The Library of Congress National Serials Data Program (NSDP), Washington, D.C. 20540, which operates the U.S. Serials Data System, has assigned the following International Standard Serial Number (ISSN) to the Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes, a publication of the Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association: ISSN 0556-8609.

Front Cover

Left to right: Leah Leven, Fannie Levenson, and Emma Raskin in 1908. Leah Leven married William Goldstein, lived in Hartford and had two children, Max and Enid. Leah introduced Fannie Levenson to her brother, Samuel. They were married and had three children, Irving and Stanley Leven and Ruth Greenberg. Emma Raskin became Mrs. Joseph Levine. See "An Engagement, A Wedding, and Friendships," p. 115.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Tribute: Rabbi William G. Braude 1907-1988</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Geraldine S. Foster</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Quarter Century of Change: Rhode Island Jewry, 1963-1987</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Sidney Goldstein, Ph.D., Calvin Goldscheider, Ph.D., and Alice Goldstein</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Engagement, A Wedding, and Friendships</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Eva Levine Schaffer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Why Not a Jewish Girl&quot;: The Jewish Experience at Pembroke College in Brown University</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Karen M. Lamoree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musical Memories</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Rose Presel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews in Rhode Island Labor: An Introductory Investigation</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Paul M. Buhle, Ph.D.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workmen's Circles and Jewish Labor Unions</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Edwin C. Brown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashkenazim vs. Sephardim in the Colonial Era</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Freedom Week: Joint Resolution of Congress</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Olneyville Hebrew Club — Order of Hebraic Comradeship</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Eleanor F. Horvitz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Association</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Necrology</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Errata and Addenda</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funds and Bequests</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life Members of the Association</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A TRIBUTE
RABBI WILLIAM G. BRAUDE 1907-1988

BY GERALDINE S. FOSTER
PRESIDENT, RHODE ISLAND JEWISH HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

William G. Braude, Rabbi and Rabbi Emeritus of Congregation Sons of Israel and David, Temple Beth-El, Providence, died in 1988 at the age of 80. (See Necrology, p. 197.) He is survived by his wife, Pearl (Finklestein) Braude; and three sons, Joel, Benjamin, and Daniel; a sister, Dorothy Braude Fuerst, and three grand-children.

Rabbi Braude came to this country in 1920. His father, maternal grandfather, and several uncles were all Talmudic scholars and rabbis.

Rabbi Braude was internationally recognized for his scholarship. The author of more than 86 works, he was invited to teach at Yale University, Hebrew University, Reform Rabbinical Seminary (London), Leo Baeck College, and Providence College. From 1937 to 1942, he was a member of the faculty of Brown University.

Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association officers and members especially mourn Rabbi Braude. He was one of the founders of the Association, was an honorary member of the Executive Committee, and was deeply involved with the Association’s activities. He had a profound sense of history which, as writer and teacher, he sought to impart to others. A frequent contributor to the Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes, he wrote on a variety of topics to which he added a spiritual dimension.

Rabbi Braude was the speaker for the Twelfth Annual David C. Adelman Lecture at the Twenty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association on April 25, 1982. He spoke on “An Old Translator’s New Adventure,” discussing the continuation of his work of 45 years translating Midrashic texts in an effort to make them intelligible to readers.

At this meeting the Association passed a resolution, written by Louis B. Rubinstein, honoring Rabbi Braude. It stated, in part, “The Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association ... recognizes that the vigor and strength by means of which you have shared the depth and quality of your wisdom...”
with the entire scholarly world, is superbly displayed in your profound and illuminating writings and publications, with their influence causing the entire Jewish community of Rhode Island to bask in the reflected glory emanating from your worldwide fame, particularly where scholarship, knowledge, and the ability to make ancient and obscure writings come alive with vibrancy, poetry and meaning, are the true measure of a man's influence and basic worth."

The Preface to Volume 1, Number 1, of the Notes, written by Rabbi Braude, opened with this query: "In what way does the story of the Jew in America differ from the story of the Jew in other lands?" It was typical of Rabbi Braude to pose questions, questions that required thought and analysis, that drove to the heart of the matter, that eschewed generalizations. By his opening sentence, he set a tone and spirit of inquiry for those who document the history of the Jews in Rhode Island. His questioning is part of his rich and varied legacy to the Association.
Over the last quarter century, the demographic, social, economic, and cultural structure of the American Jewish community has undergone extensive changes. So, too, has that of Rhode Island. Indeed, the history of Rhode Island’s Jewish community is in many ways a microcosm of that of American Jewry. Settlement was stimulated by economic opportunity for each wave of immigrants — from Dutch to German to East European to, most recently, Russian refugees — augmented by chain migration as early arrivals sent for family and friends. Jews concentrated initially in the large commercial centers, Newport, then Providence. They moved to smaller communities as a flourishing textile industry brought economic prosperity and jobs to mill towns throughout the central and northern areas of the State. Reconcentration accompanied the demise of Rhode Island’s textile manufacture, only to be followed by new waves of dispersion, as the suburbanization that characterized the general American population also caught up with Rhode Island Jewry. Ever greater deconcentration followed as changing opportunities in the peripheral areas of the State, ease of commuting, and changing life styles made sparsely settled areas attractive to Jews.

Throughout their history in the State, Jews have organized for religious observance, for mutual aid, and for cultural, social, and civic participation. Their institutional structure serviced their everyday needs and provided the means for preserving the traditions and values which constituted the core of Judaism and around which individual Jews could build and maintain their identity with the community and with Judaism. Over time, the types and character of the associations and institutions changed to reflect how Jews saw themselves as relating to the larger community. The curbs on immigration in the 1920s not only signaled the end of rapid growth, but also removed a major source of reinforcement of traditional values. As

Dr. Sidney Goldstein is George Hazard Crooker University Professor, and Director of the Population Studies and Training Center, Brown University. Dr. Calvin Goldscheider is Professor of Sociology and Professor of Judaic Studies at Brown University. Alice Goldstein is a Senior Researcher, Population Studies and Training Center, Brown University.

a result, ensuing decades saw increasing proportions of the Jewish population being American-born and further removed from their European origins.

The definition of the community itself changed as the central fund-raising agencies merged first as the General Jewish Committee of Greater Providence, with separate agencies in Newport and Woonsocket, and then into the Jewish Federation of Rhode Island, covering the entire State. Contacts with the larger non-Jewish population increased in the schools, on the job, and in general social situations. Partly as a result of this greater interaction of Jew and non-Jew and partly as a result of larger trends developing on the American scene, overt anti-Semitism declined, thereby weakening the outside pressure which had been a major factor in creating a sense of Jewish belonging. Thus, in Rhode Island, as in all of the United States, a major concern of the Jewish community and of many individual Jews has become how to achieve an integrated yet unassimilated status within the general American community.

These concerns have led to a growing recognition that planning for a more effective community and especially for the future of the community requires accurate and up-to-date information. Increasingly, self-assessment has come to be regarded as a necessary basis for identifying needs and making decisions about facilities, services, and community relations as well as religious, social, and cultural activities. The Rhode Island Jewish Federation has, in fact, been in the forefront among American Jewish communities in undertaking studies to evaluate where the community has been, where it is, and where it is heading. The results of these assessments strongly indicate that the size, spatial distribution, and composition of the Jewish population, its growth and migration patterns, as well as its family resources, are all closely linked to the social, cultural, and religious profiles of Rhode Island Jewry in shaping the character of the community.

The first comprehensive assessment of the Rhode Island Jewish community was completed in 1963 (Goldstein, 1964). That survey encompassed the Greater Providence area and provided the basis for a wide range of planning and development activities. Recognizing the inadequacy of 1963 data for planning for the 1990s, the Jewish Federation of Rhode Island undertook a second general survey of the State's Jewish population in 1987 (Goldscheider and Goldstein, 1988). The second survey provides the basis of this paper for evaluating changes in the social and demographic structure of the community and the forces accounting for change in the quarter century between 1963 and 1987. In doing so, this report will give particular attention to the findings from the 1987 survey and their implications as Rhode Island Jewry moves toward the 21st century.

