "to purchase space … for a special anniversary-birthday greeting to her on that day." The *Sentinel*, rather than taking his money and printing his felicitations in the usual section for such announcements, published an article about his request along with a photograph of his wife and two young sons holding a picture of their smiling, bespectacled father in his Army uniform. The paper also published the words of "For Home," to which van Gelder added a sentiment derived from the Priestly Benediction: "May the Lord bless you and keep you until we meet again."[15] Happily, van Gelder did return home to his family after his time

[15] Skip Johnson, "From Deep In Viet Jungle Comes GI's Birthday Gift," *The Orlando Sentinel*, March 23, 1968, 1-B. http://www.newspapers.com/image/224165068/.

in Vietnam with the "1st Cavalry Division, Hotel Co., 75th Ranger (Long Range Recon Patrol), having received the Bronze Star, Purple Heart, and Combat Infantry Badge."[16]

"A Link in the Chain of Faith"

The 1958 *Prayer Book for Jewish Personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States* would remain the JWB's official military siddur for more than a quarter of a century, a period that would bring enormous changes both at home and abroad. Mounting Cold War tensions would influence foreign policy as the United States and the Soviet Union vied for dominance on the world stage, covertly and otherwise. The prevailing "domino theory" that one country succumbing to communism inevitably leads to the same for surrounding nations would prompt U.S. intervention in Vietnam and ultimately a long, bloody, controversial war against the Soviet- and Chinese-backed North Vietnamese. American Jews—as they had for every conflict in which the United States had participated—would serve in the military alongside their fellow citizens. The National Jewish Welfare Board would remain committed to its mission of serving the religious needs of Jewish service members, as it had since its establishment in World War I. Whether draftees or volunteers and regardless of their personal feelings about the war, for service members facing battle far from home, a copy of the 1958 JWB prayer book could be, in the words of the preface, "a link in the chain of faith that binds them to their homes and their families while they are in the military service"[17]—a

[16] "Martin van Gelder Obituary - Gainesville, FL | Orlando Sentinel," accessed January 16, 2021, https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/orlandosentinel/name/martin-van-gelder-obituary?n=martin-van-gelder&pid=173005741&fhid=4014.

[17] Ibid., v.

tangible representation of the concern of their Jewish community for their physical and spiritual well-being under the most trying of circumstances.

Chapter Four: Catching Up to a New Generation of Prayer Books: *Prayer Book for Jewish Personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States* (1984)

In the more than two and a half decades that had passed since the 1958 publication of the previous edition of the JWB prayer book, much had changed in the American Jewish liturgical landscape. Updated prayer books, such as the Central Conference of American Rabbis' *Gates of Prayer* and the Rabbinical Assembly's about-to-be-published *Siddur Sim Shalom*, reflected the trend of "includ[ing] interpretive readings and innovative suggestions, in addition to the regular order of worship."[1] Upon realizing in the early 1980s that the 1958 JWB prayer book was "in short supply," the JWB Jewish Chaplains Council faced a choice: They could either produce another print run of the old edition, or they could respond to a request from the Armed Forces Chaplains Board's [2] Religious Education Advisory Group—Jewish to "create a prayer book for Jewish personnel in keeping with the needs of a new generation of Americans."[3] Attempting to meet the expectations of service members whose civilian experience was shaped by the new liturgical style while not alienating those who preferred the traditional liturgy, the editors of the 1984 JWB prayer book sought to balance the familiar Hebrew text on the right-hand page with an English rendering on the left-hand page that was "not meant to be a literal translation but rather a more modern, free rendition

---

[1] Stephan O. Parnes et al., eds., *Prayer Book for Jewish Personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States = Sidur : Tefilot Le-Ḥayale Tseva Artsot Ha-Berit* (New York: Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy of JWB, 1984), xiii.

[2] According to its mission statement, "The Armed Forces Chaplains Board makes recommendations to the Secretary of Defense and the Under Secretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness on religious, ethical, and moral matters for the Military Services." See "Armed Forces Chaplain Board." Accessed January 24, 2021. https://prhome.defense.gov/M-RA/Inside-M-RA/MPP/AFCB/.

[3] Jewish Telegraphic Agency. "A First in American Jewish Life: Unified Prayer Book Issued for U.S. Jewish Military and Va Personnel," October 26, 1984. https://www.jta.org/1984/10/26/archive/a-first-in-american-jewish-life-unified-prayer-book-issued-for-u-s-jewish-military-and-va-personne.

designed to reflect contemporary idiom and language."[4] In a marked departure from the previous edition, in which a separate section of Reform-style services from the *Union Prayer Book* provided an alternative to the more traditional (i.e., Conservative or Orthodox) liturgy that comprised the bulk of the siddur, the 1984 prayer book presented a single, harmonized liturgy intended to meet the needs of all Jews in uniform, regardless of denominational background.

The editorial team of the Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy (CJC) of the JWB included representatives of each of the three movements. Rabbi Leonard S. Kravitz (b. 1928; HUC-JIR 1954, 1957), representing the Reform rabbinate, had served as a chaplain in the U.S. Army from 1957–1959 and as a pulpit rabbi until he was named Professor of Midrash and Homiletics at HUC-JIR's New York campus in 1969.[5] Rabbi Gilbert Klaperman (1921–2018) served as the Orthodox representative. Klaperman brought experience as chaplain in the Canadian Army during World War II as well as decades of pulpit, educational, and organizational leadership; he was the president of the Rabbinical Council of America at the time of his contributions to the JWB's prayer book project.[6] Rabbi Max J. Routtenberg (1909–1987) provided the Conservative perspective. His career encompassed service as a U.S. Army chaplain during World War II, the congregational rabbinate, and executive positions with the JTS and the Rabbinical Assembly (including a presidential term from

---

[4] Ibid., xi.

[5] "Rabbi Leonard S. Kravitz, Professor of Midrash and Homiletics at HUC-JIR/New York, : Received Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters from Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion," Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, accessed January 8, 2021, //huc.edu/news/article/2011/rabbi-leonard-s-kravitz-professor-midrash-and-homiletics-huc-jirnew-york-received.

[6] "Guide to the Gilbert Klaperman Papers 1943-2009," accessed January 8, 2021, https://archives.yu.edu/xtf/view?docId=ead/gilbertklaperman/gilbertklaperman.xml.

1964–1966).[7] During the two years that the CJC team worked on the prayer book, Routtenberg also chaired the Rabbinical Assembly Siddur Committee as it readied *Siddur Sim Shalom* for publication—an effort for which editor and translator Jules Harlow (b. 1931) praised Routtenberg for being "a constant source of suggestions, stimulation, and encouragement" in the writing process.[8] Each of the rabbis on the CJC team would need to bring a collaborative spirit to the table if the enormous undertaking of doing justice to the liturgical needs of Reform, Orthodox, and Conservative service members were to succeed.

The 1984 publication of *Prayer Book for Jewish Personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States* garnered some degree of attention even outside the Jewish and military communities, as evidenced by a *New York Times* article titled "Rabbis Combine Jewish Liturgies in Prayer Book for Military" from December 31, 1984. Rabbi Barry Hewitt Greene (1930–2008), who chaired the CJC during the project, explained to the press why it was critical for Jewish service members to have access to a prayer book that took into consideration the liturgical needs of the three major movements:

> "In many communities, a Jew can worship in whatever synagogue he or she chooses," said Rabbi Greene, the senior rabbi at a Reform temple in Short Hills, N.J., who is also a captain in the Naval Reserve Chaplain Corps. "But if you are in Guam or Korea or aboard a ship, there is only

---

[7] "Routtenberg, Max Jonah," Encyclopedia.com, accessed January 8, 2021, https://www.encyclopedia.com/religion/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/routtenberg-max-jonah.

[8] Jules Harlow, Rabbinical Assembly, and United Synagogue of America, eds., *[Sidur Śim Shalom] =: Siddur Sim Shalom: A Prayerbook for Shabbat, Festivals, and Weekdays* (New York: Rabbinical Assembly: United Synagogue of America, 1985).

one service. You can't find another. […] It is very important," he said, "that everybody feels comfortable in that worship service."[9]

Greene's assessment sheds light on one reality that may have hampered the ability of the 1941 and 1958 prayer books to facilitate a satisfactory worship experience for Jewishly diverse groups of service members. The two previous editions had attempted to accommodate different preferences by providing separate service options, with the intent that Orthodox and Conservative Jews would use the more traditional liturgy and Reform Jews would select the services drawn from the *Union Prayer Book*. What such a bifurcated scheme failed to take into account is that although estimates suggest that American Jews enter military service at rates comparable to non-Jews, there are simply not many Jews in the military—unsurprising, since Jews make up only a small percentage of the general population. Moreover, that relatively small population is distributed widely throughout commands and locations. On any given military installation, ship, or forward deployed location, the odds of gathering enough Jews to warrant separate services (not to mention having a Jewish chaplain or qualified lay leader) are vanishingly slim. A *shaliach tzibur* (prayer leader) using the 1958 prayer book had to choose either the traditional or liberal liturgy, a choice most likely determined by the leader's own liturgical outlook. The probable outcome is that those whose own preferences approximate those of the prayer leader will be satisfied, while those who prefer the other option might feel stuck between the desire to pray with a Jewish community and the desire to worship in a mode more aligned with their religious opinions. A unified service, on the other hand, designed to be a compromise in

---

[9] Ari L. Goldman, "RABBIS COMBINE JEWISH LITURGIES IN PRAYER BOOK FOR MILITARY (Published 1984)," *The New York Times*, December 31, 1984, sec. U.S., https://www.nytimes.com/1984/12/31/us/rabbis-combine-jewish-liturgies-in-prayer-book-for-military.html.

which everyone can see at least some of their preferences, could prove the more equitable way to accommodate diverse approaches to prayer.

The editorial team had good reason to suppose that such compromise was possible. For the Reform movement, the 1970s had been, as rabbi and historian Dr. Michael A. Meyer observed, "a period of renewal" characterized by "intense liturgical creativity."[10] The trend toward increasing openness to more traditional ritual observance that had sparked the 1937 Columbus Platform had not abated in the intervening decades. More and more Reform Jews had begun to cover their heads with *kippot*, don *tallitot*, and use more Hebrew in their prayers—a change reflected in *Gates of Prayer*. By the early 1980s, the Conservative movement was readying *Siddur Sim Shalom* for publication, a prayer book that would offer not only more modern translations of traditional Hebrew prayers, but numerous alternative texts to accommodate differing approaches to practice.[11] There were also, as we shall see, those among the Orthodox who sought the means of functioning in the modern secular world without abrogating their connection to traditional Judaism. In 1985, Rabbi Richard Nelson Levy (1937–2019) would publish *On Wings of Awe: A Machzor for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur* in an effort to create a High Holy Day prayer book that could be used by Hillel foundations—which, like the military, served a pluralistic Jewish population.[12] The three

---

[10] See "Renewal" in chapter 10, "The New American Reform Judaism" in Michael A. Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995), Kindle Location 10159.

[11] Jules Harlow, Rabbinical Assembly, and United Synagogue of America, eds., *Siddur Sim Shalom: A Prayerbook for Shabbat, Festivals, and Weekdays* (New York: Rabbinical Assembly: United Synagogue of America, 1985), xxiv-xxvi.

[12] Richard N. Levy and B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations, eds., *On Wings of Awe =: [Ma'ale Tefilot]: A Machzor for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur* (Washington, D.C: B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations, 1985), and "'On Wings of Awe: A Fully Translated Machzor for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur' Edited by Rabbi Richard Levy," Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, accessed January 24, 2021, //huc.edu/news/article/2011/%E2%80%9C-wings-awe-fully-translated-machzor-rosh-hashanah-and-yom-kippur%E2%80%9D-edited-rabbi.

movements' steps toward the center in the 1970s and early 1980s may have inculcated a sense of the possibility of finding common ground among the major streams of Judaism. To take advantage of the opportunity would require open-mindedness and willingness to compromise.

The editorial team attempted to engineer just such a compromise, with the goal of producing "one service acceptable to all Jewish personnel."[13] The prerequisite was for Kravitz, Klaperman, and Routtenberg to come up with a service acceptable to the three of them, a process that entailed "[r]esolving theological differences," as Routtenberg put it, "such as on the questions of resurrection, sacrifice, anthropomorphism and angelology."[14] While the Reform movement in its prayer books had a long-standing tradition of excising or altering elements of the Hebrew liturgy deemed incompatible with an enlightened religious outlook, both Orthodoxy and Conservative Judaism tended toward preservation of the inherited Hebrew text. "The compromise we reached," said Routtenberg, "was that we would respect the traditional Hebrew text but we would feel free to use a modern and poetic translation."[15] That way, the editors thought, those who considered themselves obligated to pray with the traditional text could do so in Hebrew while those seeking a more liberal interpretation (or who simply preferred to pray in the vernacular) could look to the English side of each two-page spread.

