

RHODE ISLAND JEWISH HISTORICAL NOTES

VOLUME 10 NOVEMBER 1989 NUMBER 3, PART B

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FRONT COVER

Touro Synagogue, 225th Anniversary, George Washington Letter Ceremonies, August 20, 1989. Fred W. Friendly, Director, Columbia University Seminars on Media and Society, the speaker (left), and Col. Milton Mitler, Vice President of the Society of Friends of Touro Synagogue, Master of Ceremonies. Both Friendly and Mitler are former Rhode Islanders.

RHODE ISLAND JEWISH HISTORICAL NOTES

NOVEMBER, 1989
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RHODE ISLAND JEWISH HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

130 SESSIONS STREET, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND 02906



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FROM THE EDITOR

Notes on the *Notes*

This issue's article on Jews in Rhode Island's jewelry industry is the result of the work of many people — the writers, the persons interviewed who generously gave of their time, and volunteers who assisted in interviewing, research, editing, and proofreading. The subject is such a large one that we know readers will find omissions. A second part of the article will be published in a future issue of the *Notes*, and we urge anyone who knows of Jewish jewelry manufacturers in Rhode Island before World War II who may not have been mentioned to let us know. We will also be looking for information on jewelry companies established during or after World War II.

We rely on volunteer writers for the articles in the *Notes*, and I am deeply grateful for their work. I would also like to thank Association members for their cooperation and, for their special help, the following members: Eleanor F. Horvitz, Rosalind Gorin, Lynn and Samuel Stepak, Aaron Cohen, Geraldine S. Foster, Bernard Kusinitz, Stanley Brier, Alfred M. Weisberg, and Bonnie N. and Seebert J. Goldowsky. Appreciation is also due to Brown University student intern Craig Bargher and to three very helpful librarians: Toby Rossner, Bureau of Jewish Education; Reini Silverman, Temple Beth-El; and Lillian N. Schwartz, Temple Emanu-El.

It gives me great pleasure to welcome Dr. Goldowsky back to the pages of the *Notes* after a brief absence. Dr. Goldowsky served the Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association with distinction for eighteen years as Editor of the *Notes*. The year 1989 was a busy and fruitful year for our Editor Emeritus. In addition to writing three articles for this issue, he published one book, *Yankee Surgeon, The Life and Times of Usher Parsons 1788-1868*, and completed the writing of another, *A Century and a Quarter of Spiritual Leadership: The Story of the Congregation of the Sons of Israel and David, (Temple Beth-El), Providence, Rhode Island*.

Members of the Association can take pride in the recent presentation to Dr. Goldowsky by the Rhode Island Medical Society of the Charles L. Hill Award. The resolution voted by the House of Delegates of the Society on May 19, 1989, stated that Dr. Goldowsky had "given more than 60 years of service to his patients, his community, and his colleagues," had "served the Medical Society in many prominent roles, including that of Editor-in-Chief of the *Rhode Island Medical Journal* from 1960 to 1989," and "under his leadership the Journal has maintained high standards editorially, grown stronger financially, and eschewed all jargon scrupulously." This editor of the *Notes* pledges that she will attempt to meet these same high standards.

Judith Weiss Cohen

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Carl Klitzner recalled in an interview, January 8, 1990, that his uncle, Robert Klitzner, told him that this photo shows the candy store on Bernon Street in Providence where Harry Klitzner first made jewelry. Robert said that the woman selling bagels in front of the store was his grandmother, Harry's mother. Carl Klitzner knew a man named Kilmartin whose uncle said he stoked the boiler at the store for two cents a day. The photo, courtesy of the Rhode Island Historical Society, appeared on the front cover of the *Notes*, Volume 7, Number 2, November 1976. At that time the picture was described as "Scene Lower Chalkstone Avenue — circa 1903 (Unidentified)."

JEWELRY IN THE JEWELRY INDUSTRY IN RHODE ISLAND PART I

BY JEANNE WEIL AND JUDITH W. COHEN

INTRODUCTION

Joseph W. Ress, a prominent jewelry manufacturer in Rhode Island after World War II, describes the jewelry industry as

... so fragmented it is difficult to pinpoint one specific area and call it jewelry. The subject can include casting, findings, plating, contractors, cards, jewelry boxes, high style inexpensive costume jewelry, high style expensive costume, classic precious jewelry; faux stones set in brass, silver, or gold; semi-precious stones set in gold and silver. The industry's mortality rate is high, companies flourish and wane without reason or pattern, almost by the toss of a coin. Suffice it to say, Jews never stay still.

Before World War II, most Jews in the jewelry business were factory workers or sales people, not contractors, said Ress. "Many of those in business came from New York looking for cheap labor in Rhode Island and established satellite businesses in the state. They rented factory space, hired supervisors, bought parts from all over Providence as inexpensively as possible, assembled them, and made the items look good."¹

Alfred M. Weisberg, a historian of the jewelry business, wrote: "The jewelry industry has always been highly cyclical. From the beginning, it has seesawed from boom to bust and back again. The cycles affected individual companies; some firms lasted only a single season."² Another description of the jewelry industry, from the *Saturday Evening Post*: "Providence is full of Horatio Alger stories. There are few fields where a good idea can pay off more handsomely."³

A 1946 *Fortune* article presented a negative view of the jewelry industry:

... it is exceedingly risky to estimate its size. The industry is almost all privately held and still crowded with fly-by-nights. Widely disparate guesses as to its dimensions may be heard even from the old-line manufacturers. ... The day-to-day life of the industry is described by one big rhinestone man as 'sociable, but nervous.' By this he means that many of the older hands know each other well, and enjoyably, but that all have a touch of the competitive jitters — provided especially by the profiteering jobbers. The industry is as vague in outline as a lily pad ...⁴

The jewelry industry typically required relatively simple machinery and a small capital investment. Because so many Jews engaged in jewelry manufacturing and because of the volatility of the business, this article presents only a first look at Jews in the jewelry industry. We by no means claim that it is complete or that everyone who should be is included. More information, when discovered or presented to us, will be published in a future issue of the *Notes*. Because of the subject's scope and the *Notes'* emphasis on early Jewish history, only companies in existence before World War II are described in this issue. We will also not include the categories of watchmakers and retail stores.

JEWISH JEWELRY FACTORY WORKERS

This article concentrates on Jewish jewelry manufacturers, but Jewish factory workers cannot be forgotten. Many Jewish immigrants to Rhode Island began their working lives as production workers in the jewelry factories. Of these, some became manufacturers themselves, some went on to other careers, and it is likely that others remained on the production lines.

A study of occupational data for 1915 by Joel Perlmann found that: "The major Providence industry in which the Russian Jews were somewhat more heavily concentrated than others was the costume jewelry industry." While eighteen per cent of Russian Jewish immigrant fathers in 1915 worked in manufacturing, six per cent worked in jewelry manufacturing. Of all the fathers who were employees in low manual occupations, the largest percentage, nineteen, worked in jewelry manufacturing. "Possibly the fact that Jewish employers had entered this industry, possibly the hope of progressing from a worker to an owner oneself — the industry required only a small outlay in order to get started — drew Jewish manual workers into it."⁵

The following sections reveal examples of workers who became owners. A few vignettes here may serve to illustrate the lives of jewelry workers.

Mrs. Jacob Horvitz in a 1976 interview said:

When we came to South Providence [she was nineteen years old] I went right to work. ... I used to work ten hours a day for Silverman Brothers for \$3 a week. I started at 7:00 A.M. I remember the Silvermans. They had a sister. She used to pick me up. I got up so early in the morning. I wasn't used to it. In Russia I had just gone to school. My father didn't like me working. ... My uncle ... said, "You know who doesn't work in America — the sick ones." I didn't mind. I worked. I had a long walk from my home on Willard Avenue to the shop. If I was late, they took off 10 cents from my pay.