**Study Design**

The 1987 study of Rhode Island Jewry is based on a sample survey of the entire State of Rhode Island. In this respect, it differs from earlier
studies: The 1963 survey encompassed only the Greater Providence area — that is, Providence, Pawtucket, East Providence, Barrington, Cranston, and Warwick, with additional inclusion of parts of northern and western Rhode Island. The sample was drawn from up-dated lists of Jewish households maintained by the General Jewish Committee of Greater Providence. A 1970 assessment (Goldstein, 1971) was based only on the household listings of known Jewish households maintained by JFRI; it was intended only to provide an estimate of the number of Jews and Jewish households in the State and did not involve interviewing.

In 1987, the survey design combined two sampling procedures. Approximately three-quarters of the households were selected through a random sample chosen from the lists of the Jewish Federation of Rhode Island, which, after updating, contained approximately 6,600 households. The balance came from a sample, generated by random digit dialing (RDD), of all households with telephones in Rhode Island. Since fewer than 2 percent of the household units in Rhode Island were estimated to be Jewish, 18,000 households had to be contacted to identify the several hundred households containing Jewish members to supplement the sample from the Federation list. The RDD sample served to ensure coverage of Jewish households not on the Federation roster.

In each household, usually one person age 21 or older (age 18-20 if no one age 21 or over lived in the household) was selected to be the respondent. Each respondent was asked questions about all members of the household and other questions, including attitudinal ones, that related only to the respondent himself/herself. A total of 1,455 households were contacted for interviews. From among these, interviews were obtained from 1,129, for a response rate of 78 percent.

**Numbers and Distribution**

The 1987 data on the number of Jews and their geographic distribution point to important changes in the Jewish community in the last several decades. The 1963 study enumerated 5,978 Jewish households containing 19,457 persons. For the comparable Greater Providence area, the 1987 data show an increase to 6,441 households but a decrease in the number of persons to 15,110. Insights into statewide changes can be obtained by comparing the results of the full 1987 survey with estimates made in 1970. In 1970, the JFRI lists included 6,235 Jewish households in the State, compared to the 7,224 enumerated in 1987. Since the 1970 estimates are quite likely an underenumeration (see Goldstein, 1971 for detailed explanation), these data suggest that the number of Jewish households in Rhode Island has remained quite stable over the last twenty years. By contrast, the number of individuals has declined — from an estimated statewide total of approximately 19,000 persons to only 17,025 in 1987.
These data point to the considerably smaller size of Jewish households in the 1980s.

More dramatic than the changes in numbers has been the changing distribution of Jews in Rhode Island. The 1963 survey documented that within the city of Providence Jews were concentrated on the East Side, with declining numbers in South Providence and the North End, as urban redevelopment made these two areas of early settlement less attractive to Jews. At the same time, like Americans generally, Jews participated in suburbanization, so that communities in Cranston, Warwick, and Barrington flourished. The next 25 years saw a continuation of this dispersion away from the central core, but increasingly it involved the more outlying parts of the State.

In 1987, one-third of the State's Jewish population lived in the city of Providence. If only the Greater Providence area is considered, Providence itself contained 37 percent of Rhode Island Jewry in 1987, compared to 57 percent in 1963. Consistent with patterns characterizing the total American population, central cities and older suburban areas, like Cranston, lost population, while newer, more outlying areas gained. High rates of growth characterized Western Rhode Island and South County. By 1987, the latter two areas contained 13 percent of the State's Jewish population. The East Side continued as the area of highest Jewish concentration in the State, but even there, relatively fewer Jews were found in 1987 than earlier. With only 41 percent of the State's Jewish population living in Providence-Pawtucket, Rhode Island Jewry has become substantially dispersed throughout the State.

**Age and Sex**

Like the population of the United States as a whole, Rhode Island Jewry has been aging, but at a faster pace. In 1987, the average (median) age of the Jewish population was 44.7, well above the 36.2 of Greater Providence in 1963, and far above the estimated 33.4 median for the 1987 population of the State. In 1987, 23 percent of the Jewish population was age 65 and over, compared to only 10 percent in 1963; moreover, 10 percent were in the very old group, 75 and over, compared to only 3 percent in 1963. The aging of the population reflects the out-migration of a disproportionate number of younger Jews and low levels of Jewish fertility. In 1987, only 14 percent of the Jews were under age 15, compared to 19 percent in the total population of the State in 1987 and to 25 percent of the Jewish population in 1963.

Considerable variation in age composition characterized Jews living in the different areas of Rhode Island. Median ages ranged from lows of 35.9 and 36.5 in Western Rhode Island and South County to a high of 62.1 years in Other Providence (those parts of the city outside the East
The East Side, Cranston, Warwick, and East Bay — older settled areas — had intermediate age compositions. Only 10 percent of the population in Other Providence was under age 10 but almost half were 65 and over. By contrast, in Western Rhode Island, 16 percent were in the youngest group and only 6 percent were aged. The age variations reflect differences in family life cycles of those living in these areas and suggest the different types of services needed in these places.

Reflecting the aging of the population and the greater longevity of women, the balance between men and women changed between 1963 and 1987. For the State as a whole, there were only 92 men for every 100 women, a decline from the sex ratio of 98 men per 100 women in 1963. Consistent with national patterns, the sex ratios of Rhode Island Jews decline with age; that is, in the younger age groups men outnumber women, but the reverse is true at older ages.

**Immigrant Origins**

In the absence of large new inflows of immigrants since the massive influx from Eastern Europe that characterized the 1880-1920 decades, the proportion of foreign born in Rhode Island's Jewish population has understandably aged and declined. By the 1960s, most Rhode Island Jews were native, U.S. born and increasingly the children of native-born parents. Only 9 percent were foreign born, compared to 18 percent in 1963. Even more dramatic changes characterized the older age groups, among whom the percent foreign born declined from 75 percent in 1963 to only 17 percent in 1987. Clearly, the Rhode Island Jewish community has become increasingly American.

Of the population age 16 and older, 11 percent were first generation (foreign born), and 46 percent were American-born children of one or two foreign-born parents. This contrasts with 24 percent foreign born and 58 percent second generation in 1963. Most significant is the rise in the proportion of third and higher generations, from only 16 percent in 1963 to 43 percent in 1987. Among those younger than 45, more than seven out of every ten were third generation and as many as 12 percent were at least fourth generation.

Not surprisingly, about half of the foreign born came from Eastern Europe and 14 percent from Germany/Austria. About 10 percent were born in Middle Eastern countries, including Israel. Half of the total came to the United States before 1950, reflecting the greatest concentration of foreign born among the aged. Yet, 30 percent of all foreign born arrived since 1970, including recent refugee movements from the Soviet Union and Iran and the immigration of Israelis.

The ethnic ancestry of the total population closely parallels the country of origin distribution of the foreign born. Over half of all Jews in the
Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes

State trace their family origins to Russia and another 20 percent to Poland and Lithuania. In all, over eight out of every ten Rhode Island Jews have an Eastern European background, and one in ten is Austro-German. The remaining identify their ethnicity with a variety of other European, Middle Eastern, and Western Hemisphere countries.

Variations in the generational composition of the areas of the State point to the extent of residential segregation within the Jewish community, and provide clues to explain some of the areal differences in patterns of Jewish identity, behavior, and practice. In 1963, a disproportional number of persons living in Providence (21 percent) was foreign born; among the suburbs the proportion was half as high, with East Bay having only 6 percent. The opposite pattern characterized the third generation: All of the suburbs contained considerably higher proportions of such persons than Providence; East Bay, the newest suburb in 1963, was more heavily third generation than any other part of Greater Providence, and within Providence itself, the East Side was the most heavily third generation.