An array of liturgical resources was available for the editors to mine for the next incarnation of the siddur. For the Hebrew text, the team settled on the version in Rabbi David

---

[13] "A First in American Jewish Life: Unified Prayer Book Issued for U.S. Jewish Military and Va Personne," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency* (blog), October 26, 1984, https://www.jta.org/1984/10/26/archive/a-first-in-american-jewish-life-unified-prayer-book-issued-for-u-s-jewish-military-and-va-personne.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

de Sola Pool's *Siddur: The Traditional Prayer Book for Sabbath and Festivals*, printed under the auspices of the Rabbinical Council of America. According to a review by sociologist Werner J. Cahnman (1902–1980), the 1960 publication of this "meticulously edited and beautifully printed" Orthodox siddur had been (especially in comparison to "the tattered, ill-printed, miserably—if at all—translated prayerbooks which were used by the immigrant generation of east-European Jews") an important indicator "that American Jewish orthodoxy had socially 'arrived' and that it wishe[d] to be considered fully as much an American creed as are the reform and conservative branches of Judaism."[16] De Sola Pool's prayer book arose from the kind of midcentury Modern Orthodoxy exemplified by Rabbi Joseph D. Soloveitchik (1903–1993), who "considered immersion in the world of Jewish law (*halakhah*) compatible with a more open cultural stance" that allowed for greater integration into secular American society while maintaining a firm grounding in traditional Judaism.[17] Orthodox Jews serving in the U.S. Armed Forces surely embodied that sense of standing in two worlds, of being both traditionally Jewish and fully American. The editors of the 1984 JWB prayer book were cognizant of the tension that could arise between those two identities and deemed that including in the military siddur an unimpeachably Orthodox Hebrew text, such as that drawn from the de Sola Pool prayer book, would be crucial to reassuring tradition-minded service members that their religious identity was seen and respected.

To find a "modern and poetic translation" to complement the traditional Hebrew text, the editorial team looked to the Reform movement's latest liturgical offering, the 1975

---

[16] Werner J. Cahnman, "*Siddur. The Traditional Prayerbook for Sabbath and Festivals*. Edited and Translated by David de Sola Pool. Authorized by the Rabbinical Council of America. New Hyde Park, N. Y.: University Books, Inc., 1960. 879 Pp. $17.50," *Social Forces* 39, no. 4 (May 1, 1961): 356, https://doi.org/10.2307/2573436.

[17] Sarna, *American Judaism*, 305.

Shaarei Tefillah: Gates of Prayer, edited by Rabbi Chaim Stern (1930–2001). *Gates of Prayer*, which bore the subtitle *The New Union Prayer Book*, was a significant departure from even the 1940 newly revised edition of the *UPB*. Although the 1940 edition had incorporated more traditional liturgical materials, it still bore a marked theological resemblance to the first *UPB*, published in 1895. Where the 1940 edition was streamlined to articulate a single Classical Reform theology, Dana Evan Kaplan observes that "the new prayer book reflected the increasingly pluralistic nature of the movement. It was more than twice the size of the old UPB and had ten different Friday night services and six different Saturday morning services, most of which reflected alternative theological visions."[18] Among the service options, as described in the companion volume *Gates of Understanding*, are those designed to highlight themes ranging from the humanist-leaning "Religious Naturalism" to the child-friendly "Family Services" to one that "assumes in the worshipper a degree of alienation from Shabbat and Jewish tradition, and provides a way back through a confrontation with this estrangement." The first service printed for both Friday night and Saturday morning, though, "adheres closely to both the structure and the content of the classical *Siddur.*"[19] *Gates of Prayer* was, in part, the fruit of an increasing Reform willingness to consider previously rejected aspects of Jewish practice in a new light, a desire "to be free to draw nourishment from the totality of the Jewish tradition, be it Hasidic joy, Talmudic wisdom, philosophic wonder, Kabbalistic mystery, prophetic idealism or liberal

---

[18] Dana Evan Kaplan, *Contemporary American Judaism: Transformation and Renewal* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 342.

[19] Lawrence A. Hoffman and Central Conference of American Rabbis, eds., *Gates of Understanding =: Sha'are Binah* (New York: Published for the Central Conference of American Rabbis by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1977), 171-176.

openness to experimentation and change."[20] That openness to more traditional liturgical modes provided an opportunity to the CJC editorial team, who could reasonably attempt to accommodate the needs of Reform Jews in the same service as their Orthodox and Conservative comrades in arms, rather than including a separate Reform section.

Liturgical Decisions

Weaving the "hallowed traditional text" (as the introduction to the 1984 JWB prayer book describes it) from de Sola Pool's siddur with the freer interpretation from Stern's *Gates of Prayer* into a coherent and mutually acceptable whole was, according to Greene, "not an easy task."[21] The Reform prayer book did not include an English interpretation of every aspect of the traditional liturgy in de Sola Pool's siddur, and where such was available, either or both of the Conservative and Orthodox editors often took issue with a particular word or turn of phrase. The following exploration of the Shabbat liturgy focuses on places where the English translation—the one meant to be more modern, poetic, and in keeping with liberal preferences—might reveal some of the areas of contention among the editorial representatives of the three major American Jewish movements.

Welcoming the Shabbat | קבלת שבת

The English translation alongside Psalm 95 is formatted as a responsive reading, just as its counterpart in *Gates of Prayer*. The *GOP* version is incomplete, however, containing only Psalm 95:1–5 and 7. The 1984 JWB prayer book reinstates the missing verses and

[20] Ibid., 162.
[21] "A First in American Jewish Life."

provides English interpretations in keeping with the poetic style of the Reform version. For instance, Psalm 95:8–9, which in the Hebrew makes explicit reference to the events of Meribah and Massah,[22] is rendered responsively as "Harden not your hearts / as you did so often in the wilderness."[23] Psalms 96–99 are omitted. The editors of the 1984 prayer book used the *GOP* translation for Psalm 29 but chose to format it as another responsive reading, whereas *GOP* presents it in the sans-serif font that indicates that the passage will usually be sung in Hebrew.[24] The English translation of *Lecha Dodi* departs from the *GOP* version in the first half of the eighth stanza; rather than *GOP*'s "Your space will be broad, your worship free," the JWB version reads, "Your borders will be expanded; you will acclaim your Lord." Perhaps the Conservative or Orthodox members of the editorial team were uncomfortable with a translation that did not reflect the Hebrew text's explicit reference to *Adonai*. As in *GOP*, Psalm 92 is formatted as a responsive reading. The call-and-response breakdown differs, however, with the JWB siddur's alternating with every verse rather than varying the length of the italicized and non-italicized sections; the adjustment may have been to simplify the rhythm for antiphonal performance.

The Mourner's Kaddish, as in the previous edition, has a transliteration rather than a translation within the main body of the service. Unlike its predecessors, this edition includes the passage from *Berakhot* 64a that begins, "*Amar Rabbi Elazar*." *Kabbalat Shabbat* concludes with *Kaddish D'Rabbanan*, a version of the Kaddish that follows ritual Torah

---

[22] The incident to which the psalm refers takes place in Exodus 17. In this complaint scene, "the people grumbled against Moses" (Ex 17:3) when there was no potable water available at Rephidim, where they were encamped in the wilderness. At God's behest, Moses struck a particular rock and water appeared. The site of this incident was then called Massah ("testing") and Meribah ("quarreling") "because the Israelites quarreled and because they tried the LORD" (Ex 17:7).

[23] Parnes et al., *Prayer Book for Jewish Personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States = Sidur : Tefilot Le-Ḥayale Tseva Artsot Ha-Berit*, 143.

[24] Chaim Stern, ed., *Gates of Prayer* (New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1975), xiv.

study and is not included in *GOP*. Where the prayer shares wording with the *Chatzi Kaddish*, which had been reintroduced into the Reform liturgy, the translation in the military prayer book follows that in *GOP*. The English translation beginning "*Oseh shalom*" in the 1984 JWB siddur adds a request that God "cause peace to descend … on all the world," neatly tucking a more universalist sentiment into the liturgy without altering the original Hebrew that calls upon God to "cause peace to descend on us and on all Israel."

Evening Service for Shabbat | תפלת ערבית לשבת

The CJC editors altered the *GOP* translation of the *Bar'chu* slightly, choosing what was perhaps the more familiar "*Bless* the Lord, to whom our praise is due" rather than "*Praise* the lord, to whom our praise is due!" (emphasis added; the exclamation point that punctuates the *GOP* version is also replaced with a simple, staid period). A similarly small change was made to the English rendition of *Ma'ariv Aravim*, replacing "Praised be the Lord our God" with "We praise You, O Lord our God"—actually a somewhat less literal translation of the first four words of the blessing. The English version of *Ahavat Olam* received no such tweaking, though neither the first nor second blessings before the *Shema* are formatted as responsive readings, as they were in *GOP*. The English translation of the *Shema* retains its exclamation points, but the first line of the *V'ahavta* favors the more literal "heart," "soul," and "might" over *GOP*'s "mind," "strength," and "being." The second and third paragraphs of the *Shema*, Deuteronomy 11:13–21 and Numbers 15:37–41, are included as per the traditional liturgy. The translation of the first blessing after the *Shema* is formatted as a responsive reading, but as the Reform prayer book had abridged the passage, only one brief section follows the *GOP* translation: "Who is like You, eternal One, among the gods

that are worshiped? Who is like You, majestic in holiness, awesome in splendor, doing wonders?" The English text for the second blessing after the *Shema*, the *Hashkiveinu*, is taken directly from *GOP*, which breaks from the previous Reform prayer books by "retain[ing] the classical text … and rendering *satan*, 'adversary,' as 'our inclination to evil.'" The CJC editors' acceptance of the nonliteral translation reflects their willingness to make room for some Reform theological points, in this case the hesitation toward anthropomorphic imagery that would make *ha-Satan* a personality rather than a concept.

The CJC editors made a few slight alterations to the *GOP* translation of the *Amidah*, as well, beginning with the preliminary prayer for the ability to pray; where *GOP* reads "Eternal God, open my lips," the 1984 JWB siddur renders the more literal "O God, open my lips." The *Avot* blessing trades "God of all generations" for the more literal "God of our fathers," which undoes Stern's efforts "to avoid exclusive use of the masculine."[25] Similarly, the Conservative and Orthodox members of the committee could not approve of the Reform movement's long-standing decision to emend the Hebrew text of the blessing to speak of "redemption" in the abstract rather than a personal "redeemer," so both the Hebrew and English follow the traditional liturgy. Since Reform Jews had long rejected the doctrine of bodily resurrection of the dead, *GOP* and other Reform prayer books had also emended the *Gevurot* benediction to speak of a God who gives life "to all" rather than "to the dead." Once again, the 1984 JWB prayer book cedes to the preferences of Conservative and Orthodox Jews by sticking to the traditional Hebrew and rendering it literally in English.

The JWB siddur also prefers a more literal translation of the *Kedushat Hashem* benediction and makes a few changes to the English wording of the *Kedushat Hayom*

---

[25] Hoffman and Central Conference of American Rabbis, *Gates of Understanding*," 188, note 60.

blessing. Here, *avoteinu*, which *GOP* renders as "ages past," is translated as "our ancestors," a decision inconsistent with the CJC editors' literal choice of "our fathers" in *Avot*. The reason is unclear, but one might imagine a case of cross-denominational compromise; the more traditional players might have been unwilling to budge on the translation dealing by name with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (the "fathers" *par excellence* of the Torah) but might have been more willing to accommodate the Reform desire to use less gender-specific language elsewhere.

GOP's rendition—both in English and Hebrew—of the *Avodah* reflects the Reform movement's discomfort with praying for the restoration of Temple sacrifices and thus departs too radically from the traditional text for a siddur seeking to accommodate Orthodox and Conservative worship. For the first line of the *Hodaah* benediction, *GOP*'s "We gratefully acknowledge that You are the Lord our God and God of our people, the God of all generations" was apparently a trifle too free for the CJC editors, who rendered it as "We gratefully acknowledge that You are the Lord our God and God of our ancestors, the eternal God." The *Chatimah* of the *Birkat Shalom* benediction prefers "Blessed are You, O Lord" rather than *GOP*'s "Praised be the Lord," another instance of the CJC editors' preference for a more familiar translation of "*Baruch atah, Adonai*."

In the *Me'ein Sheva* that follows the *Amidah*, it is possible that the editorial team compromised toward a more gender-inclusive language. Here, despite having employed the more literal translation of "*Elohei avoteinu*" as "God of our Fathers" elsewhere, it uses *GOP*'s translation of "*Elohei avoteinu*" as "God of all generations." To yield to Reform sensibilities on the subject of resurrection would have apparently been a bridge too far,

however, and the translation of the *Magen Avot* paragraph refers to God Who "will quicken the dead" rather than God Who "is the Source of all life."

The 1984 JWB siddur provides a partial transliteration alongside the *Aleinu* to facilitate its recitation by service members whose grasp on Hebrew may be shaky. The translation of the Mourner's Kaddish is identical to the one in *GOP*, including the addition of the words "and all the world" to its final sentence. The service concludes with *Yigdal* and *Shalom Aleichem*, both of which include transliteration to allow all participants to sing along.

Morning Service for Shabbat | תפלת שחרית לשבת

The English translation of *Nishmat Kol Chai* is close to the one in *Siddur Sim Shalom*'s Shabbat morning service, though a few places offer a more literal translation. For instance, where the Conservative prayer book speaks of "this soul-force which You breathed into us," the 1984 JWB siddur plays it rather safer—or at least closer to a literal translation of the Hebrew—by rendering "the spirit and soul which you breathed into us." Rather than "He inhabits eternity" in *Shochen Ad*, the JWB prayer book prefers "He abides forever."