Eventually I did piece work on jewelry and made up to \$12 a week. We would get through earlier on Saturdays — 4 P.M.⁶

Max Siegal of the later famous City Hall Hardware Store in Providence

worked as a stonemaker in a jewelry factory, and his wife, Rebecca, stayed in their little hardware store ... on Prairie Avenue. ... When business improved in the hardware store, Siegal brought his work from the jewelry factory to work on in the back of the store, in order to be free to help out when needed.⁷

Max Rosen, who came to the United States in 1898, worked in a jewelry factory for \$7.50 a week. With that pay, "He could live and even buy cigarettes."⁸

Max Strasmich and Tilly Kenner met and fell in love when they were bench workers at Ostby & Barton in 1915. They each earned about \$7.50 a week for 54 hours of work. Their son Erwin jokes, "My mother always said she married my father so she could get away from that job."⁹

An interesting career related to the jewelry industry was that of Bernard Manuel Goldowsky (father of Seebert J. Goldowsky, M. D., Editor Emeritus of the *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*). Goldowsky operated a private detective agency employed by jewelry manufacturers to prevent thievery of precious metals. For a detailed account see Seebert J. Goldowsky, "Bernard Manuel Goldowsky — 1864-1936," *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, Volume 6, Number 1, November 1971, pp. 83-101.

For a discussion of Jewish jewelry workers and the labor movement see Paul M. Buhle, "Jews in Rhode Island Labor: An Introductory Investigation," *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, Volume 10, Number 2, November 1988, pp. 146-158.

LEDERER

The earliest listing of a known Jewish name in The Providence Directory¹⁰ is the name Lederer in Seery & Lederer, (Edward Seery and Sigmund Lederer) jewelry manufacturers, 117 Summer Street, 1875. Sigmund and Benedict B. Lederer came to Providence in the 1870s and entered the jewelry business shortly after. Lederer is listed at 111 Summer Street in 1879. S & B Lederer advertised in 1884 as "Manufacturers of Fire Gilt, Nickel, Fine Electro and Silver Plated Chains, 66 to 72 Stewart Street, and 22 Maiden Lane, New York,"¹¹ and was later listed at 100-106 Stewart Street.

Another jewelry business with a Lederer name was the Providence Stock Company, owned by George T. Lederer. When Lederer died in 1977, his obituary in the *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*¹² stated that he was born in Chicago, Illinois, in 1880, the son of the late Elias Joachim Lederer. He had been affiliated with the jewelry manufacturing firm from 1907 to his retirement fifty years later. Lederer was married to Dorothy Jacobs, daughter of Henry Loeb Jacobs. (See "Henry Loeb Jacobs and Bryant College," page 373.)

The Providence Stock Company was in operation from 1890 to 1950 and was located in the S & B Lederer Building at 100 Stewart Street in Providence. It manufactured "rolled plate chains, silver novelties, chain bracelets, lorgnettes, ladies' and gents' gold chains, gold scarf pins, and brooches."¹³

Henry Lederer and Brothers, Incorporated, received a State of Rhode Island charter on May 10, 1904, with the names Adolph Lederer, Henry Lederer, and Edward B. Lederer, for "Manufacturing, buying and selling jewelry."¹⁴ The brothers were sons of Benedict Lederer. Located at 150 Chestnut Street, the company manufactured chains, fountain pens, and pencils.

Alphonse Jacob Lederer, the son of Henry S. and Julia Lederer and grandson of Benedict Lederer, was born in New York City in 1897. At the time of Alphonse's birth, his father managed the New York sales office of Henry Lederer and Brothers. After high school in Providence, Alphonse joined the jewelry business as a salesman.

Henry Lederer died in 1917 and Adolph in 1922. Young Alphonse, barely twenty years of age, succeeded his father as head of the firm and rose to be its president, treasurer, and secretary. He never married and lived with and cared for his widowed mother. He was a very private person and lived a quiet and unostentatious life. He conducted the enterprise successfully for almost thirty years.¹⁵

Alphonse Lederer died suddenly in 1946. Upon the death of his mother in 1947, his estate was bequeathed to Temple Beth-El and was instrumental in funding construction of the congregation's new building on Orchard Avenue in Providence.

Brier Manufacturing Company acquired the assets and equipment of Henry Lederer and Brothers in 1948 and reconstituted the business under the name of Reibling-Lewis. August Reibling, one of the two principal investors, was a German national who came to the United States to assist Lederer and had to remain here because of World War II. The other principal was Howard R. Lewis, son-in-law of Benjamin Brier.

Reibling-Lewis manufactured cigarette lighters, chains, dresser sets, and other products and operated until 1952, at which time the chain-making equipment was sold to the Armbrust Chain Co.¹⁶

LUDWIG-STERN COMPANY

Very little is known about the Ludwig-Stern Company. Henry Ludwig, jeweler, is listed in *The Providence Directory* at a home address in 1883 and as a foreman at 183 Eddy Street, Providence, first floor, from 1884 through 1887. Henry Ludwig and Co., manufacturing jewelers, is listed in 1888 at 195 Eddy Street, first floor. The *Jewelers' Directory* for 1897¹⁷ lists as jewelry manufacturers H. C. Ludwig, on Blackstone Street, corner of Gay Street, Providence, and Louis Stern & Co., Metcalf Building, Providence.

The Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association has a photograph of employees of the Ludwig-Stern Company, located on the northwest corner of Blackstone and Gay Streets, circa 1900. The photograph, published on the back cover of the *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, Volume 3, Number 1, November 1958, shows 23 men in front of a brick and wood building. Some of the men are wearing business suits, some white aprons, and one is in overalls. The only persons identified are Simon Horenstein, Samuel Silverman, Abram Jacobs, Simon Goldstein, Nathan Horovitz, and Abraham Zellermyer.

SILVERMAN BROTHERS

A *Saturday Evening Post* article of 1947 describes the start of Silverman Brothers in 1897.

Archibald Silverman, one of the leading producers for the chain stores, went into business with five dollars. Coming to this country from Russia with his family at the age of ten, he got a job running errands after school for a Providence jewelry house. When he was eighteen, he borrowed five dollars from his father and bought some gilded wire with which to make beauty pins. But it did not take him long to become one of the pioneers in the field of creating timely jewelry. When Pope Leo XIII died, [in 1903] Silverman made some black-bordered brooches bearing the Pontiff's picture and sold them personally on the streets of Boston. He started manufacturing ornaments called "Merry Widow wings" when the musical show was at its crest, and was one of the first to turn out fancy veil pins when brave ladies started riding in horseless carriages.¹⁸

The Silverman firm was started in a small space rented in a jewelry factory on

Eddy Street, Providence. Archibald's brother, Charles, who had been a foreman in another factory, joined the business about three months later. Archibald was the salesman, and Charles supervised the manufacturing operations. According to a testimonial at the 50th anniversary celebration of Silverman Brothers, "The sales ability of one brother, and the creative ability of the other made a very successful combination that has weathered three wars and several depressions."¹⁹

The story in an *Evening Bulletin* interview of how Archibald Silverman met his wife is an indication of the small size of the business in its early days.