Although at different levels, basically the same pattern of area differences persists in 1987. Other Providence contains the highest percentage of foreign born, one out of every five persons, reflecting the older age composition of this area. The East Side, Pawtucket, East Bay, and Northern Rhode Island all had between 12 and 14 percent foreign born in their populations. Cranston and Warwick contained still lower proportions foreign born, but the lowest percentage characterized the outlying areas of western Rhode Island and South County, where only 3 percent were foreign born. Conversely, in the outlying areas of the State well over half the population were at least third generation, and on the East Side, Pawtucket, East Bay, and Newport, between 40 and 50 percent were at least third generation. In Cranston, Warwick, and Northern Rhode Island, a minimum of 30 percent were third generation. As expected, the proportion of third generation was lowest in Other Providence, again reflecting its older age composition.

Family Processes

Historically, the Jewish community has been family centered and has renewed itself demographically through raising the next generation. The most elementary form of generational continuity relates to marriage and fertility, i.e., whether and when individuals form new families and the number of children they have. How have these family patterns changed over the last quarter of a century among Rhode Island Jews?

The overall importance of marriage is indicated by the high proportion of Jews 18 years of age and older in Rhode Island in 1987 who were married: 73 percent of the men and 65 percent of the women. A pattern of late age at marriage is clearly evident and is one of the major changes in the last 25 years. In 1963, 42 percent of the men and 72 percent of the women
were married before age 30; the comparable figures for 1987 are 34 percent for men and 54 percent for women. The rate of remaining single among those in their thirties is about three times higher currently than in 1963. So a larger proportion of young adults are delaying marriage in the 1980s than in the 1960s.

The rate of family dissolution through divorce has also changed. Levels of divorce have increased since the 1960s, although they remain well below the levels for the general population. In 1987, 4 percent of Jewish adults indicated they were divorced at the time of the survey; this is a considerable increase from the one-half of one percent who were divorced in 1963. Similarly, a somewhat lower rate of being in a first marriage characterizes the 1987 data when compared with those in 1963. In 1963, 93 percent of men and women who had married were married only once, compared to 90 percent in 1987. Together these data show that rates of marriage for the Jewish population in Rhode Island are high, but that a sharp increase in the level of divorce has come to characterize the Rhode Island Jewish community.

Another aspect of families relates to their size. Jewish family size in the United States has been small for a number of decades. All ever-married women respondents in the Rhode Island Jewish community had borne an average of 2.1 children by 1987, the same average as characterized all ever-married women in 1963. However, in 1987 those women currently in the reproductive ages, 18-44, had averaged only 1.7 children. This is 20 percent below the 2.1 average reported by women age 20-44 in the 1963 survey. This points to considerably lower fertility levels among the more recent cohort of younger women, probably reflecting the effects of later marriage and smaller family size norms compared to those having children in the years immediately preceding 1963, when the results of the baby boom were still affecting fertility levels. If, however, the fertility expectations of women age 18-44 in 1987, both those married and those still not married, are taken into account, the completed fertility will be about 1.9 children, still below the replacement level of 2.1 children per couple, but closer to the level characterizing the 1963 group.

A major change over the last several decades appears to have been in the timing of childbearing, which has been delayed along with the delay in age at marriage. Changes in the timing of when women have children are more characteristic of educated women and those who work outside the home. These new family formations and childbearing patterns fit the high educational level of Jewish women in Rhode Island and their high level of labor force participation.

**HOUSEHOLDS AND LIVING ARRANGEMENTS**

The average size of Jewish households in Rhode Island in 1987 was
2.4 persons. This marks a decline of almost one person since 1963, when the average was 3.3 persons. The decrease in Jewish household size parallels processes that characterize the general American population. It reflects a trend for more young persons to leave their parents' home to establish their own households before marriage and a concurrent trend for the number of primary units among older persons to increase. The latter trend reflects the increasing number of older persons, especially women, who outlive their spouse and spend more of their later years outside the extended family or in an institutional setting. Also contributing to smaller average household size is lower current fertility, as a result of which families have fewer children in their household.

Since age composition significantly affects household size, substantial differences characterize the average size of Jewish households in the various areas of Rhode Island. In 1987, Other Providence had the lowest average household size, 1.7 persons, reflecting the particularly large percentage of older persons living in those sections of Providence outside the East Side. The areas with the largest average household size are South County (2.7) and Western Rhode Island (2.9); these are the areas with a high proportion of young families with children. Pawtucket and the East Side of Providence, together with the older suburbs of Cranston, Warwick, and East Bay, represent a middle group, with 2.3 to 2.5 persons per household. Newport and Northern Rhode Island have lower average household sizes of 2.1 persons.

Even in the areas with the largest average households, the size is about one person smaller per household than the 3.7 average characterizing Barrington in 1963, the area with the highest average in the earlier survey. Similarly, the low of 1.7 persons characterizing Other Providence is about one person lower than the 2.6 low which characterized the North End in 1963.

Examination of the distribution of households by size provides further insights into these changes. These data indicate that the small average size of Jewish households reflects the high percentage of single person households; in 1987 just over one-fourth of all households contained only one person and over one-third contained two persons. By contrast, fewer than 5 percent of all households had as many as five persons. Sharp changes have occurred in household size since the 1963 survey. At that time only 8 percent of all households contained only one person and 17 percent contained five or more persons. Whereas almost two-thirds of all households in 1987 had only one or two persons, this was true of only 39 percent of the 1963 households. Clearly, there has been a substantial shift away from medium and large households to one and two person units.

The overall composition of households also documents changes that have occurred in the past quarter century. The patterns in 1987 differ markedly
from those in 1963. As already noted, a sharp rise occurred in the percentage of one person units. Units consisting only of a married couple also increased, from one-fourth in 1963 to just over one-third in 1987. Most striking is the low percentage of “traditional” nuclear family units. Reflecting the combined effects of a decline in current fertility, the later age at which couples have children, and the greater tendency of young adults to leave the parental home to create their own household, households consisting of a couple and their children declined substantially, from 54 percent in 1963, to only 29 percent in 1987. The proportion of single parent households remained relatively constant between 1963 and 1987. Few households include other relatives or non-relatives, indicating the small number of Jewish households that encompass three generations or that are extended.

**Educational Attainment**

Rhode Island Jews have attained very high levels of education. About 75 percent of the Jewish population in 1987 had at least some college education, 57 percent had at least completed four years of college, and about one-third had some graduate level education. The proportion having a graduate level education has increased from 18 percent among those age 65 and over to 45 percent among those age 25-44. In general, men have attained higher levels of education than women; but the gap between men and women has narrowed considerably among the young. Graduation from college characterized 80 percent of the young adult men and 70 percent of young adult women. These levels are much higher than those of a quarter century ago. In 1963, only 34 percent of the Jewish men age 25 and over and 18 percent of the Jewish women had at least completed college. This compares to 60 percent of adult men and over 50 percent of adult women in 1987.

**Labor Force Participation and Occupation**

Labor force participation rates of men and women are significantly linked to age, with those in their teens and early twenties more likely to be still in school and those above the age of 65 more likely to be retired. In 1987 about nine out of ten males in the prime working ages (age 25-64) were working, and most (over 80 percent) were working full time. Among males age 65 and over, 22 percent were still working full time and 14 percent worked part time.

Although the level of labor force participation among women is lower than among men, it has increased dramatically, especially among younger women. In 1987 three-fourths of the women age 25-44 and 62 percent of those age 45-64 were in the labor force, and most worked full time. Two out of ten women age 65 and over worked. In 1963 only about 25 percent of the Jewish women age 25-44 and 35 percent of those 45-64 years of age worked for pay. Thus, during the past quarter century, the rate of
labor force participation of Jewish women has tripled among those age 25-44.

Since their settlement in the State, the Jews of Rhode Island have been heavily concentrated in white-collar occupations, especially in business and the professions. This pattern was still true in 1987 when over one-third of the men and women were in professional occupations; 17 percent of the men and 12 percent of the women were managers, business executives, and administrators; 26 percent of the men and 19 percent of the women worked in sales; and 8 percent of the men and 24 percent of the women were clerical workers. The proportion of managers and professionals among those age 25-44 had increased compared to those aged 45-64, and a decline was apparent among male sales workers and among women clerical workers. Very few Jewish men or women were in skilled labor or in blue collar occupations. Comparisons with the 1963 survey of the Greater Providence Jewish community show sharp increases in the proportion of professionals among men and women and declines in managers and executives among men and in clerical jobs among women.