The first blessing before the *Shema* traditionally includes the acrostic hymn *El Adon*. The version in *GOP* "is slightly abridged, and [Stern, et al.] have made two small emendations (in H[ebrew] and E[nglish]) as follows: in v. 4, reading 'He made them' instead of 'with understanding;' in v. 8, reading 'their King' instead of 'His kingdom.'"[26] The editors had to add a few lines to match the unabridged Hebrew and the poetic style of the responsive reading. The Reform version had omitted references to *chayot hakodesh* and other celestial beings as not in keeping with the movement's rationalist distaste for angelology, so the CJC

[26] Hoffman and Central Conference of American Rabbis, *Gates of Understanding*, 222, note 521.

editors added the lines, “He is exalted above all celestial hosts; His brilliance is grander than angels on high” and “The celestial host give glory to God.” The second blessing before the *Shema* includes the request for the ingathering of exiles omitted in *GOP* and a more literal English translation. The three paragraphs of the *Shema* that follow are much the same as in the evening service. The *Geulah* blessing after the *Shema*, much longer than the abridged version in *GOP*, uses an English translation adapted from *Siddur Sim Shalom*.

The JWB siddur uses a traditional Ashkenazic version of the *Kedushah* and provides a fairly literal translation. The other blessings of the Shabbat morning *Amidah* are in consonance with those of the Shabbat evening version. The Reader’s Kaddish marks the transition into the Torah service.

Torah Reading Service | קריאת התורה

To make the English acceptable to all parties, a few changes were made to the *GOP* translation of *Ein Kamocha* and *Av Harachamim*. Where *GOP* reads “The Lord rules; the Lord will reign for ever and ever,” the 1984 JWB siddur reads more literally, “The Lord rules; the Lord has ruled; the Lord will rule for ever and ever.” The JWB siddur translates that “Jerusalem be *fully* rebuilt” (emphasis added) rather than merely “rebuilt,” though neither is a literal translation of the Hebrew, which speaks of rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem. Perhaps for the traditional contingent, the modifier “fully” was sufficient to express their desire for a restoration that includes—as Reform prayers typically do not—the resumption of the Temple cult. Alternatively, to pray that Jerusalem be *fully* rebuilt might acknowledge that, with the establishment of the modern State of Israel and the 1967

reunification of Jerusalem following the Six Day War, the city had already been *partially* restored.

Ashrei is formatted as a responsive reading and follows the translation in *GOP*'s weekday afternoon service. Psalm 29 is also presented as a responsive reading and, with some minor changes, echoes the *GOP* Torah service translation (e.g., "His voice commands the lightning flame" rather than "His voice sparks fiery flames"). The Torah service ends with the passage beginning *Uvnucha yomar*, formatted in English as a responsive reading as it was in the 1958 JWB prayer book but with a translation free of "Thou" and "Thy," as such language had fallen out of fashion by the early 1980s.

Musaf **Service for Shabbat | תפלת מוסף**

The general tenor of the *Musaf Amidah* is the same as the versions in the *Ma'ariv* and *Shacharit* services. The first part of *Kedushat HaYom* includes a choice between two options meant specifically to accommodate the practice of some Conservative congregations. The first option is nearly identical to the version in the *Musaf Amidah* that would be published in *Siddur Sim Shalom* the following year, which highlights the textual fingerprints of Routtenberg, the Conservative member of the editorial team. The second option omits the reading of Numbers 28:9–10, which describes the additional Shabbat sacrifices, while still highlighting the themes of Shabbat's unique holiness. Those inclined to Reform attitudes toward the restoration of the Temple cult would no doubt also prefer this second option, which speaks to the themes of Shabbat's special holiness and of return to loving, reverent worship of God without calling explicitly for a return to sacrificial practice.

Ein Keloheinu, in keeping with the version in the 1958 edition, makes no mention of incense at the end; whether this is a concession to Reform sensibilities or to save space on a page already crowded by translation and transliteration is unclear. There is no transliteration for the *Aleinu* in this section, but one does accompany the Mourner's Kaddish. Psalm 92, "A Song for the Sabbath Day," is presented as a responsive reading as in the *Kabbalat Shabbat* service. The service concludes in song with *Adon Olam*, its transliteration, and its translation from *GOP*.

Shabbat Minchah Service | תפלת מנחה לשבת

As in previous editions of the JWB prayer book, the Shabbat afternoon service refers the reader elsewhere in the siddur for most of the elements; the only addition is the distinctive middle benediction of the *Amidah* for Shabbat *Minchah*, which does not appear elsewhere in the prayer book.

Personal Prayers

This edition of the JWB prayer book contains several more personal prayers than in previous editions, including prayers for the dedication of a new home, for a newborn, "for the about-to-be married couple and the Bar and Bat Mitzvah and those that reflect the reality of Israel," as Routtenberg described them.[27] A prayer for Israel reflects the evolution of American attitudes toward the modern State of Israel since the publication of the 1958 prayer book. The 1967 Six-Day War, in the opinion of some scholars, "converted American Jewry to Zionism":

---

[27] "A First in American Jewish Life."

> Whereas American Jews had demonstrated sympathy in the past, Israel now was incorporated into the very structure of American Jewish identity. […] For many the newfound identification of Israel was a conversionary experience. As one Jewish woman wrote in the left-wing *Village Voice:* "Two weeks ago, Israel was they; now Israel is we.… I will not intellectualize it; I am Jewish; it is a Jewish we."[28]

This stronger identification with Israel affected American Jewish religious practice, and it became *de rigeur* to pray for the State of Israel in congregations from all three movements. On a possibly related note, the 1984 edition was the first to bear a Hebrew title on the cover in addition to the English: "סדור: תפלות לחיילי צבא ארצות הברית." This may reflect a change in American Jews' attitudes toward Hebrew, spurred by a connection to the modern state where it was spoken as a mother tongue.

For Home

The 1984 JWB siddur gives more than a proverbial nod to the "Prayer for Home" that first appeared in the 1941 edition, making some significant additions to the text rather than merely changing "Thou" to "You" and "hearkenest" to "hear." The table below highlights a few of the more substantive changes.

---

[28] Jack Wertheimer, "The Turbulent Sixties," in *American Judaism: A History*, ed. Jonathan D. Sarna (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 340.

"For Home" (JWB 1941, p. 119)	"Prayer for Home" (JWB 1984, p. 432)
1. Let my memory hold them in such loving embrace that I be cheered by their imagined presence.	Let me remember them that it will seem we are together and that I may be warmed by their love for me and my love for them.
2. Keep me under the influence of the ties that bind me to them, so that even in strange surroundings I may conduct myself in ways that do them honor.	May my thoughts of those I love so move me that I will do them honor by their deeds even when I am far from them, even in strange and foreign settings.
3. Keep me gratefully mindful of the blessing of their love and let me not give way to loneliness or despondency.	Dear God, keep me mindful of the blessing of their love, (my love for them and their love for me and Your love for us) that I may never yield to feelings of despondency.
4. None who puts his faith in Thee need ever feel friendless or forsaken.	No one who puts his faith in You will ever feel forsaken.

The redactors of this prayer sought to bring the language and tone closer to the 1980s vernacular and to clarify passages that might have seemed opaque to service members accustomed to a different literary style, but they also shaped the meaning into something new. The addition of a few words (1, above) defines mutual love as the thing that "warms"

the service member, not merely the "imagined presence" of certain people. Rather than the restrictive language of "ties that bind" a service member to family (2), the 1984 version speaks of "thoughts of those [the service member] love[s]" as inspiration for proper behavior. An inserted parenthetical statement (3) elaborates on the love of and for family members to include also an explicit statement of "God's love for us." The final line of the prayer (4) bears a subtle but significant alteration. In the original, the final line seems to acknowledge that even a people who have faith in God might occasionally feel "friendless or forsaken," even if they have a friend in a God Who has not abandoned them. The updated version seems to state that those with faith in God will never even *feel* abandoned, with the implication that anyone who feels that way must be lacking in faith—potentially quite a painful blow to a service member already suffering from loneliness. Efforts to bring prayers "up to date" can have unintended consequences; the above—surely not what the CJC editors would hope for the service members to whose spiritual well-being they were dedicated—amply illustrates the possible pitfalls.

Unified Service: New and Improved or Just New?

When word got around that the JWB was producing a prayer book meant to meet the needs of Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox Jews, some outside of the military took notice. Rabbi Herschel Schacter (1917–2013), former chairman of the CJC, was quick to assert that the unified prayer book was "not a breakthrough" for Jewish civilians, who had access to the congregations and prayer books of the separate denominations and could choose the one that met their preferences. Some Jewish civilian groups, however, were interested in the prospect of a pluralistic siddur that could simultaneously serve a multidenominational constituency.

Rabbi David Lapp (b. 1931), retired Army chaplain and director of the JWB Jewish Chaplain's Council from 1982–2006, said that by the time of publication, "he had already received inquiries from campus organizations, nursing homes and other organizations that serve a varied Jewish population about acquiring the new prayer book" and had to explain "that the book could not be made available beyond military installations," even though such organizations shared some features with the military.[29] While representatives of the Orthodox, Reform, and Conservative rabbinates remained ready and willing to cooperate and compromise—as they had since the establishment of the Jewish Welfare Board—for the sake of serving those American Jews in uniform, that collaboration was not to be construed as endorsement of a similar liturgical fusion in the civilian world, where military restrictions did not apply.

The 1984 publication of the *Prayer Book for Jewish Personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States* proved, on one level, that Rabbis Kravitz, Klaperman, and Routtenberg had achieved their goal: the production of a military siddur containing a single service approved by rabbinic representatives of all three major Jewish movements. Creating that unity required compromise from all. While the Hebrew liturgy came from an Orthodox siddur, it was not complete. While the English translation was intended to "reflect contemporary idiom and language,"[30] a more literal translation frequently overrode the poetic interpretation characteristic of Reform liturgy. Moreover, Reform emendations (e.g., "redemption" in place of "redeemer") were largely rejected in favor of the traditional

---

[29] Goldman, "RABBIS COMBINE JEWISH LITURGIES IN PRAYER BOOK FOR MILITARY (Published 1984)."

[30] Parnes et al., *Prayer Book for Jewish Personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States = Sidur : Tefilot Le-Ḥayale Tseva Artsot Ha-Berit*, xi.

wording in both the Hebrew and English, without so much as a footnote to indicate the normative Reform practice. The service was "unified" to the point of attempting to render invisible the valid, significant theological and philosophical differences between the movements.

The most important question, however, was whether that unified service would accomplish its true mission of bringing comfort to, as the dedication to the prayer book says, "the gallant men and women of the Jewish faith who served God and country in the Armed Forces of the United States"— whether Reform, Conservative, or Orthodox. The ultimate success would have to be judged by the Jewish service members who would use it. Jewish chaplains and the soldiers, sailors, Marines, airmen, and Coast Guardsmen they served would discover in the *davening* whether the unified service produced harmony or discord. By 2006, when the JWB began to work on a new prayer book, it was clear that the 1984 edition was not striking the right note. Rabbi Harold Robinson, director of the JWB Jewish Chaplains Council and retired rear admiral, observed that Jewish chaplains, deciding that the 1984 siddur was too abridged (Orthodox), too gender-specific (Reform and Conservative), or simply too difficult to use, had largely rejected it in favor of denominational prayer books they found more congenial.[31] For a single prayer book to resonate with the next generation of Jewish service members, it would have to address the challenges of liturgical unification revealed by the 1984 edition's valiant attempt at the same.

---

[31] Debra Rubin, "New Pluralistic Military Siddur Will Make the Rounds on Memorial Day Weekend," JNS.org, May 8, 2014, http://archive.jns.org/latest-articles/2014/5/8/new-pluralistic-military-siddur-will-make-the-rounds-on-memorial-day-weekend.

Chapter Five: The Post-9/11 Prayer Books: *Siddur: Prayer Book for Jewish Personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States* (1st ed. 2014, 2nd ed. 2017)

In 2014, the JWB Jewish Chaplains Council published its first new prayer book in more than three decades. That thirty-year span had witnessed the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War; the swift start and end of the Persian Gulf War; the military drawdown of the 1990s; and the al-Qaida September 11, 2001, terrorist attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, which launched the United States into the Global War on Terror that would see American service members endure combat tours in Iraq and Afghanistan as well as aboard ships and submarines supporting Operation Enduring Freedom and Operation Iraqi Freedom. The JWB, as it had in every conflict since its founding, stood ready to support American Jews in uniform, to endorse rabbis and cantors for service as military chaplains, and to assist with the distribution of religious supplies, including prayer books. It soon became apparent, however, that the 1984 prayer book was outdated.

In a note in the front matter of the 2014 *Siddur: Prayer Book for Jewish Personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States*, Rabbi Harold L. Robinson, Rear Admiral CHC USN Ret. and alumnus of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, wrote, "One of the first suggestions from the Chaplains Advisory Board upon my arrival at the JWB Jewish Chaplains Council was to publish a new siddur acceptable to chaplains from all movements."[1] While intermovement tolerance, if not unbridled enthusiasm, had been a goal of each of the previous editions of the prayer book, the fact that the question arose again

---

[1] JWB Jewish Chaplains Council, *Siddur: Prayer Book for Jewish personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States=סידור תפילות לחיילי צבא ארצות הברית*, ed. Barry Baron, Yonatan M. Warren, and Mitchell Rocklin, 1st ed. (New York: JWB Jewish Chaplains Council, 2014).

indicated that by 2006, the 1984 edition no longer met the bar. Most Jewish chaplains simply did not use it, preferring to use civilian prayer books more suited to their liturgical preferences. Robinson described the problem that posed for the average Jewish service member:

> "You can look in the chaplain closet at Ramstein [Air Base in Germany] and find a history of the chaplains who had served there," Robinson said. "An airman who is serving in Ramstein never gets to emotionally, spiritually, own a prayer book…. Everywhere he goes, he's experiencing a new prayer book. If you're in the military, you're not Reform, Conservative or Orthodox. You're just Jewish, and a chaplain comes in and changes your whole world every two years, or you change bases every few years."[2]

One defining aspect of military life, as Robinson observed, is transience. The community at any given location is constantly in flux, as service members (and their families) move the world over in obedience to the all-encompassing "needs of the military." When change is constant and any semblance of continuity is precious, having a consistent prayer book could prove an anchor to service members.