We had a small shop on Calendar Street. I had no telephone in our place and where she worked they had a telephone. Her name was Ida Marcia Camelhor then and she was working during the summer vacations at a place where the Strand Theater is now. ... she quit school and came to work for us as bookkeeper. She got \$6 a week. And she got a \$1 raise, too. "Yes," Mrs. Silverman interposed, "You forget that I was more than just a bookkeeper. I was also shipping clerk, stenographer ..."²⁰

The firm grew and moved several times before moving, in 1917, to 226 Public Street. It was a partnership until 1946, then a corporation. The officers at the time of incorporation were President, Archibald Silverman; Vice President, C. Leon Silverman; Secretary and Treasurer, Charles Silverman; Assistant Treasurer, C. Sydney Silverman; and Assistant Treasurer, Norman L. Silverman. The sons of the two founders were all active in the business at one time or another. Harold, C. Sydney, Milton, and William were Charles's sons. Milton was head of sales in New York and California, and Sydney ran factory operations. Norman, Irwin, and C. Leon were Archibald's sons. Norman headed the business after the death of Charles Silverman.²¹

Archibald Silverman was president of the New England Manufacturing Jewelers and Silversmiths Association²² from 1926 to 1929.

On May 15, 1945, Silverman Brothers won the Army-Navy "E" Award for its production of insignia and decorations for the Armed Forces. The Award consisted "of a flag to be flown above your plant and a lapel pin which every man and woman in your plant may wear as a symbol of high contribution to American freedom."²³ Silverman Brothers was cited for producing more than 26 million pieces for the Philadelphia Quartermaster Depot.²⁴ In addition to insignia, the company also made surgical instruments and airplane and torpedo parts for the war effort.

The co-founders and owners of Silverman Brothers were guests of honor at a surprise celebration staged by the 320 employees on the company's 50th anniversary

in 1947. Ignaz Wenkart, plant superintendent, was Master of Ceremonies.

A quote from Norman Silverman in a *Providence Journal* article in 1950 is a good summary both of Silverman Brothers and the costume jewelry industry as a whole:

Silverman Brothers, which makes metal jewelry, and employed close to 700 before the war, has recently had work for only about 325, many of them on cut time.

"I don't know the whole answer," Norman Silverman said the other day. "Nobody does. We're squeezed between costs of labor and material on one side and having to make an inexpensive product on the other. ...

Bows, hearts, and so on are perennial products; with different treatment in design, they sell year after year ..."

Quoting one of his elders in the business, Mr. Silverman said, "'We sell you some nothing.' That's about the size of it. The materials aren't valuable. It's the design, the idea, that the buyer gets satisfaction out of."²⁵

COLONEL HARRY CUTLER

Colonel Harry Cutler, one of Rhode Island's most distinguished Jews and an important jewelry manufacturer, was born in Czarist Russia in 1875. Louis Marshall, Esq., in a memorial address for Cutler, described his early life:

Driven from inhospitable Russia in tender childhood, ... he came to these shores a boy of eight with stout heart and will unconquerable. Without friends, without influence, without the opportunities of education, asking nought of charity, he eliminated childhood from his calendar and struggled with his revered mother to maintain the family. No service was so menial but that he was prepared to render it so long as it was honorable. His daily tasks as a newsboy, a boot black, a worker in a cannery, a mill-hand, heroically performed ...²⁶

At sixteen Cutler was hired as a shipping clerk by a Providence jewelry firm. A 1913 newspaper article said of him:

He advanced rapidly, first to the position of foreman and finally to general manager. At twenty-four he purchased a jewelry factory that was about to go bankrupt with a small sum of borrowed money. By the beginning of the 20th century the Cutler Jewelry and Comb Company developed into one of the leading firms of its type in the United States, and Cutler emerged as one of a handful of Jewish manufacturers in Providence.²⁷

The Cutler Jewelry and Comb Company, located at 7 Eddy Street, Providence, was chiefly noted for the manufacture of gold shell* rings. It was made up of two corporations chartered in 1905: Cutler Comb Company and the Providence Jewelry Company, listed with capital of \$50,000.²⁸

Cutler was active in jewelry organizations, serving as founder and president of the Jewelers Protective Association, president of the New England Manufacturing Jewelers and Silversmiths Association, and a member of the National Board of Trade. He was prominent in Rhode Island affairs, both secular and Jewish, and an important figure in national and world-wide Jewish affairs. For a description of his many activities, see Stanley B. Abrams, "Harry Cutler: An Outline of a Neglected Patriot," *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, Volume 9, Number 2, November 1984, pp. 127-140.

Cutler died suddenly at the age of forty-six in 1920. The company was last listed in The Providence Directory for 1930.

LYONS MANUFACTURING COMPANY

Louis Lyons was born in London, England, in 1868 and came to Providence at the age of twenty-one. (For an account of his wedding to Flora S. Dimond, See "Society Wedding," page 317.) He first entered the textile industry and later the jewelry business and was located by 1900 at 101 Sabin Street, Providence, a center of jewelry manufacturing known as the Manufacturers Building.

The Lyons Manufacturing Company was incorporated in 1906 with Louis Lyons as president and treasurer and was capitalized at \$100,000. It was listed as "manufacturing jewelers and ring-makers." In later years (1931) his business was listed as Louis Lyons & Company, Jewelry, at 385 Westminster Street.²⁹

The Lyons enterprise was not listed after 1932, probably because the jewelry industry fell on hard times as a result of the Depression. In 1933 Lyons was recorded as "Insurance Agent" at 111 Westminster Street. The 1934 Providence Directory listed him as general manager and treasurer of the LaSalle Ring Company, Inc., at 107 Stewart Street, another jewelry factory area, but this may have been a belated appearance in the Directory, indications being that Lyons had left Providence in 1933. He died in California in 1938.

The name of Louis Lyons also appears in the charter, dated November 23, 1906, for "The William Loeb Company, Louis Lyons *et al.*, Manufacturing Jewelry."³⁰

* Early term for gold-filled jewelry, which has an outer surface of gold with other metal on the inside.

A & Z CHAIN COMPANY

The A & Z Chain Company was founded by Charles Anschen and Benjamin Zetlin in 1905 at 9 Calender Street in Providence. The business moved to 116 Chestnut Street in 1909 and was incorporated in 1918 for "Manufacturing, buying and selling jewelry."³¹

Anschen is considered to have invented and perfected the expansion watch bracelet. In addition, the company also made very fine gold-filled jewelry, such as rings, bracelets, key rings, and crosses.

Benjamin H. Rossman was born in Russia in 1892 and came to the United States by himself at age 13, hoping to become a doctor. Instead, his first job was washing dishes in a barroom in Boston. He worked at several jobs of this type to earn enough money to bring his whole family from Europe to live in Roxbury, Massachusetts.

Rossman began working for the Hanover Jewelry Company in Boston and was trained in all departments. Eventually, he became a partner in the business with his cousin. The cousin ran the inside operations of the company, while Rossman was the salesman. Through his contacts on the road, Rossman dealt with the A & Z Chain Company of Providence. When Anschen became ill in 1923, Zetlin was looking for a knowledgeable person for the business. Rossman sold out his Hanover Jewelry interest and started working for A & Z. He had married in 1922 in Boston and commuted back and forth to Rhode Island for several years until he became a partner with Zetlin.

Rossman bought out Zetlin in the early 1940s and became the sole owner. He died in 1964. During the '60s the company moved across the street to a larger building at 95 Chestnut Street. A new modern facility was built at 655 Waterman Street, East Providence, in 1970. The company is now A & Z Hayward, division of the Allison Reed Group.³²

KLITZNER INDUSTRIES, INC.

According to a history of Klitzner Industries published on its 75th anniversary in 1982,

Around the turn of the century, fourteen-year-old Harry Klitzner worked as a plater's helper in someone else's jewelry shop. When he went home, he made fraternal emblematic jewelry in the back of his mother's candy store. Homemade tools hammered the designs. A goldfish bowl and enamel pots were used for dipping tanks. Owning a business with an

American flag flying over the building was the young man's dream.