Paralleling a decrease in the percentage of managers and executives between 1963 and 1987 was a shift away from self-employment to working for others, particularly among men. Six out of ten men age 25-44 worked for others in 1987, and about one-third worked for themselves; an additional 7 percent worked in a family business. In 1963, just over half of the men were self-employed, and 45 percent worked for others. Women generally had similar patterns in 1963 and 1987. In 1987, about seven out of ten of the women age 25-64 worked for others, about 20 percent worked for themselves, and 10 percent worked in a family business.

**Mobility of the Population**

The increasing importance of population movement for the structure and vitality of the Rhode Island Jewish community is indicated by the high mobility rates characterizing the adult population. Only one-third have lived in Rhode Island all their lives compared to about half of those surveyed in 1963. About 30 percent of all adults arrived after 1970. The highest migration rate characterized younger adults; seven out of every ten persons under age 45 were in-migrants to Rhode Island. The greater attraction of the State in recent decades is suggested by the rising percent of migrants in each successive decade since the 1940s, although the increase may be partly due to the out-migration of many earlier migrants and to deaths among persons who had moved into the State earlier.

Of the American-born Jews living in Rhode Island in 1987, 45 percent were born in other states; just over half were native Rhode Islanders. This percentage is substantially higher than in 1963, when only one-quarter of Rhode Island's American-born Jews were migrants to Rhode Island. Most
of those who moved to Rhode Island came from nearby states; 17 percent came from other states in New England and 19 percent from New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. American-born Rhode Island Jews in 1987 were more likely to have come from states outside New England than were those resident in the state in 1963: 28 percent compared to only 14 percent. More dispersed origins were especially characteristic of the younger population.

High levels of mobility also occurred within the State. Only 13 percent of adults were living in the city in which they had been born. Levels of mobility varied considerably by area within Rhode Island. The East Side, Other Providence, and Northern Rhode Island had the highest stability rates; Western Rhode Island, South County, and East Bay had the lowest. The net results of the cumulative redistribution of population within the State (based on last move) were losses for Providence, reflecting largely the exodus from Other Providence; substantial additions to Cranston and especially to Warwick; some gains by Pawtucket, East Bay, and South County; and significant movement into Western Rhode Island. Newport and to a greater extent Northern Rhode Island both experienced some loss. For some areas, the small net gains or losses in the exchange with other parts of the State may have been augmented or offset by gains from outside the State.

Concurrently, the redistribution patterns are also affected by movement of Jews away from Rhode Island. Information on the children living away from their parental home indicates that about six out of ten were living outside the State, although the great majority of these had at one time lived in Rhode Island. Similarly, considerable out-migration seems to have occurred among older persons. The number of older persons enumerated in 1987 was substantially below the number projected for 1987 on the basis of the 1963 data (taking estimated mortality into account). A large number of persons who would now be age 65 and over have therefore left the State.

The substantially higher percentage of Rhode Island Jews who are migrants to the State, the out-migration of others, and the continuous population redistribution within the State, which in many respects is an extension of patterns already identified in 1963, has serious implications for planning purposes. It affects people's access to institutions, use of services, and loyalty to various organizations. That one in four respondents reported they were likely to move within three years and that almost one-third of the likely movers expected to leave the State, suggests that population turnover and redistribution are likely to continue in the future.

ASPECTS OF JEWISH IDENTIFICATION

The foregoing discussion of Rhode Island Jewry in 1987 and changes
in its composition over a quarter century has focused on its demographics. The population was shown to have a considerably older profile in 1987 than in 1963, to be more residentially dispersed, largely native born, highly educated, and concentrated in white-collar occupations working for others. Age at marriage has increased considerably while expected completed fertility is just at replacement level. Many of these characteristics are an accentuation of trends identified a quarter century earlier, at which time they were linked to increasing integration into the larger community and a diminution of involvement in the organized Jewish community. Information obtained in 1987 on membership in synagogues/temples, on ritual practices, and on Jewish education allow evaluation of the impact of these trends on Jewish identification and commitment.

**Current Jewish Identification:** Based on the information obtained on current religion of household members, 93 percent were reported as currently Jewish. This compares with 98 percent in 1963. Some of the difference is attributable to the methodological differences in choosing the samples. The 1963 study surveyed only known Jewish households; in 1987 the sample was based both on lists of identified Jewish households and on households identified through random digit dialing. Moreover, the changes that have occurred since 1963 and the known higher rates of intermarriage which have come to characterize virtually every Jewish community in the United States make it reasonable to expect a decline in the percentage of Jews in the surveyed households. In 1987, among the total of 17,000 individuals identified as members of Jewish households in Rhode Island, about 1,200 persons are not currently Jewish. Of this number, many more define themselves as Catholic and as having no religion than as Protestant.

When Jewish identification is measured by religion at birth rather than current identification, the picture is modified somewhat. Using birth as the criterion, 91 percent of the household members are identified as Jewish compared to 93 percent when current identification is used. The small difference between the percent of individuals reported as born Jewish and the percent reported as currently Jewish suggests a small net gain to the Jewish community as a result of changes which have occurred in the religious identity of the currently resident population between the time of birth and the time of the survey. This apparent net gain may be due to a number of factors, including the conversion of non-Jewish-born spouses or the out-migration of some of the intermarried and assimilated Jews.

Substantial variation characterizes the areas of Rhode Island in the percent of currently Jewish individuals in the households encompassed in the survey. The percentage varies from a high of 96 percent in the cities (Providence and Pawtucket) to 87 percent in the outlying areas (Northern and Western Rhode Island, South County, and Newport). The suburbs (94 percent) more closely resemble the city population than they do the outlying areas. Clearly,
as one moves out from the central, older areas of residence to the more distant, newer locations, the percent of household members who are Jewish declines. In this respect, the 1987 pattern differs from that in 1963, when only Warwick and Pawtucket among the areas of Greater Providence had slightly lower proportions of born Jews.

**Religious Denominational Identification:** A major way in which Jews identify individually and institutionally is through the religious denominations of Judaism. Comparing patterns in the 1987 survey of Rhode Island with those of the 1963 survey reveals important changes. In 1963, 95 percent of the Jews of Greater Providence identified with one of the three religious denominations, considerably higher than the 85 percent in 1987. A quarter of a century ago, 20 percent identified themselves as Orthodox, 54 percent as Conservative, and 21 percent as Reform. The respective proportions in 1987 were 7 percent, 47 percent, and 32 percent. These data and the details by age point to a sharp decline in Orthodox identification, a small decline in identification with Conservative Judaism, and an increase in identification with Reform Judaism.

**Synagogue and Temple Membership and Attendance:** Another aspect of Jewish identification is formal membership in synagogues or temples and the particular religious denominations that these memberships indicate. As in 1963, a very high proportion of the Jewish households in Rhode Island (70 percent in 1987) claim current membership in a synagogue or temple. Membership varies with age, being lower for those below age 45 than for older respondents.

The denominational pattern of these memberships is clear: 55 percent are associated with Conservative Judaism, 12 percent with Orthodox Judaism, and 31 percent with Reform Judaism. This pattern covers 98 percent of the denominational affiliations of members. The distribution of synagogue or temple membership in the 1963 study was 51 percent Conservative, 23 percent Orthodox, and 26 percent Reform. These comparisons suggest that a sharp shift has occurred away from Orthodox membership to Conservative and Reform synagogues or temples.

Issues of religiosity and religious expression may not only depend on membership but also on regular attendance at religious services. In Judaism and for the American Jewish community one need not be a formal member of a synagogue or temple to attend religious services regularly. Thus, the two surveys included questions about the frequency of synagogue attendance.