For a prayer book to provide any sort of continuity, however, it would have to be one that Jewish chaplains and the people they served actually wanted to *use*. Not only would it have to include more of the traditional Hebrew liturgy than had past options, but it would have to be sensitive to those needing more transliteration to follow that Hebrew. It would

---

[2] Debra Rubin, "New Pluralistic Military Siddur Will Make the Rounds on Memorial Day Weekend," JNS.org, May 8, 2014, http://archive.jns.org/latest-articles/2014/5/8/new-pluralistic-military-siddur-will-make-the-rounds-on-memorial-day-weekend.

have to accommodate Orthodox Jews who would never dream of including the Matriarchs in the *Avot* benediction as well as liberal Jews committed to egalitarian prayer and gender-inclusive or gender-neutral translation. Rabbi Mitchell Rocklin,[3] who would work on the editorial team for both the 2014 and 2017 editions, recognized the challenges in such compromise: "It's not like this is the M16 the military issues, and that's what you have to use.… The idea is to work out the best prayer book we can. No one is going to be overjoyed, but almost everybody will be able to use it."[4] To find a middle path, the editors would turn to some of the newer prayer books that the movements had published in the intervening years.

Although a gender-neutral version of *Gates of Prayer* had been published in 1994 and had served as an interim update, the turn of the twenty-first century called for a wholly refreshed Reform prayer book. *Mishkan T'filah* (2007) was edited by Rabbi Elyse D. Frishman, "a congregational rabbi and liturgist with a deep knowledge of Jewish texts on liturgy and worship."[5] Frishman sought to create a book that could simultaneously offer a faithful rendition of the Hebrew text and interpretive, poetic materials "informed by the themes of Reform Judaism and Life: social justice, feminism, Zionism, distinctiveness, human challenges."[6] The Conservative movement was still using *Siddur Sim Shalom*, but under the editorial guidance of Rabbi Leonard S. Cahan (d. 2018; see "The Editors" below), a project that "began as a simple revision but burgeoned into an innovative liturgical work with a new translation, inspirational readings and the introduction of the matriarchs in a

---

[3] Rocklin is a Modern Orthodox rabbi and Army National Guard chaplain; see "The Editors" below.

[4] Lauren Markoe, "This Memorial Day, a New Prayer Book for Jewish Soldiers and Sailors," *Religion News Service* (blog), May 21, 2014, https://religionnews.com/2014/05/21/memorial-day-new-prayerbook-jewish-american-military/.

[5] Elliot L. Stevens, "The Prayer Books, They Are A'Changin'," CCAR Press, 2006, https://www.ccarpress.org/content.asp?tid=471.

[6] Elyse D. Frishman, ed., *Mishkan T'filah: A Reform Siddur: Weekdays, Shabbat, Festivals, and Other Occasions of Public Worship* (New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 2007), ix.

siddur of the Conservative movement" resulted in the publication of *Siddur Sim Shalom for Shabbat and Festivals* (1998) and *Siddur Sim Shalom for Weekdays* (2002).[7] Several other prayer books are mentioned in the introduction to the 2014 JWB prayer book as sources.[8]

The Editors

The editorial team for what would become the 2014 JWB prayer book consisted of two Conservative rabbis and one Orthodox rabbi. Rabbi Barry Baron, who was ordained at the JTS, was a chaplain with the rank of colonel in the U.S. Army Reserve when he served as the senior editor. He was the deputy director of the JWB Jewish Chaplains Council from 2007 to 2013.[9] Rabbi Yonatan M. Warren, a 2011 graduate of the JTS who had specialized in *Midrash*, was an active-duty Navy chaplain who worked as a rabbinic associate at the JWB Jewish Chaplains Council, during which time he became involved with the prayer book project. When the first edition was published in 2014, Warren was coming to the end of a three-year tour of duty in Okinawa, Japan.[10] Orthodox Rabbi Mitchell Rocklin was ordained through Yeshiva University's Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, earned a doctoral

---

[7] Julie Schonfeld, "Letter in Honor of the 70th Anniversary of Rabbi Leonard Cahan's Bar Mitzvah," November 2017, https://images.shulcloud.com/1304/uploads/Rabbi-Cahan-Program-Final-CL-v2.pdf.

[8] These include Sidney Greenberg and Jonathan D Levine, *Likrat Shabbat: Worship, Study, and Song for Sabbath and Festival Evenings* (Bridgeport, Conn.: Prayer Book Press/Media Judaica, 1973); Rabbinical Assembly of America and United Synagogue of America, *Sabbath and Festival Prayer Book with a New Translation, Supplementary Readings and Notes*, ed. Morris Silverman (1946); Ben Zion Bokser, *The Prayer Book: Weekday, Sabbath and Festival* (New York: Hebrew Publishing Company, 1957), https://opensiddur.org/compilations/liturgical/siddurim/kol-bo/ha-siddur-by-ben-zion-bokser-1957/; and David de Sola Pool, *Siddur. The Traditional Prayerbook for Sabbath and Festivals* (New Hyde Park, NY: University Books, Inc., 1960).

[9] "Rabbi Barry Baron | LinkedIn," accessed January 20, 2021, https://www.linkedin.com/in/rabbi-barry-baron-0072217/ and "Baron Named Associate University Chaplain and Campus Rabbi | Colgate University," accessed January 20, 2021, https://www.colgate.edu/news/stories/baron-named-associate-university-chaplain-and-campus-rabbi.

[10] Lisa Richmon, "Rabbi Yoni Warren: Navy Chaplain Back on Home Base | Jewish News," accessed January 20, 2021, http://www.jewishnewsva.org/rabbi-yoni-warren-navy-chaplain-back-on-home-base/, and "Yoni Warren | LinkedIn," accessed January 20, 2021, https://www.linkedin.com/in/yoni-warren-3b796930/.

degree in U.S. history from the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, and was serving as chaplain in the New Jersey Army National Guard while working on both the 2014 and 2017 editions of the JWB prayer book.[11]

Reform Rabbi Harold L. Robinson stepped into senior editor position for the 2017 revised edition of the JWB prayer book. Rocklin continued in his editorial role, and the two were joined by three more Conservative rabbis: Rabbi Leonard S. Cahan, Rabbi Irving Elson, and Rabbi Abbi Sharofsky. Cahan served as a Navy chaplain and the rabbi (and later rabbi emeritus) of the large Washington, DC–area Conservative congregation Har Shalom.[12] As the chair of the Rabbinical Assembly's Editorial Committee, he oversaw the publication of *Siddur Sim Shalom for Shabbat and Festivals* (1998) and *Siddur Sim Shalom for Weekdays* (2002). Elson, a JTS alumnus, retired Navy captain, and Iraq veteran who had served as deputy chaplain of the U.S. Marine Corps, "was the highest-ranking Jewish chaplain when he concluded his 35-year military career in September [2016]." He succeeded Robinson as director of the JWB Jewish Chaplains Council and set about build "a 21st century JWB to back up our rabbis and military personnel."[13] Sharofsky was the first woman editor of a JWB prayer book. She was ordained in 2012 upon the completion of her studies at JTS and served as the deputy director of the JWB Jewish Chaplains Council from 2013 to 2018. Although she had never worn the uniform of the U.S. Armed Forces, she had significant experience providing pastoral care to veterans in her capacity as a VA hospital chaplain.[14]

---

[11] "Mitchell Rocklin," The Tikvah Fund, accessed January 20, 2021, https://tikvahfund.org/faculty/mitchell-rocklin/.

[12] "Har Shalom's Larger-than-Life Rabbi Cahan Dies at 83," *Washington Jewish Week* (blog), January 26, 2018, https://washingtonjewishweek.com/43713/har-shaloms-larger-than-life-rabbi-cahan-dies-at-83/obits/.

[13] "A Call to Duty," *JCC Association of North America* (blog), November 9, 2016, https://jcca.org/news-and-views/a-call-to-duty/.

[14] Miller Friedman, "You Should Know... Rabbi Abbi Sharofsky," *Washington Jewish Week* (blog), November 6, 2019, https://washingtonjewishweek.com/60894/you-should-know-rabbi-abbi-

Features

We will consider the 2014 and 2017 editions together. The 2017 edition addresses feedback from users of the 2014 edition and makes significant changes—it modifies the layout to increase accessibility, corrects typographical errors, and inserts passages that had inadvertently been left out (e.g., *Yekum Purkan* in the Torah service, which appeared pasted inside the back cover of the 2014 edition). It also slightly alters the English translations. However, the overall text remains substantially unchanged. These two editions, while neither identical nor interoperable in use (largely because of the difference in pagination), are separated by a mere three years and are both the products of the same liturgical philosophy. The general congruity allows us to examine the pair in tandem, taking them as representative of the current "generation" of JWB prayer books. In our closer exploration of the liturgy, we will refer primarily to the 2017 edition, as it is the most current.

The editors of these editions of the JWB prayer book had developed a different understanding of their audience than had their predecessors, who had "sought to make a serviceable prayer book for deployed service members and not necessarily an everyday-use siddur designed for all Jewish military personnel."[15] Those deployed aboard a ship or in the field might be expected to tolerate a stripped-down prayer book because of the environment, but deployments—even if they sometimes seem otherwise—are not the whole of any service member's experience. Situational constraints both physical (limited space) and temporal

---

sharofsky/people/you_should_know/ and "Abbi Sharofsky | LinkedIn," LinkedIn, accessed January 20, 2021, https://www.linkedin.com/in/abbi-sharofsky-a6aa276/.

[15] JWB Jewish Chaplains Council, *Siddur: prayer book for Jewish personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States = Sidur : tefilot le-ḥayale Tseva Artsot Ha-Berit.*, ed. Barry Baron, Yonatan M. Warren, and Mitchell Rocklin, 1st ed. (New York: JWB Jewish Chaplains Council, 2014), xxiv.

(limited time) that might make an abridged service necessary while deployed are mostly not applicable to service members at their permanent stations in the United States or at military installations abroad. Nondeployed service members typically have the opportunity to live, to work, and—if they are religiously inclined—to pray at a less frenetic pace, for which a fuller prayer book would be desirable. It was, in part, to serve this broader target audience that the editors chose to expand the liturgy to "include a more comprehensive Birchot HaShachar (Morning Blessings) and P'sukei D'zimrah (Psalms of Praise in the Morning Service)" as well as including for the first time in a JWB siddur the petitionary *Tachanun* section and a Kabbalat Shabbat complete with all its customary psalms.[16]

Other changes were made to create a prayer book "significantly more accessible to the lay person: offering more transliteration for prayers that are commonly said aloud and providing a layout that requires less jumping around than the previous edition."[17] While earlier iterations of the JWB siddur tended (perhaps inconsistently) to save space by printing oft-repeated liturgical elements (e.g., the opening and closing blessings of the *Amidah*) once and directing the user back to that page upon subsequent references, the latest version prioritizes the ability to move smoothly from the beginning of a given service to its end, with less page-flipping. The editors achieved this service self-containment—which generates many more pages—in part due to changes in the materials used to print the book. The paper in the new volumes is much thinner than that used in the 1984 edition, which is approximately one-quarter of an inch thicker than its successor despite containing only 463 pages to the 2017 edition's 714. The chosen typefaces, especially in the 2017 edition, are

[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.

clear and legible even at a smaller size than that used in the 1984 edition. Other layout cues, such as indentation, white space, distinctive headings, and boxed prayer instructions and choreographic notes (of which there are many more than in the 1984 edition), help to orient the user quickly despite the compact page size.

Liturgy for Welcoming Shabbat

The service begins with the blessing over lighting the Shabbat candles, in keeping with the custom of communal candle-lighting established in the 1940 revision of the Reform *Union Prayer Book*, which "coincides with the popularity of the after-dinner Friday evening service in North American Reform congregations."[18] A reading by Rabbi Chaim Stern beginning "As these Shabbat candles give light to all who behold them," which first appeared in Sabbath Evening Service II of the 1975 *Gates of Prayer* and appears again in *Mishkan T'filah*, retains the humanistic flavor of its original in a service "emphasizing our obligation to grow in godliness."[19] The first stanza of the celebrated modern Hebrew poet Haim Nachman Bialik's (1873–1934) "*Shabbat Ha-Malkah* / The Shabbat Queen" leads into the yearning of *Y'did Nefesh*, the English translation of which is borrowed from the Conservative *Siddur Sim Shalom*, which had adapted it from a version by the Jewish Renewal pioneer Rabbi Zalman Schacter-Shalomi (1924–2014).[20]

---

[18] Richard S. Sarason, *Divrei Mishkan T'filah: Delving into the Siddur* (New York, NY: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 2018), 110.

[19] Lawrence A. Hoffman and Central Conference of American Rabbis, eds., *Gates of Understanding =: Sha'are Binah* (New York: Published for the Central Conference of American Rabbis by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1977), 172.