The history states that Klitzner had fancy letterheads made for Harry Klitzner Co. and guaranteed, "If our goods don't make good, we will." With only a small directory of Loyal Order of the Moose Lodges listed across the country, he launched his mail order company in 1907. Business arrived in mail sacks, and he prospered. The first success was an elk's tooth carved from Alaskan walrus for members of the Benevolent Protective Order of the Elks. "The secret dye used on the tooth was coffee." One Masonic emblem still selling comes from a die made in 1907.

Harry Klitzner's dream to own a successful company, in the words of the history,

was helped along by family members during those early years. His first recruit was his sister, Lillian. She quit school, taught herself how to type, and the money was so scarce she rarely received a salary. Some days she waited for a customer to send in a check before she could buy stamps to send out the next order. ... When Harry's niece, Ruth Goldman, was 15, she used to type catalog labels for him. When she came into the company, her desk was next to her uncle's ...³³

Robert A. Klitzner, Harry's son, joined the company after service in World War II. Another son, William, and Harry's grandchildren, Alan and Carl, also became part of the company.

Klitzner Industries now covers an entire city block at 44 Warren Street, Providence, and consists of four divisions: Harry Klitzner Company, fraternal jewelry; Providence Emblem, industrial and premium jewelry; Historic Providence Mint, consumer collectibles; and K. I. Special Sales, private label manufacturing.



Lillian Klitzner, sister of Harry, who worked for Klitzner Industries for 58 years, at her desk in 1946.

BRIER MANUFACTURING COMPANY

The Brier family immigrated to the United States from Austria in 1900, and Samuel Brier started a tiny jewelry company in Providence. His brother Benjamin, who had worked as a solderer in several jewelry shops, came to work for him. Benjamin Brier, in an interview in 1976, said

We all went to work very early, selling newspapers at the age of eight on. It was pretty much the case with everyone we knew. I worked also as an errand boy and floor sweeper in jewelry shops, where I began to learn the fundamentals of manufacturing.³⁴

According to a *Fortune* article in 1936, Samuel Magid of Boston

had gone into the wholesale jewelry business in 1907 after a short career as a novelty-jewelry salesman selling such things as badges reading: "Remember the Maine, to hell with Spain." Then in 1913 Mr. Magid married a Providence girl named Rose Brier, and formed the Brier Manufacturing Co. to make jewelry for his wholesale trade

with Benjamin, Charles, and Harry Brier, buying out Samuel Brier.

As President, Mr. Magid selected Benjamin Brier, his twenty-year-old brother-in-law and "christened the firm Little Nemo because he was very fond of the Winsor McCay comic-strip character. ... By 1916 Little Nemo was going so nicely that Mr. Magid went out of the wholesale business and became treasurer of Brier."³⁵

The company started in rented space at 70 Ship Street and, in 1928, moved to its large new factory at 222 Richmond Street, where it remained for half a century. The firm "exemplified the general trend in the Providence jewelry industry toward high volume production of increasingly inexpensive jewelry."³⁶

Fortune said about the Brier company in 1936:

When gold was cheaper, Little Nemo used to make ten-carat gold baby rings that retailed for twenty cents. But the customers refused to believe that there was really gold in them. They preferred honest brass and nickel rings that made no extravagant claims. Now that's all cleared up, and Little Nemo is doing a fine business in rings. It's doing a fine business in other things, too, for Little Nemo is the biggest five-ten-twenty-five-cent jewelry manufacturer in the country. Last year the company grossed upward of \$1,500,000 on some 30,000,000 pieces of jewelry, which it sold

to chain stores like Woolworth and Kresge. This year it expects to do as well. ...

Little Nemo turns out about 5,000 products, but the only stable items are wedding rings, signet rings for children, pearled ear buttons, and collar and tie pins. Everything else has to be changed in three to six months because customers like their cheap jewelry new and strange. This helps to keep stock moving, but it prevents the company from doing much of its work by machine since it costs too much to manufacture special equipment that can be used only a short time. Ordinarily Little Nemo employs 500 people, but currently, because of the Christmas trade, there are 1,000 working at the plant, 75 per cent of them women. Sixty per cent of the cost of Little Nemo jewelry is in labor, and Mr. Magid gets despondent when he describes the seventy-five operations it takes to make a rhinestone bracelet that sells for only twenty cents. ...

Little Nemo has never tried to get its jewelry into department stores. The company thinks it's better to make jewelry at one price and make it right than to get mixed up trying to make jewelry at different prices. Since Woolworth changed its price policy to include items up to ninety-five cents, Little Nemo has put out a few articles that cost as much as fifty cents. But that's as high as Little Nemo intends to go."³⁷

A 1946 *Fortune* article describes Brier and Silverman Brothers as the largest plants manufacturing syndicate jewelry [the costume jewelry industry term for items sold to syndicate, that is, chain stores and 5- and 10-cent stores].³⁸

Burleigh (B. B.) Greenberg, a nephew of Benjamin Brier, worked for the company before World War II, traveling to and from Czechoslovakia and Germany buying rhinestones, simulated gems, and artificial pearls. After serving in the armed forces, he returned to Brier Manufacturing, where he was a key figure.

Benjamin Brier was president of the New England Manufacturing Jewelers and Silversmiths Association in 1942-1943. He retired from the jewelry business in 1972 and died in 1986. His son, Milton, became president of Brier Manufacturing after Benjamin retired. The company ceased operations in 1978.

BLACHER BROTHERS, INC.

David Blacher, a coppersmith, first came to the United States from Russia in 1890, returned, and then immigrated to Providence in 1900. In 1904 his wife, five sons, and two daughters traveled from Zabludovo, Russia, by horse and wagon, train, and ship to New York, and then by boat to Providence "where supposedly the mother paid an iceman some money to take her and her family in his wagon to a place

Jews in the Jewelry Industry

on North Main Street where they then stayed the first night. After that they went to live with the father at 44 Shawmut Street.³⁹

Harry Blacher, who was then 13 years old, worked for several different companies from 1904 to 1907 and learned jewelry making.

Benjamin Blacher, years ago, told a story of why his older brother Harry decided to go into business for himself. ... Harry, realizing that he knew his trade well, walked out on his last employer after demanding a large salary increase that the employer would only meet half way. He then went into business for himself, at the age of 17, and used the name United Jewelry Company.⁴⁰

This costume jewelry manufacturing business is believed to have been located at 26 Fountain Street. Bernard Cohen (see Cohen Manufacturing Co., below) remembers his father, Harry Cohen, telling him that Harry Blacher was one of the best sample makers he ever saw.⁴¹

The Blacher Brothers partnership of Harry and Samuel Blacher was organized in 1911 at the Fountain Street address. The business moved to 31 Mathewson Street in 1917. Two other brothers, Samuel and Louis, started working for the company in 1919 and were admitted as partners in 1920. (Joseph Blacher, the oldest brother, had gone into the roofing business in Boston.)

Blacher Brothers was admitted to membership in the New England Manufacturing Jewelers and Silversmiths Association in 1920. Two officers who signed the letter of admission were Harry Cutler and Archibald Silverman.

The company moved to 43 Sabin Street in 1921. Through the years Blacher Brothers took over several other jewelry companies: Morris Bieber Manufacturing Company, American Jewelry Findings Company, and Providence Art Metal Company. From Providence Art Metal they received very old tools, including tools for making Civil War insignia.