Most respondents in 1987 reported that they attended religious services at a synagogue or temple sometime during the year but not very often. At the extremes, only 11-12 percent either never attended or attended as often as at least once a week. The majority (57 percent) attended a few times a year, on special occasions or the high holidays, and 19 percent
attended regularly but less than once a week. These patterns have not changed much over the last quarter century. The 1963 survey indicated that about 12 percent never attended, 62 percent attended a few times a year or on special occasions, 13 percent attended regularly but less than once a week, and 12 percent attended once a week or more. The similarities of these two patterns almost twenty-five years apart are striking, despite a shift, as measured by denominational identification and membership, away from orthodoxy.

*Jewish Ritual Practices:* Judaism in America not only involves personal identification with a particular religious denomination and personal expressions of religiosity; it is also oriented to ritual, particularly family practices. Thus, questions were included in both surveys about the frequency of observance of ritual candle lighting on Friday night, having a (Passover) Seder in the home or elsewhere, Kashrut (buying Kosher meat for home use, using separate dishes for meat and dairy), and lighting Hanukah candles. Like the data on religious service attendance and denominational affiliation, these data on ritual practice point to a diminution of the more stringent practices requiring daily or weekly attention but strong participation in those rituals that impose less regular practice.

One out of four Jewish households in Rhode Island in 1987 always lighted the Sabbath candles on Friday night; four out of ten never did so, and about one out of three sometimes or usually lighted candles on Friday night. The extent of candle lighting on Friday evening has declined over the last generation. In 1963, 42 percent of the Jewish households always lighted candles on Friday, and only 24 percent of the households never did so. As for other indicators of Jewishness, the overall pattern in 1987 resembles most closely the observances of the third generation in 1963. It is important to note that while in the 1963 survey, sharp age-generational differences in this ritual characterized the Jewish community, revealing significant declines, the overall patterns in 1987 are at a lower level, but similar for all ages.

The other ritual practice requiring regular attention about which the surveys asked is Kashrut (dietary regulation). Two indicators of Kashrut were included in the survey: the purchase of Kosher meat for home use and maintaining separate meat and dairy dishes. In 1987, 57 percent of Rhode Island Jewish households reported that they never buy Kosher meat for home use and only 22 percent always buy Kosher meat. Even fewer keep separate dishes for meat and dairy; three-fourths of Rhode Island Jews never separate their dishes for meat and dairy, and only 21 percent always use separate dishes. By 1987, therefore, a general pattern of non-observance of Kashrut characterized Rhode Island Jewry, except for a small minority of households. These patterns reveal a significant downward trend in Kashrut observances since 1963, when 40 percent of the Jewish households
always bought Kosher meat and 32 percent always used separate dishes. Only 28 percent never bought Kosher meat and 62 percent never kept separate dishes at this earlier date.

Much more widely observed are the family-centered, annual rituals connected to the observance of Passover and Hanukah, although some decline since 1963 is apparent. Observing Passover through having a Seder at home or elsewhere remained a widely observed ritual tied to family and community. In 1987, 58 percent reported always having a Seder either at home or somewhere else. In 1963, 79 percent always had or attended a Passover Seder. In 1963, 7 percent never had or attended a Seder; in 1987, 6 percent never participated in a Seder. The 1963 and the 1987 comparison shows, therefore, some decline in the regularity of the observance of this celebration, but no increase in the proportion who never have a Seder. A generally high level of attendance at a Passover Seder continues to characterize the population.

One of the most popular rituals in the American Jewish community today is the lighting of Hanukah candles. It is particularly associated with families and the presence of children in the home. Consistent with patterns observed for 1963, lighting Hanukah candles continued to characterize major segments of the Rhode Island Jewish community in 1987. Fully 69 percent of the respondents reported that they always light Hanukah candles, and only 17 percent never do so. Almost eight out of ten of those below age 45 always light Hanukah candles compared to 53 percent of the older population. These high levels of Hanukah candle lighting have not changed much since 1963. In the earlier survey, 15 percent of the Jewish community never lighted Hanukah candles, similar to the current level. The proportion always lighting Hanukah candles was only slightly higher in 1963 (about 75 percent).

Overall, the data on religious identification and ritual practice suggest a decline in strength of identification with the more traditional, broadly encompassing aspects of Judaism. But generally no parallel increase is noted in secularism as indicated by no participation in formal Jewish worship or never practicing certain rituals. Observance of Kashrut is an exception. The data for 1987, as in 1963, do, however, show considerable variation by both denominational affiliation and place of residence. Reform Judaism and residence in the more outlying areas of the State are associated with lower levels of religious observance as measured by the survey.

**Jewish Education**

A very impressive proportion of the adult respondents in 1987 reported that they received some Jewish education. Overall, 82 percent of the adults received some Jewish education, increasing from 78 percent of those 65
years of age and over to 86 percent of those age 15-24 in the household. A higher proportion of Jewish men than women reported having received Jewish education. The 8/1 percent of men who received some Jewish education according to the 1987 survey is somewhat lower than that characterizing men age 15 and over in 1963, among whom 94 percent had received some Jewish education. The proportion of women who had received some Jewish education was about the same in both surveys, about three-fourths.

Comparisons of the data for 1963 and 1987 show that gender differences in the number of years exposed to Jewish education were greater in the past, and that there have been sharper increases in the number of years exposed to Jewish education among women than among men. Thus, for example, in 1963 men had more years exposed to Jewish education than women, while in 1987 this pattern was reversed.

What type of Jewish education do these men and women have? In 1987, 27 percent of the adults reported that they had some combination of Sunday and afternoon Hebrew school, 22 percent had a Sunday school only education, and 17 percent had an afternoon Hebrew school only education. About 7 percent reported that they had a Jewish day school (or yeshiva) education; 22 percent were about equally divided between a Heder education and a private tutor.

The proportion of younger persons attending the combined Sunday and afternoon Hebrew school has increased significantly, from 22 percent among those over age 45 to 36 percent among those below age 45. An even sharper increase among younger persons characterizes Jewish day school education: 5 percent among those age 65 and over to 10 percent among those below age 45. A major decline has characterized Sunday school only, which dropped from 21 percent among those age 65 and over to 16 percent among those in the under 45 age group. Private tutors and Heder experiences have dropped even more sharply: from 27 percent among those age 65 and over to 16 percent among the under 45 age group. Among those age 15-24 in the household, 22 percent attended Sunday school only, 13 percent attended afternoon Hebrew school only, and 30 percent attended combined Sunday and afternoon Hebrew school. A significantly higher proportion of these young adults attended a Jewish day school (15 percent) than those age 25-44 (8 percent).

These patterns of change by age group are consistent with the comparison of the 1963 and 1987 surveys. The proportions of men and women having a combination of Sunday and afternoon Hebrew school education have increased over time, as have the proportions with a Jewish day school education. In 1963, for example, 4 percent of the men and 2 percent of the women had a Jewish day school education; in 1987, the figure is 7 percent for both men and women. The gender similarity in the type of
Jewish education received among those age 15-24 in the household in 1987 contrasts sharply with the wide differences in the type of Jewish education received by men and women, boys and girls, surveyed in 1963.

Within the limitations of the geographic areas covered and the differing methodologies, comparisons in current enrollment rates in Jewish education can be made between the 1963 and 1987 surveys. Among boys, the percentage enrolled in Jewish education in 1987 is higher than in 1963 for ages 5-7, lower at ages 8-14, but higher again at the upper ages. Thus, it appears that the rate of enrollment begins earlier for boys now than 25 years ago, is somewhat less around Bar Mitzvah, but is higher in the 15-17 age range. For girls, except in the earliest ages (ages 5 and 6), rates of current enrollment are lower in 1987 than in the past.