[20] Jules Harlow, Rabbinical Assembly, and United Synagogue of America, eds., *[Sidur Śim Shalom] =: Siddur Sim Shalom: A Prayerbook for Shabbat, Festivals, and Weekdays* (New York: Rabbinical Assembly: United Synagogue of America, 1985), 253, 874.

The 2014 prayer book is the first to include all six of the psalms (Psalms 95–99, 29) "representing the six days of creation"[21] traditionally recited in a *Kabbalat Shabbat* service. These are followed by *Ana B'choach*, the first time this plea—which "forms a bridge between the awesome majesty of Psalm 29 and the reassuring anticipation of redemption in L'cha Dodi"[22]—is included in a JWB siddur. The English translation of Shlomo Alkabetz's sixteenth-century acrostic about greeting Shabbat as a bride generally keeps to that of *Mishkan T'filah* and *GOP* before it; all stanzas are fully transliterated to facilitate congregational singing. After Psalms 92 and 93, the Mourner's Kaddish is recited. Some brief study texts, *Mishnah Shabbat* 2:1, and passages from *Berakhot* 64a and *Shabbat* 12a, allow the recitation of *Kaddish d'Rabbanan*, thus concluding a much more complete version of *Kabbalat Shabbat* than had hitherto appeared in any JWB prayer book.

Shabbat Evening Service

A footnote describes the evening service as one "designed to combat the anxiety caused by the night."[23] Several more footnotes provide illuminating commentary throughout, in keeping with what seems to be the common practice for the latest generation of prayer books.

The first blessing before the *Shema*, *Ma'ariv Aravim*, adapts its translation from *Mishkan T'filah*. While the other instances of "Adonai" are changed to "Eternal" (in keeping

---

[21] Elyse D. Frishman, ed., *Mishkan Tefilah =: Mishkan t'filah: A Reform Siddur: Weekdays, Shabbat, Festivals, and Other Occasions of Public Worship* (New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 2007), 130.

[22] JWB Jewish Chaplains Council, *Prayer Book for Jewish Personnel (2017)*, 187.

[23] JWB Jewish Chaplains Council, *Siddur: Prayer Book for Jewish personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States=סידור תפילות לחיילי צבא ארצות הברית*, ed. Harold L. Robinson et al., 2nd ed., 2017, 201.

with the 2014/2017 JWB siddur's usual rendering of the Tetragrammaton), the reference to "Adonai Tz'vaot" is unaltered. The decision to obscure what could be more literally translated as "God of Armies" might seem curious in a siddur meant for an audience likely to be less shocked by bellicose imagery than most, but according to the preface, the transliterated rendition should "be understood and treated as the divine name."[24] A footnote to the second blessing provides a comforting reminder to service members that "a core tenet of Judaism is the undying love of the Eternal for God's people"—no matter how "hard it is to believe sometimes" in the love between God and Israel.[25] All three paragraphs of the *Shema* are present in Hebrew with English translation, although only the first paragraph (the *V'ahavta*, Deut. 6:5–9) and the three words ("*Adonai Eloheichem Emet*") that lead into the next blessing are transliterated to allow for recitation or chanting. *Ga'al Yisrael*, the first blessing after the *Shema*, is partially transliterated, from "*Umalchuto v'ratzon*" through the end, making it easier for participants to join in singing the *Mi Chamochah* section, for which there are so many rousing tunes. The *Hashkiveinu* translation is similar to the one in *Sim Shalom for Shabbat and Festivals*, though "Adonai" is rendered as "Eternal our God" and the wording differs in a few other places. *V'shamru* (Exod. 31:16–17) is similar to the version in *Mishkan T'filah,* save that "Adonai" is again translated as "Eternal." The *Chatzi Kaddish* is fully transliterated, and its English translation is adapted from *Mishkan T'filah,* with a phrase or two from *Siddur Sim Shalom* (e.g., "beyond all song and psalm").

Two versions of the *Amidah* are provided, one tailored to the traditional Orthodox liturgy and a separate "egalitarian version that includes the Matriarchs and other options for

---

[24] Ibid., xxvii.
[25] Ibid., 203.

Conservative, Reconstructionist, and Reform worshippers."[26] Even the Orthodox version, however, demonstrates a greater commitment to gender-neutral language by translating the Tetragrammaton as "Eternal" rather than "Lord" and "*avoteinu*" as "our ancestors" rather than "our fathers." Both the egalitarian and traditional versions are fully transliterated. The two weather-related insertions in the *G'vurot* benediction (for rain or for dew, depending on the season) are included for the first time in a JWB prayer book.

In the 2017 egalitarian version, the translation for which is largely drawn from *Siddur Sim Shalom*, different options for Conservative and Reform/Reconstructionist worshippers are indicated by small "CT" and "RT" symbols—a distinct improvement in legibility and ease of use over the confusing collection of brackets and parentheses in the 2014 edition. The egalitarian *Avodah* benediction omits the request for the restoration of Temple worship and burnt offerings in the traditional version. Likewise, the concluding meditation at the end of the egalitarian *Amidah* leaves out the passage about rebuilding the Temple. It also includes "*v'al kol yoshvei teiveil* / and for all who inhabit the earth" as an optional addition to the request that God "make peace for us and for all Israel." The *Brachah Me'ein Sheva* is also fully transliterated, and a footnote explains its significance. Only the congregational responses are transliterated for the *Kaddish Shalem*. *Aleinu* is transliterated through *"ein od*" and starting again at "*kakatuv b'toratecha*" through the end, in keeping with where service leaders would return to speaking aloud after *davening* under their breath through the intervening words. The service ends on a highly accessible note: the Mourner's Kaddish is fully transliterated, as is the closing hymn *Yigdal*.

---

[26] JWB Jewish Chaplains Council, *Siddur (2017)*, 215. This appears to be the first time a JWB prayer book has specifically mentioned Reconstructionist practice among the major streams of Jewish practice the organization seeks to accommodate.

Shabbat Morning Service

Following the pattern from past editions, the Shabbat morning service begins with instructions to recite the preliminary morning prayers found elsewhere in the book before concluding *P'sukei D'zimrah* with *Nishmat Kol Chai*. A note clarifies that *Shacharit* begins on Shabbat with *Shochen Ad*,[27] making the underlying structure of the service more transparent despite the efficient use of space. *Yishtabach* and the *Chatzi Kaddish* (only the congregational responses for these two prayers have been transliterated) lead into the *Shema* and its blessings. Transliteration is provided for the first line of the *Yotzer* blessing, the passage beginning *Ein k'erkecha*, *El Adon*, and the congregational responses in the *Kedushah* section, but not for the *Chatimah*. Although *Ahavah Rabbah* is often sung together in Reform congregations, its transliteration begins only with the *Vahavienu* section about the ingathering of the exiles, which is where the service leader returns to chanting aloud. As in the evening service, all three paragraphs of the *Shema* are present. The morning *Ga'al Yisrael* provides transliteration starting with *"Mi chamochah*" and continuing through "*k'dosh Yisrael*"; the *Chatimah*, traditionally not recited aloud, is not transliterated.

The traditional and egalitarian *Amidah* options are presented in much the same fashion as their evening counterparts. The egalitarian *Kedushah* provides liberal worshippers with several options between Conservative and Reform customs; the Reform selections, true to form, remove most of the references to angels and do not mention the restoration of

[27] In the interest of liturgical accuracy, however, we should note that *Shacharit* technically begins with the recitation of the *Bar'chu*. Standard practice, however, is for the service leader for *Shacharit* to begin chanting with *Shochen Ad* to help the congregation "transition" into the formal morning service. This is an example of the power of performative practice to shape the way we understand our prayers.

Jerusalem or speak of David as God's "righteous anointed." While a prayer leader can only lead one version of the *Kedushah* at a time, having both the Conservative and Reform options on the same page allows worshippers to see themselves represented even when not reflected aloud. The *Kedushat HaYom* benediction also offers multiple options, beginning with "Moses rejoiced in the gift of his portion" for those who prefer Conservative custom and *Yism'chu* drawn from Exodus 31[28] for those partial to Reform. Conservative worshippers may also include the "*V'lo n'tato*" passage, which conveys that God did not give Shabbat to any people but the Jews. An asterisk in the *Birkat Shalom* notes that Reform Jews generally replace the gendered "*avinu* / our father" with "*yotzreinu* / our creator," and the English translation reflects only the latter. The *Kaddish Shalem* that leads into the Torah service provides transliteration only for the congregational responses, again balancing the demands of accessibility and available space.

Shabbat Morning Torah Service

Compared to the 1984 edition's more truncated version, the latest iteration of the Shabbat morning Torah service is full indeed. It includes the passage from the *Zohar* (beginning "*B'rich sh'mei*") omitted in 1984 and provides transliteration for the last few lines (from "*Beih ana rachitz*" through the end of the passage), which are customarily read aloud. The passages beginning "*Lecha Adonai*" (from 1 Chron. 29:11) and "*Rom'mu*" (from Pss. 99:5 and 99:9) are restored and transliterated so all service members might join in singing during the procession. The *V'ya'azor v'yagen* passage that precedes the first *Aliyah* (and

[28] In the traditional liturgy, *Yism'chu* is part of the *Kedushat HaYom* for the additional (*Musaf*) service. The Reformers "borrowed" the form used here from that service, which they had long omitted as redundant; a somewhat truncated form also appears in the traditional *Shacharit Amidah*.

notes the options for when a *Kohen* is available to be called to the Torah for the first *Aliyah*) appears for the first time in a JWB prayer book. The Torah blessings themselves are fully transliterated and accompanied by detailed choreographic instructions for anyone less familiar with the rite. The Haftarah blessings, however, are not transliterated. *Yekum Purkan* ("May Salvation Arise") is included before instructions for reciting communal prayers found elsewhere in the book. The text of *Birkat HaChodesh*, the blessing for the new month, follows. Worshippers who require the transliteration of *Ashrei* are directed to the back of the book; others may continue with the Hebrew *Ashrei* and its English translation below. The full transliteration of Psalm 29, the recitation of which accompanies the procession of the Torah scroll (*hakafah*) prior to its return to the Ark, requires no page-flipping, however. The Torah service concludes with the usual passage (beginning *U'vnuchah yomar*). Once again, it seems that music has driven the transliteration decisions, as the chosen passage describing Torah as a tree of life ("*Etz chayim hi*") is a near-universal favorite for congregational singing.

The Additional Service for Shabbat

A note beneath the service heading explains that "[t]he Musaf service begins with Chatzi Kaddish" but, in what must be an oversight, fails to provide a page number. A note also indicates that *Musaf* is not typically part of Reform or Reconstructionist worship. The traditional and egalitarian versions of the regular Shabbat *Musaf Amidah*[29] begin on the following page. The egalitarian *Kedushat HaYom* benediction refers to Shabbat's "special holiness" rather than its "special offerings and sacrifices" and, in conformity with

[29] As opposed to the versions used when Shabbat coincides with *Yom Tov,* intermediate festival days, or *Rosh Chodesh*, the beginning of a new month; these are found elsewhere in the prayer book.

Conservative practice, omits the description of the Shabbat offerings from Numbers 28:9–10. In both versions, the benediction is transliterated from *Yism'chu* through the *Chatimah*. The concluding benedictions follow the pattern established in previous services.

The *Kaddish Shalem,* which begins the concluding prayers for *Musaf,* does not differ from previous instances of the prayer. *Ein Keloheinu* is fully transliterated. The inclusion of the line "You are the One to whom our ancestors offered the incense of spices," which traditionally is appended to the hymn and in Conservative practice frequently sung to the same tune, is a significant traditional addition to the ritual study material. The first passage in this section, *Pitum HaKetoret*, relates a description of the Temple incense from the Talmud. Another passage discusses the psalms designated for each day of the week, and the final study text is drawn from *Berakhot* 64a. With ritual Torah study accomplished, worshippers may turn to the *Kaddish D'Rabbanan* elsewhere in the book before returning for *Aleinu*, which is transliterated as in the evening service, and the Mourner's Kaddish, likewise transliterated as well as translated. Only half of Psalm 92—verses 1–4 and 13–16—is transliterated, likely because those parts have several melodies that make them popular for singing. *Adon Olam* similarly provides transliteration, so those who cannot read Hebrew can lift their voices at the conclusion of the service.

Shabbat Afternoon Service

Ashrei and its translation are printed in full; a note refers the reader to the transliteration toward the back of the book. Rather than referring the reader to the *Kedushah D'sidra* printed in the weekday service, as did the 1984 prayer book, this iteration prints it within the afternoon service. The *Chatzi Kaddish* and a brief afternoon Torah service are

likewise printed so that the page-turning may continue uninterrupted. Only after the Ark is closed does the siddur have the reader turn elsewhere to the *Chatzi Kaddish* before returning to the *Minchah Amidah* beginning on the next page. As in previous services, all of the appropriate benedictions are included; a footnote with an Abraham Joshua Heschel quote about gratitude provides a bonus for the attentive reader. In the traditional *Amidah*, only the Peace benediction (beginning "*Shalom rav*…" in the afternoon) is transliterated, and the line beginning "*Oseh shalom*," which follows the conclusion of the *Amidah*, is also transliterated. Both of these passages are commonly sung, so the transliteration facilitates congregational singing. In the egalitarian *Amidah*, *Avot* and *G'vurot* are fully transliterated. Only the congregational responses are transliterated in the *Kedushah*. *Kedushat HaYom*, *Avodah,* and *Hoda'ah* are not transliterated, perhaps because some congregations pray these benedictions silently after reciting the first three blessings in unison. As in the traditional *Amidah*, the *Shalom Rav* and *Oseh Shalom* (with the "*v'al kol yoshvei teiveil* / and for all who inhabit the earth" option) passages are transliterated for easy singing.