Blacher began the manufacture of frames and ornaments for handbags in about 1930, moved to a purchased building at 299 Carpenter Street in 1937, and stopped producing jewelry in 1945. The business was incorporated in 1946. Harry Blacher was chairman of the board until retiring in 1978 and died at 90 in 1981. Stanley P. Blacher is now president of the firm, which maintains offices at 166 Valley Street.⁴²

MAURICE J. KARPELES

Maurice J. Karpeles came to Providence in the late 1890s from Washington, D.C., where he was born. He started the first business that imported cultured pearls from Japan into the United States and, with a Japanese associate, Mikimoto, exhibited cultured pearls at the World Exhibition in Paris in 1900. He was listed in the Providence Directory of 1903 as a manager at 152 Weybosset Street.

The Low-Taussig-Karpeles Company was incorporated in 1910 by Maurice J. Karpeles, Joseph B. Congdon, and Frank H. Bellin "For importing, exporting and dealing generally in precious, semi-precious, scientific reconstructed, manufactured, glass and paste stones and pearls."⁴³ The business was located at 139 Mathewson Street, and Karpeles was president.

Karpeles manufactured simulated pearls, giving his product the name La Tausca, from the sound of the first syllables in the company's name. He used beads dipped in a luminous paste made from herring scales, "a process he is believed to have developed. La Tausca pearls were known as the finest artificial pearls made. During the '30s Karpeles sold the name to another manufacturer."⁴⁴

After losing money during the Depression, Karpeles went into business manufacturing ecclesiastical jewelry, establishing three companies: M. J. Karpeles, Inc., Di Roma Corp., and the Karpeles Rosary Company. He received an award from the Vatican in recognition of his work in making the rosaries presented to the first Americans named as cardinals by the Vatican.

L. Jim Williams of Providence has interesting memories as a child in the early '40s of going with Karpeles, his grandfather, to the daily lunch meetings of Providence jewelers, first at the Narragansett Hotel and later at Winkler's Middle Street Cafe. He recalls that men in the jewelry business occupied three tables, one he remembers for stone importers, one for chain manufacturers, and one for other manufacturers, but that occasionally the seating arrangements were mixed up. Some of the diners were Christian, some Jewish, Williams says. "I remember Archibald Silverman and Charles Rothman. Rothman's son, Robert, and I were the two children frequently invited. More deals were cut there than anywhere else. The lunches were the start of the Providence Jewelers Club."⁴⁵

COHEN MANUFACTURING CO.

Harry Cohen's father was trained while in the Russian army to be a physician. After he died, his wife and her four young children came to Rhode Island, where they had relatives, in about 1896.

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Wholesale price sheet from Maurice J. Karpeles, 1920s.

Harry Cohen, who was ten years old, shined shoes and sold newspapers to help support his family. When he was a little older, he was hired by a jewelry manufacturer on Sabin Street in Providence to count out pieces of jewelry by the gross. At 18, he became a foreman. The business went bankrupt in 1909, and Cohen decided to start his own business. He had about \$50 and, with great difficulty, managed to borrow another \$150.

Cohen Manufacturing Co. began in 1910 in rented bench space on the top floor of 24 Calender Street, Providence. Cohen sold an order in Boston for stickpins, bought materials, soldered them together, took the product to a plater for finishing, and then delivered the pins to Boston. He worked every day from about six in the morning to eleven at night. The next year he rented larger space on the third floor of 9 Calender Street and later moved to Sabin Street. In 1913 he moved the business to the Doran Building at 70 Ship Street. The company made inexpensive jewelry — pins, rings, and bracelets — for the syndicate stores. At one time he employed about 150 people. "Many employees were needed because a worker would have to solder about ten cups of rhinestones together to make one bar pin."⁴⁶

Cohen stopped manufacturing jewelry when World War II started, but continued to pay rent to Doran Brothers, planning to start again after the war. However, Speidel Company, located in the same building, needed more space, and Cohen's lease was cancelled. He then opened a small manufacturing business on Weybosset Street with his son, Bernard. Harry Cohen died in 1958. The business was sold when Bernard Cohen retired.⁴⁷

CORO

Coro started as the Cohn and Rosenberger* Company in New York City in 1896 for the manufacture of imitation pearls, novelty jewelry, and beads. Coro, Inc., jewelry manufacturers, was founded in 1901 and established a factory in Providence in 1906.⁴⁸ Samuel Austen of Staten Island, New York, who worked in the New York office of Coro as a very young man from 1930 to 1937, recalls hearing that Cohn and Rosenberger started a separate company to manufacture Corograms, which were metal initials for women's handbags, and then named the whole company Coro.⁴⁹

In 1929 they moved into a new factory at 167 Point Street, Providence,

noteworthy at the time of its construction for the unprecedented amount of floorspace devoted to one jewelry company's operation, 160,000 square feet. ... built in the.... flat-slab, reinforced concrete style of construction

*Cohn's first name is not known; Rosenberger's first name was Carl.

.... Although the onset of the Great Depression made this expansion appear ill-timed, the Coro Company survived by becoming the leading manufacturer in the field of costume jewelry in the United States. Paradoxically, the Depression of the 1930s stimulated the Providence jewelry industry, as precious jewelry craftsmen applied their skills to the design of cheaper, mass-produced jewelry. By introducing a quality approach, they raised the production standards of costume jewelry and stimulated its consumption. Coro had been one of the first firms to experiment in costume jewelry, and with its new plant, it was the best equipped to respond to the new demand. It consolidated its early lead and went on to become the biggest manufacturer of costume jewelry, on into the 1960s.⁵⁰

Carl Rosenberger was first Coro president, then board chairman. His son Gerald succeeded him as president. His other son, George, was in company sales.

After the new plant opened in Providence and the company ceased manufacturing in New York, the New York operation of Coro consisted of showrooms, offices, and a small stock and shipping department for the convenience of city buyers. Austen remembers that he started at a salary of \$15 a week in 1930 and progressed to \$17 a week as head of the earring department.

Austen's brother-in-law, Julius Kaplan, had started at Coro at the age of 14 in 1923. Kaplan had been head of the earring department and then advanced rapidly to become the chief buyer for the company. As Austen explains,

Even Coro, the biggest jewelry manufacturer, couldn't produce every item needed for a complete line for salesmen. They bought items from smaller manufacturers and contractors and also imported some items. Kaplan's job as buyer of all these items was a very responsible position. Though not an officer, he was the backbone of the company.⁵¹

Kaplan worked for Coro for 51 years before he retired at 65. He lived in Rhode Island for 35 years, first in Washington Park, Providence, and then in Warwick. He died in 1987.⁵²

Fortune reported in 1946 that Coro was

the only costume jeweler whose financial statements are on public record. It employs 2000, mostly in Providence, and the company has shown an uninterrupted rise in consolidated net sales ... to \$16,100,000 in 1945 ... Full of commercial savvy, cashing in on all levels of the costume-jewelry market, ... it mass-produces as many as 2,000 different jewelry

designs each spring and fall season. Its success can further be indicated by the fact that twenty-one of its officers and salesmen earn more than \$20,000 a year.⁵³

In 1970 Coro merged with Richton International of New York, and in 1977 the business was reorganized as the Richton Jewelry Company with six divisions. Among the divisions were Coro, manufacturing fashion jewelry priced from \$3.50 to \$7.50, and Vendome, which made better fashion jewelry priced from \$5 to \$25. The trademark and stock was sold to Marvella, Inc., in 1979.⁵⁴

NEW ENGLAND GLASS WORKS
RICE WEINER & Co.

New England Glass Works was started in 1913 at 12 Beverly Street in Providence with the manufacture of hat pins. In the shop, glass was melted, shaped, and later blown to make bubbles for jewelry and as a base for artificial pearls.