Although Jewish education clearly does not end with the teen years, only 18 percent of the respondents in 1987 reported that they participated in adult Jewish education during the previous year, with no major differences between men and women. Participation was lowest among those age 45-64, and about the same among the younger and older age cohorts. This age pattern characterizes both men and women. In 1963, only about 4 percent reported that they had been enrolled in some adult Jewish education program. The substantial increase in reported adult Jewish education undoubtedly reflects not only greater interest on the part of adult Jews but also the very substantial growth and greater accessibility of adult Jewish education programs in Rhode Island.

**Interracial Marriage and Conversion**

Interracial marriage between Jews and members of the majority has become a crucial concern for the social and demographic future of the Jewish group. If intermarriage and marital assimilation take place at a high rate, the Jewish group may face demographic losses through both the assimilation of the Jewish partner and loss of children born to such a marriage. Even if the Jewish partner does not assimilate, a number of the children may still be lost to Judaism if the non-Jewish spouse does not convert. On the other hand, demographic losses from intermarriage may not be as serious as earlier assumed, since even if only half of all children born to intermarried couples are raised as Jews, they would constitute replacement for the Jewish partner if fertility averages at least two children. Moreover, if more than one child per couple on the average is raised as a Jew, or if conversions result in a net gain to the Jewish population, intermarriage could make a positive contribution to the size of the Jewish population.

Virtually every Jewish community study in recent decades has found rising levels of intermarriage among young, native-born American Jews. Rhode Island is no exception. The 1987 intermarriage rate for all married couples was 14 percent, compared to only 4.5 percent in 1963. Moreover, the rate rose sharply among the more recently married.
Among couples who married before 1960, the rate of intermarriage was below 3 percent. A sharp change is noted for those who married in the 1960s, among whom 14 percent of the couples intermarried. The level rose sharply again in the 1970s, to 27 percent of all couples, and once again in the 1980s. Among the couples married between 1980 and 1987, 38 percent intermarried. These data do not suggest, as some other studies have, that the rate of intermarriage has plateaued. Rather, there have been sharp successive increases for every decade since 1960.

Other changes in intermarriage patterns have occurred as well. In 1963, the vast majority of all intermarriages involved a Jewish male and a woman not born Jewish. Among all the intermarried couples in the 1987 survey, about equal proportions of Jewish men and women were married to non-Jews.

A third change relates to conversion. The 1963 data indicated that almost four out of ten of the non-Jewish-born spouses had converted to Judaism. Moreover, the rate of conversion was highest among the youngest age groups. In 1987, a slightly higher percent (43 percent) of the non-Jewish-born spouses had converted to Judaism. However, this level of conversion was highest among the middle-aged; it was lowest among the youngest group, suggesting that, unlike among earlier marriage cohorts, young couples are less likely to create homogeneous marriages through conversion.

As in 1963, the 1987 survey probed further into the extent of intermarriage by collecting information on the marriage patterns of the Jewish-born children of the respondents and their spouses. The earlier survey had indicated only slightly elevated levels of intermarriage among children, especially for sons. The differences between respondents and their children were much sharper in 1987. Thirty-six percent of all children (32 percent of all daughters and 40 percent of all sons) had married a non-Jewish-born spouse; this percentage rose from 17 percent of those children aged 45-64 to 46 percent of those children under age 35. Of the intermarried couples, 42 percent involved a marriage in which the non-Jewish spouse had converted to Judaism, and 53 percent remained mixed marriages.

The analysis of intermarriage patterns among the residents of Rhode Island and among their children living both in the State and elsewhere shows a sharp increase in the extent of intermarriage over the past quarter century. The low intermarriage rates in 1963 were explained in terms of the long-established nature of the Jewish community with its strong traditional roots, strong organizational structure, and relatively stable population. The results of the 1987 survey suggest that several of these features have changed: the population is now heavily third and fourth generation and characterized by a high degree of mobility. These factors contributed to higher levels of intermarriage in 1987. The noted change, like the finding of declining rates of conversion and greater religious
heterogeneity within marriage, is consistent with reports for Jewish communities throughout America. Nevertheless, from a demographic perspective, these data suggest a gain from intermarriage, both through the non-Jewish spouses who have converted to Judaism and through the children of intermarriages who are identified as Jews. Further study is needed to ascertain the depth or quality of the Jewish identification of the mixed marriages and those in which conversion has occurred.

**Organization Membership and Volunteer Activity**

An important channel through which individuals express their Jewish identification and participate in community life is organization membership. This takes varied forms. For some, it is only a nominal listing as a member and payment of dues. Others may participate in the organization’s meetings and other sponsored activities. For still others, the involvement may be more intense, including active leadership roles. Beyond official membership in an organization, individuals may also share in a community’s organizational life by volunteering their time to various welfare activities.

Viewed in reverse, the data show that over 40 percent of all women and over half of all males did not belong to any Jewish organization. A high proportion of the community therefore does not express its Jewishness through such affiliations. Particularly relevant, the percentage of membership seems to be well below that characterizing Greater Providence in 1963, when about three-fourths of all adults (age 20 and over) reported belonging to at least one Jewish organization; only about one-fourth had no memberships. In the quarter decade interval, therefore, the levels of non-membership about doubled. Such a drop-off in organizational membership was particularly pronounced among younger adults.

As increasing proportions of the Jewish population become third and fourth generation Americans, and as their households come to include more individuals who were not born Jewish, and who may not currently identify as Jews, one can expect an increasing rate of participation by Jews in non-Jewish organizations. Comparison of the 1987 levels of participation with those of 1963 confirms this expectation by revealing an increasing level of participation in the non-Jewish organized life of the larger community, especially among women. In contrast to the 40 percent of women who belonged to one or more non-Jewish groups in Rhode Island in 1987, only about one-fourth of all women did so in 1963. The proportion of men who participated in non-Jewish organizations also increased, but the change was small, going from 48 percent in 1963 to 51 percent in 1987. More dramatic are the changes for both men and women in the number of organization memberships. In 1987, a quarter of the women and about one-third of the men participated in two or more non-Jewish groups. In 1963, the comparable percentages for men and women were only about 6 and 14 percent, respectively.
The extent of membership in Jewish organizations varies significantly among the respondents living in the different areas of the State. As in 1963, highest rates characterize the older core areas of the Jewish community on the East Side, Pawtucket, and, to some extent, Newport. Lowest levels are found in western Rhode Island and South County. The Jewish community, therefore, continues to face the challenge of enlist the formal participation of the population, especially in the more newly established Jewish residential areas of the State.

The 1987 survey also asked respondents about their volunteer activities with Jewish and non-Jewish groups. A high level of volunteer activity characterized Jewish adults; over 40 percent indicated they had engaged in volunteer activity in the previous year. More such volunteer activity involved Jewish than non-Jewish groups, although over half of the women had volunteered in both Jewish and non-Jewish groups. Among men who volunteered, four out of ten gave at least 10 hours per month to Jewish activities and one-third devoted as much time to non-Jewish volunteer work. Women were even more active in Jewish activities; half of the volunteer women spent at least 10 hours per month in such work, and 40 percent spent as much time in non-Jewish volunteer work. Such involvement in non-Jewish as well as Jewish activities suggests a fairly high degree of integration into the larger community, even among those who retain their commitments to the Jewish community.

**Summary**

This comparative assessment of Rhode Island’s Jewish community over the quarter century between 1963 and 1987 has highlighted some sharp changes and identified important sources of continuity.

In 1987, Jews were much more dispersed throughout the State than was true in 1963. They were also fewer in number, although the number of households had increased. This development reflects lower fertility and consequent small family size, compounded by both the aging of the population and the tendency of older people to live in their own households rather than with adult children, and by the preference among young adults to live away from their parental home. Rhode Island Jews are increasingly native born and third or fourth generation American. Many more were born outside the State, and recent in-migrants have been drawn from relatively greater distances than those who came two or three decades ago.

The Jewish population is increasingly well educated and concentrated in professional and other high white-collar occupations. Fewer, however, are self-employed. Since 1963, women have increasingly entered the labor force, reflecting developments on the general American scene.