Additional Readings

Prayer for America's Military Personnel

Rabbi Gerald C. Skolnik (b. 1953), a Conservative rabbi who has served as vice president and president of the Rabbinical Assembly, supplemented the 2014 liturgy with a prayer he had written for his own congregation in Queens, New York. Skolnik composed the prayer in response to his concern and admiration for those serving in uniform. As he wrote in a 2015 essay:

> Some years ago, when members of my congregation serving in the Army were deployed to Iraq, I composed a prayer for America's military, to be recited every Shabbat morning, as a means of expressing concern for their safety and support for their mission. When my own son-in-law[30] entered the Navy as a chaplain and was deployed for a brief time to Afghanistan, the recitation of that prayer became even more meaningful for me personally. That feeling of solidarity and respect was only amplified when my wife and I spent time visiting him and our daughter in Okinawa, where they were based for three years. I began then to appreciate, for the first time, how very deep the love of country is that informs the lives of our men and women in uniform.[31]

His composition, "*T'filah L'Chayalei Tz'va Artzot Ha-B'rit* / Prayer for America's Military Personnel,"[32] eventually resonated beyond the confines of the Forest Hills Jewish Center and was included in the new edition of the JWB siddur. The prayer calls upon God as "*Ribbono Shel Olam! /* Sovereign of the Universe!" to bless and protect "those brave men and women whose courage and commitment to our country protects us all." In the prayer's final paragraph, Skolnik poignantly expresses, "what for soldiers is the ultimate prayer—that they be privileged to return to the loving arms of their families and a grateful country safely, speedily, and in good health."

---

[30] Rabbi Yonatan "Yoni" Warren, Lieutenant CHC USN—who happens to be one of the editors of the 2014 edition of the JWB prayer book.

[31] Gerald C. Skolnik, "Veterans Day And Us: Let's Pray Equally For American And Israeli Soldiers," The New York Jewish Week, November 13, 2015, http://blogs.timesofisrael.com/veterans-day-and-us-lets-pray-equally-for-american-and-israeli-soldiers/.

[32] JWB Jewish Chaplains Council, *Siddur* (2017), 704.

The prayer's original setting was a civilian congregation, the majority of whose members were not affiliated with the military in any way. It was natural in that milieu to refer to service members in the third person, as a separate group upon whom to call blessings in gratitude for their service. While some might question the applicability of a prayer *about* military personnel in a siddur intended for use *by* military personnel *davening* in the first person, there is sufficient justification. First, Skolnik's prayer is entirely appropriate for service members who are moved to pray for their comrades in arms, especially those deployed in harm's way. Second, while service members themselves are the primary audience for the military siddur, they are not the only constituency. Their spouses and children accompany their loved ones in uniform to far-flung duty stations and bases, where their sole option for Jewish religious community might be at a base chapel. If that chapel is stocked with copies of the latest JWB siddur, the civilian members of military families will be well equipped to pray for the safety of their loved ones.

Prayer for Loved Ones at Home

The CJC editorial team once again updated the prayer originally published as "Prayer for Home" in the 1941 edition and included in some form in the 1943, 1958, and 1984 editions. Without going so far as to revert to the archaic "Thou" and "Thy" language of the earliest version, the editors of this twenty-first-century revision have restored some of the original phrasing from more than seven decades prior:

"Prayer for Home" (JWB 1941, p. 119)	**"Prayer for Home" (JWB 1984, p. 432)**	***"T'filah L'Ahuvim Ba-bayit* / Prayer for Loved Ones at Home" (JWB 2017, p. 706)**
1. Let my memory hold them in such loving embrace that I be cheered by their imagined presence.	Let me remember them that it will seem we are together and that I may be warmed by their love for me and my love for them.	Let my memory hold them in such loving embrace that I shall be cheered by their imagined presence.
2. Keep me under the influence of the ties that bind me to them, so that even in strange surroundings I may conduct myself in ways that do them honor.	May my thoughts of those I love so move me that I will do them honor by their deeds even when I am far from them, even in strange and foreign settings.	*[Restored to 1941 version]*
3. Keep me gratefully mindful of the blessing of their love and let me not give way to loneliness or despondency.	Dear God, keep me mindful of the blessing of their love, (my love for them and their love for me and Your love for us) that I may never yield to feelings of despondency.	Keep me gratefully mindful of the blessings *[note plural]* of their love, and let me not give way to loneliness or despondency.
4. For Thou, God, art the Father of all; Thou art the source of all love.	You, O God, are the Father of all, You are the source of all love.	For You are the God of all; You are the source of all love.
5. None who puts his faith in Thee need ever feel friendless or forsaken.	No one who puts his faith in You will ever feel forsaken.	None who puts faith in You need ever feel friendless or forsaken.

The resulting prayer, now given a (transliterated) Hebrew name, adds line breaks to what was in previous editions a single paragraph, imposing a poem-like format that makes for easier reading. The restoration of some of the original wording both streamlines the prayer and elevates its language, which had been compromised by some of the more cumbersome redactions of the 1984 version (see 1 and 3 in the above table). The newest version speaks of God as "Merciful Father" in the second sentence, but the ringing proclamation (4) removes the gendered language to address directly "the God of all" rather than "the Father of all." The return of the concluding line (5) to its original version (minus the old-fashioned "Thee" and the gender-specific "his") solves the problem of inadvertently accusing service members who *do* "feel forsaken" of being spiritually inadequate. This most recent update of the "Prayer for Home" strikes a balance between the lofty, longing-imbued language of a previous generation and the clarity of a more contemporary idiom that should allow it to speak eloquently to homesick service members today and for years to come.

"Tres Cool, Mucho Cool": Transcending Barriers and Building Understanding

To mark the publication of the 2014 JWB prayer book, three Manhattan congregations representing the three major movements were invited to participate in a unique prayer experience. During Memorial Day weekend, the JWB made the military siddur available to the Central Synagogue (Reform) for Shabbat evening, Park Avenue Synagogue (Conservative) for Shabbat morning, and Kehilath Jeshurun (Orthodox) for Shabbat afternoon to provide civilian communities with a window into the prayer experience that

military personnel might find within the pages of the camouflage-covered siddur. While the exigencies of military life had long required Jewish service members from different movements to share a prayer book, to have civilian congregations (whose members have the luxury of choice that service members do not) lead worship from a common liturgy was practically unheard of. Rabbi Robinson, cognizant of the significance of the event, remarked, "We have done some historical research, and there has never been a time that three such disparate synagogues have used the same prayer book."[33] Celebrated historian of American Judaism Dr. Jonathan Sarna agreed, saying, "It is indeed very impressive that three synagogues are simultaneously using the siddur in a non-military context. I am not familiar with any previous occasion when this was done outside of the military itself."[34]

While this event almost certainly provided publicity and fundraising opportunities for the JWB, there was perhaps a deeper reason to get the military siddur into the hands of civilian synagogue-goers: the military-civilian divide. A 2011 study by the Pew Research Center noted that "[o]nly one half of one percent of the U.S. population [had] been on active military duty at any given time during the past decade of sustained warfare." One of the consequences of having such a small population bearing the brunt of the demands of service was that the majority of Americans, while "[m]ore than nine-in-ten express[ed] pride in the troops and three-quarters [said] they [had] thanked someone in the military," lacked a clear understanding of what those demands actually entailed; the study showed that "[s]ome 84%

---

[33] Lauren Markoe, "This Memorial Day, a New Prayer Book for Jewish Soldiers and Sailors," *Religion News Service*, May 21, 2014, sec. Beliefs, https://religionnews.com/2014/05/21/memorial-day-new-prayerbook-jewish-american-military/.

[34] Debra Rubin, "New Pluralistic Military Siddur Will Make the Rounds on Memorial Day Weekend," JNS.org, May 8, 2014, http://archive.jns.org/latest-articles/2014/5/8/new-pluralistic-military-siddur-will-make-the-rounds-on-memorial-day-weekend.

of post-9/11 veterans [said] the public does not understand the problems faced by those in the military or their families."[35] While the introduction to the most recent editions of the JWB prayer book retains the admonition that it "is intended exclusively for use by Jewish personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States of America and in Veterans Administration hospitals,"[36] the JWB Jewish Chaplains Council clearly saw the benefit in pulling back the curtain, as it were, to foster a connection between civilian and military Jews. Though no one-time event in a single location—even one with sufficient community buy-in to transcend denominational differences—could hope to totally close the military-civilian gap, it could spark interest to drive the longer-term conversations necessary for meaningful understanding. For the sake of all Jewish service members the JWB serves, it is in the JWB's best interests to foster the broadest possible appreciation of the military experience among American Jews. Service members are not the only beneficiaries of such relationships, which must flow both ways. The opportunity for civilian Jews to hold a tangible product, a prayer book that lets Reform, Orthodox, and Conservative Jews "worship … three different ways, at three different times and all on the same Shabbat" is indeed, as Robinson enthused, "tres cool, mucho cool."[37] It is more than that, however. The larger Jewish community, so often divided by differences among the movements, might learn much of value from the JWB's example—symbolized by a prayer book born out of the diversity of American Judaism—of what interdenominational cooperation can accomplish when the cause is important.

---

[35] Pew Research Center, "War and Sacrifice in the Post-9/11 Era," Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends Project, October 5, 2011, https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2011/10/05/war-and-sacrifice-in-the-post-911-era/.

[36] JWB Jewish Chaplains Council, *Prayer Book for Jewish Personnel (2014)*, xxiii, and JWB Jewish Chaplains Council, *Prayer Book for Jewish Personnel (2017)*, xxv.

[37] Rubin, "New Pluralistic Military Siddur Will Make the Rounds on Memorial Day Weekend."

With the cooperation of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the Rabbinical Assembly, and the Rabbinical Council of America, the creators of the 2014 and 2017 JWB prayer books were able to draw upon the liturgical "state of the art" as expressed by the *siddurim* of all three movements. At the same time, the editors pressed into service nearly a century's worth of past JWB prayer books, a distinct liturgical corpus bearing not only prayers unique to the military milieu, such as the "Prayer for Home," but a wealth of examples of how past generations navigated compromise in pursuit of a common goal. The latest iteration has made significant strides not only in terms of the sheer amount of material included—which makes it the most complete JWB military siddur ever produced—but in the accessibility of that material to its intended audience. As we have reiterated throughout, Jewish service members vary widely in Hebrew facility, familiarity with Jewish practice, and movement affiliation. The latest edition of the JWB prayer book attempts to address each of these variables: first, through more extensive transliteration; second, through specific explanatory and choreographic notes; and third, though the inclusion of multiple, clearly marked liturgical options where (as in the *Amidah*) the preferred wording varies significantly among the movements. The result is a liturgy that retains the unified, single-service character that the editors of the 1984 edition had prioritized while making space in several key areas for greater choice in the language of prayer. The most resilient liturgical architecture, as in the case of physical buildings, is designed to balance rigidity with flexibility to achieve durability. The latest edition of the JWB prayer book appears to have achieved a harmony between tradition and innovation—between "just Jewish" unity and denominational choices—that should make it a strong pillar of support for Jewish service members in the years to come.

Epilogue

Almost exactly one hundred years elapsed between the publication of the *Abridged Prayer Book for Jews in the Army and Navy of the United States* and the most recent *Siddur: Prayer Book for Jewish Personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States*. During this first century of its existence, the JWB has brought together generation after generation of people from across the spectrum of American Judaism in service of a common goal: to meet the religious needs of Jews in the American military. To accomplish that mission required the dedicated partnership of Reform, Orthodox, and Conservative leaders, who left a textual record of that continued cooperation across decades and generations in the prayer books they produced for Jews in uniform. Considered as a distinct liturgical corpus in its own right, the collection of JWB prayer books also reveals something of the history of American Jewish liturgical trends from a unique, pluralistic vantage point.

The first in the collection, the 1917 JWB prayer book, was shaped by the pressures under which it was produced. With the United States about to enter World War I, a global conflict of an unprecedented scale, there was precious little time for Cyrus Adler, William Rosenau, and Bernard Drachman to waste. Neither did they have anything resembling the luxury of space; every page in this slimmest edition of the JWB prayer book had to justify the additional weight and thickness it added to a service member's gear. To those challenges were added the difficulties intrinsic to any wholly new venture; the editors had little in the way of precedent to guide their cross-movement project. Given these tight constraints, for the fledgling organization to generate a compromise even marginally acceptable to the Conservative, Reform, and Orthodox constituencies was a remarkable accomplishment. The editors' attempt to weave together the traditional liturgy of Singer's *Authorised Daily Prayer*

Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire and the Reform liturgy of the *Union Prayer Book* (even if only in a few footnotes marking changes in the traditional wording to reflect Reform theology) broke new ground; the pattern established in this first edition would set the stage for further pluralistic innovations in subsequent iterations. Even the mixed reception of the 1917 prayer book—which resulted in the JWB's midstream pivot to distribute the more complete Singer prayer books and the *Union Prayer Book* for use at stateside installations—provided crucial feedback that would guide the creation of a new and improved version when the U.S. Armed Forces again mobilized on a massive scale.