Alexander, Leo, and Albert Weiner came to the United States from Russia as young children in about 1900. Albert married a woman named Rice whose brother became a partner with him in New England Glass Works. In 1918, Alexander was admitted to the partnership. He had worked for some years in another jewelry company and brought to New England Glass Works the expertise he had learned as a glass blower and the formulas he had developed for imitation pearl essence.

Pearl essence contains fish scales, color, and lacquer into which is dipped the glass or plastic bubble. After several coats of lacquer the bubble becomes a pearl. Before the first World War pearl essence was imported from Germany. The New England Glass Works formula to make the pearl essence was a closely guarded secret. No one could enter the pearlizing room except the owners of the business and the pearlizer. This formula is still used by companies manufacturing pearls.⁵⁵

New England Glass Works flourished from the 1920s through the 1940s. When Isaac Rice died, his share was taken over by his sons, Albert Rice and Robert Rice. They remained partners with Alexander Weiner until 1946, when they left to form the Barclay Jewelry Company. In 1927 Albert Weiner left the family business to form his own company, the Albert Manufacturing Company. (See Albert Manufacturing Company, below.)

Rice Weiner & Co. was started as a division of New England Glass Works in the 1940s and remained in the sole ownership of Alexander Weiner after 1946. He was then joined in the business by his two sons, Howard and Lloyd Weiner. After the

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demise of Rice Weiner and New England Glass Works in 1956, Howard Weiner started his own jewelry company, Lambert Mfg., which he operated until his retirement in 1985.⁵⁶

W & W JEWELRY CO.

Lewis Wattman came to the United States in 1903 from Kishinev, Russia, and went to work for Fraser and Co., where he was trained in all of the jobs involved in jewelry manufacturing, including foot press operation. In 1916 he and Samuel White pooled their resources of \$500 and started their own factory, the W. & W. Jewelry Company at 9 Calender Street. Wattman used his skills as a stone-setter, and together they designed and made rhinestone jewelry, some sold to jobbers for department stores and some to syndicate jewelry stores.

The business closed in the early 1960s.⁵⁷

KESTENMAN BROS. MFG. CO.

Abraham Kestenman, oldest of the Kestenman brothers, and his father, an egg candler, came to the United States from Huscharten, Austria, in about 1910. After working in New York for a while, they moved to Providence, where Abraham started a small jewelry business on Clifford Street in 1916. His mother and three brothers, Charles, Louis, and Max, remained in Europe for a time.

The brothers then joined Abraham in the jewelry venture, and the business became the Kestenman Bros. Mfg. Co. in 1917. It is believed to have manufactured snaps for women's lingerie in the early days. Cameos were one of the first jewelry items produced. A booklet marking the move from a plant at 150 Chestnut Street in Providence to 280 Kinsley Avenue stated:

in 1920 our facilities were focused toward pioneering in the designing and production of watch bands. Since that time the demand for these watch bands has steadily increased compelling us to expand at different locations to obtain larger plant facilities. Today our watch bands — "Kestenmade", "Peerless", and "Sentinel" — are well-known and worn all over the world.⁵⁸

The Kestenman brothers were very close and worked together as a cohesive group. Abraham Kestenman spent much time traveling for the business. He left the company in 1938 and founded Colonial Manufacturing, making costume jewelry, in a two-floor building at the corner of Eddy and Public Streets, Providence. He retired after World War II but in 1950 opened Lloyd's restaurant on Waterman

Street in Providence, recalling how he had wished that he could buy a good sandwich in Providence like those he had when he was "on the road."⁵⁹

Max, who became president of the company, dealt mainly with the public. Charles, the company's artist, studied jewelry design at the Rhode Island School of Design. Louis managed the office and financial matters. A nephew of Louis, Morton Zisquit, worked for the company for 40 years.

S. Samuel Kestenman, son of Max and Pauline (Garr) Kestenman, was active in the company for 35 years and became president in the 1970s. He was elected president of the Providence Jewelers Club in 1969. After his death in 1986 the business was liquidated.⁶⁰



Front Row, l. to r., Max Kestenman, Jacob and Golde Kestenman.
Back Row, l. to r., Louis Kestenman, Abraham Kestenman, Charles Kestenman.
Photo from early 1920s.

A. BELLIN & Co.

Archie Bellin came from Elizabethgrad, Russia, to Rhode Island by himself in 1906, when he was 14 years old. Two years later his father asked him to come back to Russia, but he returned permanently to the United States after six months.

Bellin's first job in Rhode Island was as a bench hand and press operator at Silverman Brothers. He also worked for Kotler & Copit for a short time.

Shortly after his discharge from World War I Army service in 1918, Bellin started his own jewelry manufacturing business, A. Bellin & Co.

Friends in New York and Arizona encouraged Bellin to make souvenir jewelry, such as slides (used by women to adjust the length of chains), pins, and silver spoons, for conventions and for resort areas like Niagara Falls. He also manufactured commemorative jewelry for the New York World's Fair of 1939-40 and made inexpensive costume jewelry. He was his own salesman, taking off one month during the year and traveling around the country by train to make business contacts.

During the 1920s Bellin built a factory on Bassett Street in Providence. In 1946 the business name changed to Bellin & Co. and manufactured only souvenir jewelry. Bellin retired in the early 1960s and died in 1978.⁶¹

BOJAR MANUFACTURING COMPANY

In 1914 Leo Bojar, originally from Lithuania, came to New York from Poland with his wife and his son, William. While working in New York as a bookkeeper for five clients, he met Benjamin Novgrad, a sales representative, who convinced Bojar to start a jewelry business with him in Providence.

The Bojars moved to Douglas Avenue, Providence, and on September 19, 1919, the Novgrad and Bojar business started at 24 Conduit Street for the manufacture of gold rings to be sold to wholesalers.

In 1925 the partnership of Novgrad and Bojar was dissolved, and Novgrad went into partnership with Charles Rothman as Rothman and Novgrad. Bojar continued in business as Bojar Manufacturing Company, buying tools of bankrupt firms whenever he could. To this day the company makes gold rings, among other items.

Leo Bojar's son, William, graduated from Brown University in 1933 as an electrical engineer and went into the family business. He continues to run the company; his son David joined the firm in 1971.⁶²

C & G MANUFACTURING COMPANY

Jonas Goldenberg, who was a singer in cantorial choirs all over Europe, came to the United States from Galicia, now part of Poland, with his younger brother, David, in about 1907. They joined their father and stepmother in Rhode Island, and Jonas went to work in a jewelry factory, M & S Co., owned by Morris Streicher. He became a foreman and made friends with Morris Chusmir, a foreman in another department.

Goldenberg and Chusmir left M & S and worked for Brier Manufacturing Company, leaving Brier in 1920 to open their own business, Chusmir and Goldenberg, at 117 Point Street. In 1922 the business took the name C & G Manufacturing Company. The company manufactured high quality costume jewelry. Goldenberg was the designer, traveling to Europe for design ideas and to buy samples.

In the early 1930s Goldenberg left C & G to form his own stone-setting company. He planned to return to C & G but died in 1935.⁶³

ADOLPH MELLER COMPANY

Adolph Meller began working in the import-export business in Berlin, Germany. He was sent to New York to be trained for several years in the American counterpart of the business. After his marriage, he and his wife moved to the United States. They were lonely for their families in Europe and returned to Germany with their children after World War I, but Mrs. Meller found she missed America. They came back to the United States in 1921, and Meller founded the Adolph Meller Company at 40 Fountain Street in Providence.