As in 1963, a very high percentage of Jews in 1987 are or have been married, but later age at marriage characterizes the younger segments of
the population. Divorce rates, while still low compared to the general population, have risen considerably. Intermarriage rates are also substantially higher, especially among the most recently married Jews, and fewer of the recently intermarried marriages involve conversion to Judaism by the non-Jewish partner.

Most Rhode Island Jews identify with one of the three major denominations of Judaism, but there has been a decline in the percentage affiliated with Orthodox Judaism and a rise in the proportion of Reform. Despite this shifting affiliation, membership in synagogues/temples and attendance at services is not very different in 1987 from what it was in 1963. Levels of Jewish education have also remained quite constant, with some increase in the intensity of such schooling and a narrowing of the gap between men and women. Particularly noteworthy has been the rise in the proportion of children attending combined Sunday/afternoon Hebrew schools and day schools. There has been a decline, however, in observance of religious rituals, especially maintenance of Kashrut and Sabbath candle lighting; attendance at a Passover Seder and Hanukah candle lighting are more nearly universal. Also showing a decline is membership in Jewish organizations, with a concomitant rise in non-Jewish membership.

The patterns of change between 1963 and 1987 in the demographic, economic, social, and religious characteristics of the Jewish population in many ways are an extension of patterns identified in 1963 for the young, third generation segment. The emerging patterns portray a community of rich complexity and diversity undergoing important change, altering in significant ways what was, and shaping what will be in the future. There are indications of strengths and weaknesses, of growth and decline, of pride as well as concern. Continuing personal identification with Judaism concurrent with an attenuation in formal memberships and ritual practices associated in 1963 with third generation Jews has become the general norm for Rhode Island Jewry in 1987. At the same time, considerable variations continue to exist, and geographic differentials persist. As in 1963, the older, core areas of Jewish residence are characterized by more intensive levels of Jewish identification and practice. The newer, most outlying areas of Jewish settlement contain Jews who are least involved in the formal institutional structure, most likely to intermarry, and have lowest levels of observance. In part, these areal differences reflect variations in age and generational composition, in part selectivity in terms of where those who are more committed to close identity with the community choose to live.

Nonetheless, the conclusions reached on the basis of the survey undertaken a quarter century ago still hold: The overall impression conveyed by the 1987 study is of a relatively strong core of identified Jewish population, with a relatively high degree of commitment to and involvement in the Rhode Island Jewish community. That considerable integration with the
larger community has occurred is also quite clear. The challenge for the future will thus be to maintain high levels of identification and commitment in the face of such general integration. The task is made difficult by the dispersion of the population throughout the State and the maintenance of local loyalties and communal differences. The community will have to consider strengthening Jewish communal life in different locations around the State as well as generating a sense of statewide unity, building on the strong roots that many Rhode Island Jews have in the State, and integrating those who are more marginal to the community. The persistent strength of Rhode Island Jewry over the past twenty-five years augurs well for its prospects in the future.

REFERENCES


AN ENGAGEMENT, A WEDDING, AND FRIENDSHIPS

BY EVA LEVINE SCHAFER

Although marriages may be made in heaven, the customs and mores of marriage ceremonies and engagements are made on earth and change according to the times. My parents saved newspaper clippings about their engagement and wedding in 1916 that reveal interesting customs and also include names of well-known Rhode Island families that have continued into the 1980s.

Jacob Raskin and his wife, Esther (Chorosh), and daughter, Emma, immigrated to the United States from Russia, somewhere near the Black Sea, and arrived in the United States in about 1904.

The Raskin family first lived in New York, and I have a translation from the Russian of part of a diary kept by Emma. She wrote:

I, like all young people in Russia, wanted to devote my life to better the lot of the hungry proletariat, who is to be educated and encouraged. Life in America has put me in different circumstances. The illusion of sacrifice for others evaporated, and in its place just a naked, dark truth. Instead of the intelligent girl — that I considered myself while in Russia — I am just a girl ignorant about life in general. Instead of the illusion that I can teach others appeared a desire to educate myself, to get to know.

So today is the first of May. This is the second May first I am here in America. On the day of the workmen’s revolution the slaves remain slaves; those around me don’t realize it’s the holiday of protesting.

It appears that Emma worked in a factory. The diary says, “It’s hot, I feel dizzy; I want to rest for a while. The boss sent for me. It’s nearly a year that I work here, but somehow I can’t adjust myself.”

After a while, I don’t know how long, the Raskins moved from New York to Central Falls, Rhode Island, where they owned a grocery store on High Street. Many of their customers were Polish. Emma, now no longer a factory worker, worked in the store with them.

Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes, Vol. 10, No. 2, November, 1988
Joseph and Emma Levine
Joseph Levine, the son of Jacob and Anna Smieiansky Levine, was born in Rassawa, Russia, and immigrated to New York. The family name was originally Levitski. Joseph's brother, Mischa Levitski, became a famous concert pianist. His concerts in Providence and Worcester were important events for the Jewish community of Rhode Island.

My father's brother Max was educated as an engineer but became Mischa's manager and then a noted musical impresario, acting as agent for many opera stars. Another brother, Dr. Lewis Lorwin, was a famous economist, serving at the Bookings Institution and also as professor at Wellesley College. He was an adviser to the U. S. delegation to the first General Assembly of the United Nations in 1946. Their sister, Sandra (Bertha) Levine Jones, was also a pianist.

Joseph Levine made a trip to Rhode Island to visit a friend and met Elizabeth Temkin Beck here. She introduced him to Emma Raskin, and they became engaged.

The Raskins gave an engagement party at their home at 428 High Street, Central Falls. Entertainment at the party was provided by a mock wedding ceremony. Morris Espo played the part of the clergyman, Jack Goldenberg acted as the bride, Sophia Surdut was the bridegroom, Max Tarnapol the best man, and Mrs. Jack Goldenberg the maid of honor.*

The newspaper article on the party also reports that luncheon was served by the hostess and that Miss Raskin received many gifts.¹

Friends also gave parties to honor the prospective bride. One such party was "a social" held at the home of Miss Sophia Zarchen. "A large number of friends of Miss Raskin were present, and during the evening games were played, a musical programme was rendered and refreshments were served. Vocal solos were rendered."¹¹

And, of course, after the engagement parties came the wedding, on January 19, 1916. A newspaper clipping tells us that the couple was married by Rabbi Rubinstein** of the Congregation Sons of Zion of Providence.

*Editor's Note: We can find no printed reference to similar mock marriages, but they were a frequent source of entertainment in Catskills resorts. "... the man would dress up as a woman, the woman dress up as a man ... it was a hilarious thing. Throughout the mountains the mock marriage became the most popular do-it-yourself entertainment. It was a farcical version of the traditional wedding ceremony ... performed so regularly that it became a ritual." From "The Rise and Fall of the Borscht Belt", Video film, produced and directed by Peter Davis, a Villon Films Production, Arthur Cantor Films.

**Picture of Rabbi Israel S. Rubinstein appears on the back cover of this issue of the Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes. The Congregation Ohawe Sholam of Pawtucket had been incorporated in 1905, but the group was renting temporary quarters and had no rabbi at that time.
Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes

"The bridegroom was attended by Dr. Louis Levine* as best man, and the maid of honor was Miss Lillian Milner** of Philadelphia. Bridesmaids were the Misses Gertrude Tarnapol, Sophia Zarchen, Freda Halpert, and Sarah Levenson."72

The description of the bride's outfit does not sound too different from one of today, though the newspaper article calls the dress a costume. It was made of white crepe de chine, and she wore a veil fastened with orange blossoms and carried a bouquet of "Bride's roses." The reception, attended by about 100 couples, was held in Eagles Hall, Earl Street, Central Falls.

After the wedding the newlyweds honeymooned in Norfolk, Virginia, and lived at first with the bride's parents on High Street in Central Falls. Later they bought a home at 520 West Avenue, Pawtucket. For much of his life, Joseph Levine worked as an insurance agent for Metropolitan Life, though for some years he and my mother ran a variety store, called a spa, at the corner of Broad and Sackett Streets in Providence.