Both the 1941 and 1943 editions took into account the perceived shortcomings of the JWB's maiden offering. For those who had felt keenly the absence of wide swaths of traditional liturgy in the 1917 edition, the 1941 and 1943 editions were an improvement. The demand for traditional prayer had only increased during the interwar years with the dramatic increase in Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe, a demographic shift that was reflected in the military by the time millions of Americans were being called to serve in the Pacific and European Theaters. While the 1940 *Union Prayer Book for Jewish Worship: Newly Revised Edition* included some prayers rejected by its predecessors—revealing that the Reform movement was also influenced by this demographic shift—the gulf between typical Reform services and those of their Conservative and Orthodox counterparts remained wide enough that the editors in the 1940s took a new approach to accommodating all within a single book: separate services. The bulk of the 1940s JWB prayer books was devoted to the (inherently lengthier) traditional liturgy, but the inclusion of even one or two explicitly Reform services clearly indicated the growing influence of Reform worship on the American Jewish stage. While there are, as we have discussed above, some problems posed by dividing

services into separate denominational "silos" (perhaps most notably that only one option may be employed at a time), this new approach to a pluralistic prayer book would serve as a compromise that shaped JWB prayer books for more than forty years.

Given the meteoric growth of the Conservative movement during the postwar years, it is not surprising that the JWB relied heavily on the content of Rabbi Morris Silverman's 1946 *Sabbath and Festival Prayer Book*, which had been designed as the liturgical expression of a movement that saw itself as American Judaism's middle ground, in creating its next siddur. The 1958 edition of the JWB prayer book—the longest hitherto printed—offered several more services from the *Union Prayer Book* than had its 1940s predecessors, making it the edition with the most extensive section of Reform-specific liturgy. This edition would be the last developed according to the theory that the best—or at least the simplest—way to accommodate different liturgical views within the same book was to give the user an either/or choice.

The 1984 edition was a significant departure from the design philosophy of the JWB prayer books of the previous forty years. In some ways, the decision to provide a single, unified service that would serve all Jews in the military hearkened back to the first *Abridged Prayer Book for Jews in the Army and Navy of the United States* published nearly seven decades prior. Several factors likely set the stage for this "new/old" way of trying to accommodate Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox prayer. For one, the latest official Reform prayer book, *Gates of Prayer*, reflected American Reform Jews' growing willingness to integrate more Hebrew and traditional rituals in their own spiritual lives—a step that brought normative Reform practice into somewhat closer alignment with its more traditional counterparts. The editors of the 1984 siddur apparently hoped that with a more colloquially

poetic English translation accompanying the Hebrew text, Reform service members would find a service designed around the impeccably traditional (if still abridged for military use) Hebrew liturgy less daunting. The resulting unified liturgy, which was in some ways as significant a testament to the power of intermovement cooperation as had been the first edition in 1917, was not perfect. The Orthodox still wished for a more complete liturgy. The late 1980s and 1990s would bring about Reform and Conservative prayer books that used more gender-sensitive language and incorporated liturgical innovations such as including the Matriarchs in the *Amidah*, which made the 1984 JWB siddur seem outdated well before its replacement (though it made some attempts at nongendered translations when not referring to God).

The 2014 and 2017 editions—representing at the time of this writing the most recent JWB prayer books—reflect another attempt to meet liturgical needs across the denominational spectrum. Like the 1984 edition, the newest prayer books are designed around a unified service for all Jewish service members. This latest iteration, however, provides clearly marked options within that service, making it far easier to tailor it to the needs of a particular community or person. Even as they have included more of the traditional liturgy than ever before, the editors have also used far more gender-neutral language than in previous editions. To that end, the editors have rendered the Tetragrammaton as "Eternal" in most instances, which is neither feminine nor masculine; the term also neatly avoids any hierarchical connotations, such as "the LORD." The latest prayer book also follows some cross-denominational trends that have become popular in the first decades of the twenty-first century. More recent prayer books—including the Reconstructionist *Kol Haneshamah* series (1989–1996), the Reform *Mishkan T'filah* (2007),

the Conservative *Mahzor Lev Shalem* (2010) and *Siddur Lev Shalem* (2016), and the Orthodox *Koren Sacks Siddur* (2009)—have led contemporary Jewish audiences to expect extensive, illuminating information and commentary from their *siddurim,* as well as careful attention to how page layout and other formatting decisions affect both aesthetics and usability. The latest JWB siddur is a worthy addition to this body of liturgical work .

No literary analysis of the words in a siddur, or any prayer book for that matter, can hope to assess a liturgy's ultimate success or failure. Prayer books—no matter how thoughtfully conceived or carefully designed, no matter how beautiful the passages and poetic innovations may be—are difficult to evaluate. This is because the words on the page are prayers *in potentia* only, seeds that may blossom into an expression of relationship with the Divine only when they are permitted to take root within the human soul. While serving as an Army chaplain during World War II, Rabbi Harold I. Saperstein (1910–2001) discovered that the true power of the prayer book might be best observed, paradoxically, in the moments immediately after closing it. In her book *GI Jews*, historian Deborah Dash Moore related the tale of one such moment when the ritual of reciting the words on the page seemed to open a channel of genuine, prayerful connection in its wake:

> [Saperstein] explained his standard procedure to his wife: "At one point in the service, I usually say—'And now let's turn from the prayerbooks and let each of us pray from the depths of his own heart.'" This was his introduction to silent prayer. As "every one became hushed," they heard a young soldier's voice strained with sincerity and emotion. "O God, watch over me and bring me back safe to my father and mother." The heartfelt

> prayer expressed what the other GIs were thinking. Then the soldier's "voice broke and he started to weep."[38]

There is a teaching of Rabbi Elazar in the Talmud that says, "Even though the gates of prayer have been locked, the gates of tears are not locked, as it is said [in Psalm 39:13], 'Hear my prayer, Adonai, and to my cry lend ear; do not be deaf to my tears.'"[39] This teaching speaks to the emotional component of prayer, which may be inspired by the words on the page of a siddur but is not identical to it. The prayer book is not an end unto itself, not a collection of magic words to be recited by rote, but a means for unlocking the heart and opening the door to a live and meaningful encounter between the human being and the ineffable Source of all being. Because of the efforts of the JWB over the past hundred years and more, American Jewish members of the U.S. Armed Forces have been equipped to face the challenges of military service in peace and in war with just such a precious key—one "small enough in size to be carried in a pocket over the heart" it is intended to unlock.

---

[38] Deborah Dash Moore, *GI Jews: How World War II Changed a Generation* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Belknap, 2006), 145.

[39] Babylonian Talmud *Berakhot* 32b.

Bibliography

JCC Association of North America. “A Call to Duty,” November 9, 2016. https://jcca.org/news-and-views/a-call-to-duty/.

Jewish Telegraphic Agency. “A First in American Jewish Life: Unified Prayer Book Issued for U.S. Jewish Military and Va Personnel,” October 26, 1984. https://www.jta.org/1984/10/26/archive/a-first-in-american-jewish-life-unified-prayer-book-issued-for-u-s-jewish-military-and-va-personne.

LinkedIn. “Abbi Sharofsky | LinkedIn.” Accessed January 20, 2021. https://www.linkedin.com/in/abbi-sharofsky-a6aa276/.

admin. “Roslyn Marcus Obituary - Death Notice and Service Information.” Text. Legacy.com, February 14, 2010. https://www.legacy.com/link.asp?i=ls000139693919.

Alter, Robert. “The Traditional Prayer Book for Sabbath and Festivals, Edited by David de Sola Pool; Weekday Prayer Book, Edited by Gershon Hada.” *Commentary Magazine*, November 1, 1961. https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/robert-alter-2/the-traditional-prayer-book-for-sabbath-and-festivals-edited-by-david-de-sola-pool-weekday-prayer-book-edited-by-gershon-hadas/.

“Americans in Burma Pray for Loved Ones.” *Republican and Herald*, February 2, 1945.

“Armed Forces Chaplain Board.” Accessed January 24, 2021. https://prhome.defense.gov/M-RA/Inside-M-RA/MPP/AFCB/.

“Baron Named Associate University Chaplain and Campus Rabbi | Colgate University.” Accessed January 20, 2021. https://www.colgate.edu/news/stories/baron-named-associate-university-chaplain-and-campus-rabbi.

“Bernstein, Philip S. - Introduction | RBSCP.” Accessed January 19, 2021. https://rbscp.lib.rochester.edu/3323.

Blessing and Praise: A Book of Meditations and Prayers for Individual and Home Devotion. Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1923. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/wu.89094611241.

Bokser, Ben Zion. *The Prayer Book: Weekday, Sabbath and Festival*. New York: Hebrew Publishing Company, 1957. https://opensiddur.org/compilations/liturgical/siddurim/kol-bo/ha-siddur-by-ben-zion-bokser-1957/.

Bronstein, Daniel M. “Freehof’s Laws: A Guide for the Perplexed During World War II.” Reform Judaism. Accessed January 17, 2021. https://reformjudaism.org/blog/freehofs-laws-guide-perplexed-during-world-war-ii.

Cahnman, Werner J. "Siddur. The Traditional Prayerbook for Sabbath and Festivals. Edited and Translated by David de Sola Pool. Authorized by the Rabbinical Council of America. New Hyde Park, N. Y.: University Books, Inc., 1960. 879 Pp. $17.50." *Social Forces* 39, no. 4 (May 1, 1961): 356–356. https://doi.org/10.2307/2573436.

Carr, Martha. "My Opinion." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 9, 1946.

Central Conference of American Rabbis, ed. *Seder Tefilot Yirael = The Union Prayer-Book for Jewish Worship*. Cincinnati: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1895. http://archive.org/details/sedertefilotyira01cent.

———. "The Guiding Principles of Reform Judaism." Central Conference of American Rabbis. Accessed January 19, 2021. https://www.ccarnet.org/rabbinic-voice/platforms/article-guiding-principles-reform-judaism/.

———, ed. *The Union Prayer Book for Jewish Worship: Newly Revised Edition*. Cincinnati: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1940.

"Collected Responsa in Wartime." Accessed January 17, 2021. https://www.sefaria.org/Collected_Responsa_in_Wartime.

The Center for Jewish History Archives. "Collection: National Jewish Welfare Board Military Chaplaincy Records." Accessed January 6, 2021. https://archives.cjh.org/repositories/3/resources/1655.

The Center of Jewish History Archives. "Collection: Papers of the Solis-Cohen Family." Accessed January 5, 2021. https://archives.cjh.org/repositories/3/resources/356.

"Collection: Philip Goodman (1911-) Papers | The Center for Jewish History ArchivesSpace." Accessed January 18, 2021. https://archives.cjh.org/repositories/3/resources/15778.

Congress, United States. *Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the 77th Congress*. Vol. Volume 88, Part 10. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942.

"Conley Morris Abbott (1919-1973) - Find A Grave..." Accessed January 5, 2021. https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/155569742/conley-morris-abbott.

"Cooperman - 2014 - The Jewish Welfare Board and Religious Pluralism i.Pdf," n.d.

Cooperman, Jessica. *Making Judaism Safe for America: World War I and the Origins of Religious Pluralism*. The Goldstein-Goren Series in American Jewish History. New York: New York University Press, 2018.

———. "The Jewish Welfare Board and Religious Pluralism in the American Military of World War I." *American Jewish History* 98, no. 4 (2014): 237–61.

"Cyrus Adler Papers, 1866-1942, 1907-1939 (Bulk)." Accessed January 18, 2021. http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/ead/ead.html?id=EAD_upenn_cajs_PUCJSARCMS26USUSUSPUCJS.

Donin, Hayim Halevy. *To Pray as a Jew*. New York: Basic Books, 1991.

Open Siddur Project. "Eugene Kohn." Accessed January 17, 2021. https://opensiddur.org/profile/eugene-kohn/.

Friedman, Joan S. *"Guidance, Not Governance": Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof and Reform Responsa*. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2013.

Friedman, Miller. "You Should Know... Rabbi Abbi Sharofsky." *Washington Jewish Week* (blog), November 6, 2019. https://washingtonjewishweek.com/60894/you-should-know-rabbi-abbi-sharofsky/people/you_should_know/.

Frishman, Elyse D., ed. *Mishkan T'filah: A Reform Siddur: Weekdays, Shabbat, Festivals, and Other Occasions of Public Worship*. New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 2007.

Goldman, Ari L. "RABBIS COMBINE JEWISH LITURGIES IN PRAYER BOOK FOR MILITARY (Published 1984)." *The New York Times*, December 31, 1984, sec. U.S. https://www.nytimes.com/1984/12/31/us/rabbis-combine-jewish-liturgies-in-prayer-book-for-military.html.

Goren, Arthur A. "A 'Golden Decade' for American Jews: 1945-1955." In *American Judaism: A History*, edited by Jonathan D. Sarna, 294–311. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Greenberg, Sidney, and Jonathan D Levine. *Likrat Shabbat: Worship, Study, and Song for Sabbath and Festival Evenings*. Bridgeport, Conn.: Prayer Book Press/Media Judaica, 1978.

"Guide to the Gilbert Klaperman Papers 1943-2009." Accessed January 8, 2021. https://archives.yu.edu/xtf/view?docId=ead/gilbertklaperman/gilbertklaperman.xml.

Gurock, Jeffrey S. "From Exception to Role Model: Bernard Drachman and the Evolution of Jewish Religious Life in America, 1880-1920." *American Jewish History* 76, no. 4 (1987): 456–84.

Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. "Hail Columbia." Accessed December 30, 2020. https://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200000008/.

Hammer, Reuven. *Entering Jewish Prayer: A Guide to Personal Devotion and the Worship Service*. 1st ed. New York: Schocken Books, 1994.