The Adolph Meller Company imported precious, semi-precious, and imitation stones. Meller travelled back and forth to Europe pursuing his business interests. When he saw what was happening in Nazi Germany, he set up a small lapidary shop on Charles Street to develop the techniques of working on stones which might no longer be available from Europe. Later the company built a factory at 120 Corliss Street.

Meller went into work for the government after the outbreak of World War II. He manufactured jewel bearings, tiny precious sapphire crystals which were used in sighting devices for bombers and tanks. The company was given the Army-Navy "E" award for its wartime achievements.

Adolph Meller died at 55 in 1947. His sons, Max and Robert, were in the business until their deaths. The company is still in operation.⁶⁴

GENSER MANUFACTURING Co.

The parents of Max, David, Isadore, and Julia Genser came to Rhode Island, where they had relatives, from Buczacz, Austria, shortly before World War I. After about six months they were able to send for their children.

Max and David worked for Brier Manufacturing Company; their foreman was Morris Chusmir. Max left Brier to work for Dr. Ilie Berger and learn how to make dentures and crowns. After a few years he left Dr. Berger and opened his own dental laboratory in the Kinsley Building in downtown Providence. Several years later he sold that business to his brother Isadore.

Using \$500 from the dowries of each of their wives, Max and David started the Genser Manufacturing Company on 111 Point Street, Providence, in 1924, making inexpensive jewelry of brass and white metal. Their salesmen also sold for C & G Manufacturing Company. These salesmen represented Genser to the chain stores such as Woolworth and to jewelry wholesalers and also to the button trade, for which they made the tops of earrings in graduated sizes for buttons.

"In 1936 the company moved to 45 Waldo Street and expanded into the manufacture of simulated pearls, becoming the largest manufacturer of this product in the country," said Wallace Genser, son of Max. While still in high school in 1938, Wallace Genser instituted a new process of casting white metal jewelry; "then the rest of the industry began to change. During World War II the toolroom was redone to accommodate the manufacture of items for the armed forces."⁶⁵

Genser was the first company to develop plating on plastics (non-conductive materials). Alfred Weisberg recalls discussing the process with the Genser consultant, Dr. Harold Narcus of Worcester, Mass., and hearing that Genser Manufacturing, using this new technique, was responsible for silver metallizing all the gum-ball machine tokens in the United States during the 1940s.⁶⁶

Automatic stringing machines were developed by the Genser company in 1947-48. At this time the company was making and selling a quarter of a million strands of pearls per week and employing 1,000 people.

Max sold his share of the business to his brother David in 1951.

The husband of Julia Genser, Hyman Jacobson, worked for Genser Manufacturing for a while and then started a new business. Regal Pearl Company, with Al Weinstock as partner. This business, located at 661 Broad Street, Providence, manufactured costume jewelry.⁶⁷

ALBERT MANUFACTURING COMPANY

In 1927 Albert Weiner left the family business he had been in, New England Glass Works, (See New England Glass Works, above) to form his own company, the Albert Manufacturing Company, (name changed later to Sprague Manufacturing). He was later joined in the business by his son, Harold Weiner.

Albert Manufacturing made pearls and metals for costume jewelry. The most important part of the business was the manufacture of white metal molds for syndicate jewelry.

During the early 1930s, when the jobbers the company sold to started dictating terms, Weiner started his own sales business to sell directly to the stores.

Harold Weiner, in 1936, opened a factory in Toronto to sell jewelry in the British Empire. He stayed a year, until war was imminent and the British government placed an embargo on jewelry. He then turned the Toronto plant over to two employees and returned to Rhode Island, where he still operates Albert Manufacturing Company.

During World War II Albert Manufacturing was heavily engaged in production of bullet dies for the war effort.⁶⁸

CLOVER BEAD JEWELRY COMPANY

Solomon and Samuel Kipnis, two immigrants from Russia, began their business careers peddling low-cost costume jewelry from a pushcart on the Lower East Side of New York in the early 1900s. They later opened a store at 141 Orchard Street in New York. The imitation pearls used at that time were manufactured in Germany from wax and were very breakable. When the Kipnis brothers discovered that better quality, longer lasting imitation pearls were being made in Japan, they decided to begin importing the new pearls and to manufacture costume jewelry themselves. They named their new business the Clover Bead Novelty Company.

In February of 1934 the brothers moved their factory from New York to 7 Beverly Street in Providence, Rhode Island. Samuel remained in New York and operated the sales office there. Solomon moved to Rhode Island to manage the factory, which manufactured mostly sterling silver chains. The business was moved to Sabin Street, Pawtucket, in 1942 and renamed the Clover Bead Jewelry Company.

Irving Newman, a nephew of the Kipnis Brothers, managed the retail division of

the company in New York. In 1942 he moved to Rhode Island to become superintendent and head of personnel for Clover Bead. He relocated his family to Pawtucket a year later.

Clover Bead manufactured costume jewelry, employing 200 to 300 people until the end of World War II, when the business expanded to 800 people working two shifts.

The business was sold in the late 1960s.⁶⁹

TRIFARI, KRUSSMAN & FISHEL

Trifari, Krussman & Fishel was originally a New York company, founded in 1925. Its main business was the manufacture of hair ornaments and jeweled shoe buckles. In the mid thirties the company established a small manufacturing facility in Providence on Clifford Street. Of the founding members, only Fishel, who was born in Rhode Island, was Jewish.

W. Irving Wolf, an industrial engineer with a degree from the University of Pennsylvania, became involved with Trifari in 1938 at the suggestion of the Manufacturers Hanover Bank, New York City.

In 1939 the jewelers' union representing the Trifari New York workers wanted the company to close its Providence operations, which were non-union. During arbitration proceedings Trifari offered not to operate its Rhode Island plant unless the New York factory was operating a full 40-hour week. The union refused this offer and, before arbitration proceedings were completed, called a strike. Because of this unusual and unprecedented procedure, the arbitrator told the union he hoped it would lose. Trifari packed up and moved all of its operations to 162 Clifford Street, Providence. Meanwhile, in New York, the union sued in Federal court and lost.

In the early '40s Trifari employed about 250 workers. The nature of the business changed from the manufacture of hair ornaments and shoe buckles to the design and manufacture of costume jewelry of the highest quality. About this time Wolf designed an advertising program of monthly ads in national women's magazines, a program that gained Trifari national recognition and a huge growth in sales.

In 1946 *Fortune* described Trifari as "the top costume-jewelry house as to style. ... Trifari confines itself to the higher-priced lines — from about \$10 up."⁷⁰

Wolf left Trifari in 1944, returning to New York as a consultant to a large

women's underwear manufacturing company. In 1948 he was recruited by Royal Little to return to Rhode Island as president of Ostby & Barton, a manufacturer of precious metal rings owned by the Rhode Island Charities Trust.

Wolf Sr. retired from Ostby & Barton in the early 1950s, succeeded as president by Edwin B. Krause. He later started two other jewelry businesses, Wolco and Selfit Ring.

W. Irving Wolf Jr. joined Trifari in 1940, becoming president in 1977. At the beginning of World War II, when base metals were difficult to obtain, the firm used sterling silver for its jewelry. Wolf Jr. then turned to the manufacture of bullet punches and dies for torpedoes. He was drafted in 1942, but was sent home five weeks later to find and train a replacement for the defense operation at Trifari, returning to the armed services after eight months.

Wolf Jr. was president of the Manufacturing Jewelers and Silversmiths of America from 1970 to 1972. He retired from Trifari in 1981.⁷¹

S. RAPAPORTE & CO.

Samuel Rapaporte Jr. was born in Providence in 1902. He began his long career in the jewelry industry as a boy, working after school for his uncles, the Fosters, in the Theodore W. Foster and Brothers Jewelry Company. In 1938 he founded his own business, S. Rapaporte & Co., which manufactured costume jewelry from original designs. The business started on Chestnut Street in Providence, but moved to Attleboro, Massachusetts, in the 1940s.