The Rhode Islanders listed in the newspaper stories of my parents' engagement and wedding continued to be friendly with the Levines.

Lewis Tanner recalls visiting my house on West Avenue with his father, Max Tarnapol, when he was about five years old. Max Tarnapol, best man at the mock wedding held at the Levine engagement party, was married later in 1916 to Freda Halpert, bridesmaid at the Levine wedding. In 1925 Tarnapol became the first Jew to work for the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in Pawtucket. He was an assistant manager, supervising seven to ten men. He gave jobs to several other Jews, trained them, and worked with them; one of these men was Joseph Levine. Tarnapol "was a big shot: every day he got up at 6 a.m. and came home around midnight. If anyone sold a policy for $50, that was a big deal. The agents collected weekly payments from their customers 10 cents, 20 cents. If a customer paid 50 cents a week, that was a big deal, too."

On July 16, 1930, Tarnapol received a silver medal from the Metropolitan, with a citation stating: "... as Assistant Manager, you are privileged to extend counsel and advice to younger members of the Field force, who come under your direct supervision, thus enabling them to become better and stronger insurance representatives." Tarnapol died at the age of 49 in 1942.

Freda Halpert Tarnapol was a member of the School Board of Temple Emanu-El, and the Temple Emanu-El Sisterhood Board, and President of the Pawtucket Section, National Council of Jewish Women. She died in 1971 at the age of 76.

*My father's brother, who later changed his name to Lewis Lorwin.

**My father's cousin.
The Tarnapols' children were Lewis Tanner of Providence and Ruth Glasberg of Delray Beach, Florida.

Gertrude Tarnapol had a distinguished career in Jewish communal service. She worked for many years at the Jewish Community Center on Benefit Street, where she was assistant to the director, J. I. Cohen, and handled the bookkeeping and all the details. She then became office manager of the General Jewish Committee of Providence (later the Jewish Federation of Rhode Island), assisting Joseph Galkin, Executive Director, and worked there from 1947 until she retired in 1969. Governor Frank Licht was one of the speakers at a luncheon held at the Biltmore Hotel to mark her retirement. She was cited by the Jewish Federation of Rhode Island at that time in recognition of her "43 years of dedication and devotion to the Jewish community." Gertrude Tarnapol died in 1984 at the age of 88.

Rose and Jack Goldenberg, also mock wedding participants, owned a hardware store on Broad Street in Central Falls. The store was founded by Mrs. Goldenberg's father, Samuel Leven, in 1904. He thought of it as a bazaar, but mistakenly spelled the name Bazar. The Goldenbergs' son, Eldon Goldenberg of Pawtucket, still owns the store, now named Bazar Paint and Wallpaper and located in Cumberland.

Sophia Surdut, who acted the part of the bridegroom at the mock wedding, married Louis Wolosow and moved to Yonkers, New York. They had one child, Bertha A. Wolosow, who lives in Silver Spring, Maryland.

Sophia Zarchen, bridesmaid at my parents' wedding, later married William Weinstein. Their son, Irwin Sidney Weinstein, who died in 1986, and my brother, Irving, published a newspaper, The Scoop, when they were children and sold it for two cents a copy. The Weinsteins' daughter, Isabelle, (Mrs. Sidney Weinstein of Providence), remembers visiting my family. She says, "We went to the Levine house on West Avenue every Saturday, my parents, my Bobi, and the children. I learned to play bridge there when I was 11 years old. The two Bobis (Mrs. Raskin and Mrs. Zarchen), sipped tea from glasses. Eva's mother was the dearest woman I ever knew. Irving looks exactly like her."

Sarah Levenson, another bridesmaid at the wedding, married Israel Winoker. They had two children, James R. Winoker of Narragansett, Rhode Island, and Myron Winoker of Warwick, Rhode Island. Sarah Winoker died in 1966 at the age of 72.

Another member of the wedding party, though not listed in the newspaper clippings, was Irving Beck, son of Elizabeth Temkin Beck, who had introduced my parents to each other. He was the ring-bearer. Dr. Beck remembers hearing that my brother was named Irving because my mother liked the sound of his name. Dr. Beck's father was Harry S. Beck. "Like
President Truman, the S. in his name stood for nothing. My mother was usually called Lizzie."

"Fully 1000 persons gathered in the Jewish Synagogue on Howell Street . . . to witness the wedding of Harry Beck and Miss Elizabeth Temkin, a well-known young couple of the city, both members of prominent Jewish families . . . The bridesmaids were Miss Eva A. Izenberg of this city, Miss Bella Ettenberg of New York, Miss Emma Riskin (sic) of Central Falls and Miss Sophia Surdotow (sic) of this city."

Dr. Beck recalls that one summer, when he was six or seven years old, his family shared a cottage with my family, at Crescent Heights, a summer resort near what is now Crescent Park. "I remember Mischa Levitski, the famous pianist, visiting his brother, Joe, and the rest of the Levine family that summer."

Elizabeth Beck died in 1961 at 75, and Harry Beck died in 1968 at 83. Two other children survive Harry and Lizzie Beck: Dr. Maurice Beck, who became executive vice-president of the Michigan Human Welfare League, of East Lansing, Michigan, and Dr. Aaron T. Beck, noted as the father of cognitive therapy, Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Pennsylvania, and author of books on depression and anxiety.

My grandmother Esther Raskin was a devoutly religious woman and was greatly interested in the building of the Ohawe Sholam Synagogue on High Street in Pawtucket in 1918. Mrs. Morris Sholes, in a letter written to Mrs. Abraham Mai, president of the Ladies' Aid and Sisterhood, in 1964, wrote: "During my term as president of Ladies' Aid, a committee composed of Mrs. Samuel Finn, Mrs. Morris Carlin and myself selected and purchased the large sterling silver and crystal chandelier now hanging in the sanctuary. This chandelier contains 152 bulbs, each bulb representing one member of the Ladies' Aid at the time the chandelier was purchased. Mrs. Tessler and Mrs. Raskin each presented a small matching chandelier in memory of their respective husbands. So, it was through the efforts of the Ladies' Aid that the beauty of the sanctuary was enhanced . . ."

Emma Levine died at the age of 57 on December 11, 1947, during Hanukah. Like so many Jews of her generation, she did not know her exact birth date, but it was always celebrated at Hanukah time. My father, Joseph Levine, died on October 19, 1976 at the age of 90.

My parents had three children. Miriam Rose died after a long illness at the age of 18 in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, while she was a freshman at Pembroke College. My brother, Irving R. Levine, gained fame as the NBC TV economics correspondent and served in Moscow and Rome. He

*The Ohawe Sholam building was sold in 1979 and became the Immaculate Heart of Mary Church, and a new synagogue building was built on East Avenue, Pawtucket.
holds honorary degrees from Brown University and the University of Rhode Island, among others, and has written a number of books. He is married to the former Nancy Jones; they have three children, Jeffrey, Daniel, and Jennifer.

I was a social worker for many years, first with the American Red Cross during World War II at military bases in Massachusetts and New York. I worked for several Rhode Island social agencies, including Jewish Family and Children's Service, and, after I retired, became chairman of the March of Dimes of Rhode Island.

Until his retirement, my husband, Joseph Schaffer, was president of the American Tool Company, first located on Montgomery Street in Pawtucket and then in Lincoln, Rhode Island. We have two children, David Emmet (named after my husband's father and my mother) and Miriam Schaffer Idelson, (Mrs. Jeffrey Idelson), and have one grandchild, Laiah Jo Idelson.

NOTES

1Unnamed and undated newspaper clipping
2Unnamed newspaper, January 20, 1916
3Telephone Interview with Lewis Tanner, July 18, 1988
4Providence Journal, January 28, 1984
5Telephone interview with Mrs. Sidney Weinstein, August 2, 1988.
6Telephone interview with Dr. Irving Beck, October 18, 1988
7Unnamed newspaper, May 10, 1909
8Rhode Island Herald, April 5, 1968