Washington Jewish Week. “Har Shalom’s Larger-than-Life Rabbi Cahan Dies at 83,” January 26, 2018. https://washingtonjewishweek.com/43713/har-shaloms-larger-than-life-rabbi-cahan-dies-at-83/obits/.

Harlow, Jules, Rabbinical Assembly, and United Synagogue of America, eds. *Siddur Sim Shalom: A Prayerbook for Shabbat, Festivals, and Weekdays*. New York: Rabbinical Assembly: United Synagogue of America, 1985.

Herberg, Will. *Protestant - Catholic - Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1955.

Hoenig, Sidney B. “THE ORTHODOX RABBI AS A MILITARY CHAPLAIN: A Bicentennial Retrospect.” *Tradition: A Journal of Orthodox Jewish Thought* 16, no. 2 (1976): 35–60.

Hoffman, Lawrence A., and Central Conference of American Rabbis, eds. *Gates of Understanding =: Sha‘are Binah*. New York: Published for the Central Conference of American Rabbis by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1977.

U.S. Capitol Visitor Center. “H.R. 14, An Act To Make The Star-Spangled Banner the National Anthem of the United States of America, April 21, 1930.” Accessed December 30, 2020. https://www.visitthecapitol.gov/exhibitions/artifact/hr-14-act-make-star-spangled-banner-national-anthem-united-states-america-0.

Jewish Welfare Board. *Abridged Prayer Book for Jews in the Armed Forces of the United States*. Edited by Solomon B. Freehof, Eugene Kohn, and David de Sola Pool. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1941.

———. *Abridged Prayer Book for Jews in the Army and Navy of the United States*. Edited by Cyrus Adler, Bernard Drachman, and William Rosenau. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1917.

———. *Final Report of War Emergency Activities*. New York, 1920. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/coo1.ark:/13960/t9280x68c.

———. *Prayer Book Abridged for Jews in the Armed Forces of the United States*. Edited by Solomon B. Freehof, Eugene Kohn, David de Sola Pool, Philip Goodman, Leo Jung, and Leon S. Lang. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1943.

———. *Purpose, Scope and Achievement of the Jewish Welfare Board*. New York, 1918. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t83j3xm57.

Johnson, Skip. “From Deep In Viet Jungle Comes GI’s Birthday Gift.” *The Orlando Sentinel*, March 23, 1968.

Jewish Virtual Library. “Jung, Leo.” Accessed January 18, 2021. https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jung-leo.

JWB Jewish Chaplains Council. *Siddur: Prayer Book for Jewish personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States=סידור תפילות לחיילי צבא ארצות הברית*. Edited by Barry Baron, Yonatan M. Warren, and Mitchell Rocklin. 1st ed. New York: JWB Jewish Chaplains Council, 2014.

———. *Siddur: Prayer Book for Jewish personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States=סידור תפילות לחיילי צבא ארצות הברית*. Edited by Harold L. Robinson, Mitchell Rocklin, Leonard S. Cahan, Irving Elson, and Abby Sharofsky. 2nd ed., 2017.

———. "Yesterday, JWB Jewish Chaplains Council Director Irv Elson Had the Honor of Parajumping with a Former Navy SEAL." Facebook, December 15, 2017. https://www.facebook.com/JWBJewishChaplainsCouncil/posts/10155279652182099.

"JWV Donates $5000 for New Siddurs." *The Jewish Veteran*, 2016.

Kaplan, Dana Evan. *Contemporary American Judaism: Transformation and Renewal*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

Kertzer, Morris N. "Tolerance Is Real In Barracks Life." *The Daily Oklahoman*, March 24, 1952.

Landman, Nathan M. *My Sky Pilot Career: A Rabbi in the United States Air Force, 1956-1981*. Bloomington: Xlibris Corporation, 2012.

Levy, Richard N., and B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations, eds. *On Wings of Awe =: [Ma'ale Tefilot]: A Machzor for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur*. Washington, D.C: B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations, 1985.

JCC Association of North America. "L'hitraot, but Not Goodbye, Rabbi Robinson!," December 7, 2016. https://jcca.org/news-and-views/lhitraot-rabbi-robinson/.

Markoe, Lauren. "This Memorial Day, a New Prayer Book for Jewish Soldiers and Sailors." *Religion News Service*, May 21, 2014, sec. Beliefs. https://religionnews.com/2014/05/21/memorial-day-new-prayerbook-jewish-american-military/.

"Martin van Gelder Obituary - Gainesville, FL | Orlando Sentinel." Accessed January 16, 2021. https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/orlandosentinel/name/martin-van-gelder-obituary?n=martin-van-gelder&pid=173005741&fhid=4014.

The Detroit Jewish News Digital Archives. "May 29, 2014 - Image 68." Accessed December 29, 2020. https://digital.bentley.umich.edu/djnews/djn.2014.05.29.001/68.

Meyer, Michael A. *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995.

The Tikvah Fund. "Mitchell Rocklin." Accessed January 20, 2021. https://tikvahfund.org/faculty/mitchell-rocklin/.

Moore, Deborah Dash. *GI Jews: How World War II Changed a Generation*. Cambridge, Mass.; London: Belknap, 2006.

"MS-435: Solomon Bennett Freehof Papers. 1927-1983." Accessed January 17, 2021. http://collections.americanjewisharchives.org/ms/ms0435/ms0435.html.

Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. "My Country 'Tis of Thee." Accessed December 30, 2020. https://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200000012/.

The Forward. "My Time In A Camo Kippah, Or What Shabbat Is Like On An Air Force Base." Accessed December 29, 2020. https://forward.com/news/420851/sabbath-jewish-sabbath-jewish-prayer-sabbath-air-force/.

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion. "'On Wings of Awe: A Fully Translated Machzor for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur' Edited by Rabbi Richard Levy." Accessed January 24, 2021. //huc.edu/news/article/2011/%E2%80%9C-wings-awe-fully-translated-machzor-rosh-hashanah-and-yom-kippur%E2%80%9D-edited-rabbi.

Parnes, Stephan O., Gilbert Klaperman, Leonard S. Kravitz, and Max J. Routtenberg, eds. *Prayer Book for Jewish Personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States = Sidur : Tefilot Le-Ḥayale Tseva Artsot Ha-Berit*. New York: Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy of JWB, 1984.

Pew Research Center. "War and Sacrifice in the Post-9/11 Era." Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends Project, October 5, 2011. https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2011/10/05/war-and-sacrifice-in-the-post-911-era/.

Pool, David de Sola, and Marc Angel. *Rabbi David de Sola Pool: Selections from Six Decades of Sermons, Addresses, and Writings*. New York: L. Amiel : Union of Sephardic Congregations, 1980.

JCC Association of North America. "Prayer Book for U.S. Military a Unique Collaboration of All Jewish Denominations," March 28, 2014. https://jcca.org/news-and-views/prayer-book-for-u-s-military-a-unique-collaboration-of-all-jewish-denominations/.

LinkedIn. "Rabbi Barry Baron | LinkedIn." Accessed January 20, 2021. https://www.linkedin.com/in/rabbi-barry-baron-0072217/.

Jewish Journal. "Rabbi Ending Long Hitch in Military," February 16, 2006. https://jewishjournal.com/news/united-states/12700/.

"Rabbi Leon Lang Dies; Native of Palestine." *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. April 27, 1956.

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion. "Rabbi Leonard S. Kravitz, Professor of Midrash and Homiletics at HUC-JIR/New York: Received Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters from Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion." Accessed

January 8, 2021. //huc.edu/news/article/2011/rabbi-leonard-s-kravitz-professor-midrash-and-homiletics-huc-jirnew-york-received.

"RABBI PHILIP BERNSTEIN: HELPED DISPLACED JEWS (Published 1985)." *The New York Times*, December 21, 1985, sec. 1.

Rabbinical Assembly of America, and United Synagogue of America. *Sabbath and Festival Prayer Book with a New Translation, Supplementary Readings and Notes*. Edited by Morris Silverman, 1946. https://opensiddur.org/compilations/liturgical/siddurim/shabbat-siddur/seder-tefilot-yisrael-sabbath-festival-prayer-book-1946/.

"Rear Admiral Harold L. Robinson > United States Navy > BioDisplay." Accessed January 20, 2021. https://www.navy.mil/Leadership/Biographies/BioDisplay/Article/2369738/rear-admiral-harold-l-robinson/.

Rembaum, Joel E. "Regarding the Inclusion of the Names of the Matriarchs in the First Blessing of The," March 3, 1990. https://www.rabbinicalassembly.org/sites/default/files/public/halakhah/teshuvot/19861990/rembaum_matriarchs.pdf.

"Rev. Dr. David de Sola Pool Dies at 85 (Published 1970)." *The New York Times*, December 2, 1970. https://www.nytimes.com/1970/12/02/archives/rev-dr-david-de-sola-pool-dies-at-85.html.

Richmon, Lisa. "Rabbi Yoni Warren: Navy Chaplain Back on Home Base | Jewish News." Accessed January 20, 2021. http://www.jewishnewsva.org/rabbi-yoni-warren-navy-chaplain-back-on-home-base/.

Robinson, Ira. "Cyrus Adler and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America: Image and Reality." *American Jewish History* 78, no. 3 (1989): 363–81.

Encyclopedia.com. "Routtenberg, Max Jonah." Accessed January 8, 2021. https://www.encyclopedia.com/religion/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/routtenberg-max-jonah.

Rubin, Debra. "New Pluralistic Military Siddur Will Make the Rounds on Memorial Day Weekend." JNS.org, May 8, 2014. http://archive.jns.org/latest-articles/2014/5/8/new-pluralistic-military-siddur-will-make-the-rounds-on-memorial-day-weekend.

Sarason, Richard S. *Divrei Mishkan T'filah: Delving into the Siddur*. New York, NY: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 2018.

Sarna, Jonathan D. *American Judaism: A History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

———. “Jewish Prayers for the United States Government.” In *Liturgy in the Life of the Synagogue: Studies in the History of Jewish Prayer*, edited by Ruth Langer and Steven Fine. Duke Judaic Studies Series, v. 2. Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 2005.

———, ed. *The American Jewish Experience*. 2nd ed. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1997.

Schonfeld, Julie. “Letter in Honor of the 70th Anniversary of Rabbi Leonard Cahan’s Bar Mitzvah,” November 2017. https://images.shulcloud.com/1304/uploads/Rabbi-Cahan-Program-Final-CL-v2.pdf.

Sherman, Moshe D., and Marc Raphael. *Orthodox Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook*. Greenwood Publishing Group, 1996.

Singer, Simeon. *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire*. 9th edition. Eyre and Spottiswoode, Ltd., 1912. http://archive.org/details/AuthorisedDailyPrayerBook9thEdition1912.

Skolnik, Gerald C. “Veterans Day And Us: Let’s Pray Equally For American And Israeli Soldiers.” The New York Jewish Week, November 13, 2015. http://blogs.timesofisrael.com/veterans-day-and-us-lets-pray-equally-for-american-and-israeli-soldiers/.

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

Sola Pool, David de. *Seder HaTefilot= Book of Prayer According to the Custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*. 2nd ed. New York: Union of Sephardic Congregatins, 1941. https://opensiddur.org/compilations/liturgical/siddurim/kol-bo/seder-hatefilot-by-david-de-sola-pool-1941/.

———. *Siddur. The Traditional Prayerbook for Sabbath and Festivals*. New Hyde Park, NY: University Books, Inc., 1960.

Stahl, Ronit Y. *Enlisting Faith: How the Military Chaplaincy Shaped Religion and State in Modern America*. Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: Harvard University Press, 2017.

Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. “Star Spangled Banner.” Accessed December 30, 2020. https://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200000017/.

Stern, Chaim, ed. *Gates of Prayer*. New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1975.

Stevens, Elliot L. “The Prayer Books, They Are A’Changin’.” CCAR Press, 2006. https://www.ccarpress.org/content.asp?tid=471.

Tenorio, Rich. "Highest-Ranking Jewish Chaplain in Marines Says so Long — but Not Goodbye." Accessed January 20, 2021. http://www.timesofisrael.com/highest-ranking-jewish-chaplain-in-marines-says-so-long-but-not-goodbye/.

The Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy of the National Jewish Welfare Board. *Prayer Book for Jewish Personnel in the Armed Forces of the United States*. The Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy of the National Jewish Welfare Board, 1958.

Union Hymnal for Jewish Worship. Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1914. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015056374153.

Jewish Telegraphic Agency. "U.S. Soldiers Getting First New Siddur since World War II," March 26, 2014. https://www.jta.org/2014/03/26/united-states/u-s-soldiers-get-first-new-siddur-since-world-war-ii.

Wertheimer, Jack. "The Turbulent Sixties." In *American Judaism: A History*, edited by Jonathan D. Sarna, 330–47. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

"William Rosenau Papers." Accessed January 18, 2021. http://collections.americanjewisharchives.org/ms/ms0041/ms0041.html.

"Women in the United States Army." Accessed December 30, 2020. https://www.army.mil/women/history/.

JCC Association of North America. "Words of Torah, to Match," October 2, 2014. https://jcca.org/news-and-views/words-of-torah-to-match/.

Yates, J.E., and Evan W. Scott, eds. *The Army and Navy Hymnal - Hymn Edition*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1925. http://archive.org/details/TheArmyAndNavyHymnal-HymnEdition.

"Yoni Warren | LinkedIn." Accessed January 20, 2021. https://www.linkedin.com/in/yoni-warren-3b796930/.