"One of his great assets was his feeling for art," Rapaporte's widow, Rieka Rapaporte, said. "He was an astute businessman using his innate good taste and love of antiques to revamp or restyle items he saw in Europe. His product was so good Trifari became interested."⁷²

"In the early 1940s he began a long relationship producing fashion jewelry for Trifari, Krussman and Fishel, a relationship that lasted due to Mr. Rapaporte's innovative designs and techniques."⁷³ During World War II, Rapaporte converted his equipment and presses to the manufacture of bandages and other surgical supplies for the armed services. He resumed jewelry manufacturing after the war. In the '60s he joined with the Trifari Company to become the original suppliers of fashion jewelry to the Avon Products Company. S. Rapaporte & Co. was sold in 1978. Rapaporte died in 1988.



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NOTES

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- ³ "Merchants of Glitter," *Saturday Evening Post*, May 31, 1947.
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- ⁸ Interview with Benton Rosen, September 6, 1989.
- ⁹ Interview with Erwin Strasmich, November 7, 1989.
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- ²⁹ Obituary of Louis Lyons, *The Evening Bulletin*, (Providence, R.I.), November 4, 1938. In *Memorium* notice in the "Temple Beth-El Bulletin," Vol. 12, no. 5, November 23, 1938. Also Providence Directories.
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- ³² Interviews with Anne Krause, June 19, 1989, and Thomas Gleckman, July 16, 1989.
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- ³⁷ *Fortune*, *ibid.*
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- 39 Letter from Stanley P. Blacher, December 14, 1989.
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- 42 Information from interview with Stanley P. Blacher, December 8, 1989, and letter from Blacher, *ibid.*
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- 44 Interview with L. Jim Williams, October 27, 1989.
- 45 *Ibid.*
- 46 Interview with Bernard Cohen, *ibid.*
- 47 Information from interviews with Bernard Cohen, *ibid.*, and Shirley (Cohen) Irving, June 6, 1989.
- 48 *American Jewelry Manufacturers*, Westchester, Pennsylvania: Schiffer Publishing Limited, 1988.
- 49 Interview with Samuel Austen, January 5, 1990.
- 50 United States Department of Interior, *ibid.*
- 51 *Ibid.*, interview with Samuel Austen.
- 52 Interview with Michael Kaplan, January 4, 1990.
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- 55 Interview with Harold Weiner, June 21, 1989.
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- 57 Interview with Irving Wattman, May 26, 1989.
- 58 Booklet "Welcome to the Housewarming of Kestenman Brothers Mfg. Co.," Providence, R.I., July 2, 1948.
- 59 Interview with Anita Kestenman Solomon, November 1, 1989.
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- 61 Information based on interview with Dr. Leonard Bellin, May 21, 1989.
- 62 Information from interview with William Bojar, September 14, 1989.

- ⁶³ Information for this section based on interviews with Bella Goldenberg Braunstein and Irving Goldenberg (92 years old), September 21, 1989.
- ⁶⁴ Information from interview with Fannie Meller Shore, June 6, 1989.
- ⁶⁵ Interview with Wallace Genser, October 10, 1989.
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- ⁶⁸ Interview with Harold Weiner, *ibid.*
- ⁶⁹ Information for this section from interview with Lillian Newman Schwartz, October 17, 1989.
- ⁷⁰ *Fortune*, December, 1946.
- ⁷¹ Information for this section from interview with W. Irving Wolf, Jr., May 17, 1989.
- ⁷² Interview with Rieka Rapaport, May 24, 1989.
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SOCIETY WEDDING

By SEEBERT J. GOLDOWSKY, M. D.

One of the earliest social events in the Providence Jewish community that had the trappings of "high society" and received commensurate coverage in the Providence newspapers was the elaborate wedding in 1892 of Flora S. Dimond and Louis Lyons. Born in Providence, Flora was the daughter of Leopold and Johanna Abrams Dimond. In her early twenties, Flora was a singer of some talent and was a member of the choir and had rendered a solo at the recent dedication (1890) of the new Friendship Street Synagogue of the Congregation of the Sons of Israel and David (Reform).¹

Although not yet at the height of his merchandizing career, Leopold Dimond, at the time of the wedding, was obviously prospering in his dry goods business at Randall Square in Providence. Lyons, at the time of the wedding, was in the textile business, although he would later be successful in jewelry manufacturing, a dominant industry in the Providence area. At the time of the wedding he was twenty-four years old.

After a description of the wedding and its attendant activities, further facts concerning the cast of characters will be provided. The following account of the ceremony and entertainment is extracted from *The Providence Journal*, Thursday, June 9, 1892.

JUNE WEDDINGS

Lyons-Dimond

The most fashionable event of the season in Hebrew social circles was the marriage of Mr. Louis Lyons, senior member of the firm of Lyons & Brown, of the Berinek Knitting Company, to Miss Flora Dimond, daughter of Mr. Leopold Dimond, the well-known dealer in dry goods on Randall Square, which occurred yesterday afternoon at 5 o'clock in the Jewish Temple on Friendship Street. The popularity of the contracting parties, not only in Providence and vicinity, but also in New York and Boston, was attested by the brilliant and representative gathering in the Synagogue, which filled the auditorium, choir gallery and corridors to repletion an hour before the ceremony was solemnized. Shortly after 5 o'clock the bridal party formed in the vestibule and proceeded to the altar, to the music of the Swedish Wedding March, in the following order: Ushers, Joseph Cohen, Maurice Dimond, Louis Green and Israel Strauss; Henry Shartenberg² and

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Mrs. Shartenberg, grandmother to the bride; Mr. Louis Lyons, the bridegroom, and Mrs. Shartenberg; Mr. Shartenberg and Mrs. Leopold Dimond, mother of the bride; bridesmaids and groomsmen, Mr. Abe Dimond, brother of the bride, and Miss Pearl Kautrowitz of New York; Mr. Romier Hahn and Miss Rebecca Rosenfield of Boston; Louis Rosenfield and Miss Gertrude Schumann of Providence; Mr. David Bernkopf and Miss Millie Frank of Providence; Miss Flora Dimond, the bride, and her father, Mr. Leopold Dimond; maid of honor, Miss Jeanette Lederer, and Master Henry Dimond. The party moved slowly down the main aisle and took positions upon a dais in front of the altar, where they were met by Rev. Dr. Lasker³ of Boston, the officiating clergyman. The altar and the chancel were handsomely decorated with ferns, plants and smilax by florist Johnson, and the body of the house reserved for the guests, 200 in number, was separated by white satin ribbon bands, which extended across the tops of the pews on opposite sides of the aisles. The altar and the auditorium was brilliantly lighted, and the rich toilettes of the ladies beside their escorts in conventional full dress contributed to the attractiveness of the nuptial celebration. Rev. Dr. Lasker invoked divine blessing, and soprano and tenor solos by Mrs. G. E. C. Buttington and Mr. Fred S. Gardiner were given during the performance of the ritual of the church. The ceremonial of drinking the wine and the words of counsel supplemented by the solemnization of the vows formed a most impressive feature, and then the bridal party in reverse order returned to their carriages, and followed by the guests drove to the Trocadero, where the reception and wedding supper were given. The bride's gown was of white corded silk, falling in a long court train from a Watteau pleat from the back of the bodice. The front edge of the skirt is finished with a deep band of pearl passementerie. A girdle of pearls ornamented the front of the pointed low-cut bodice. The elbow sleeves are finished with Valenciennes lace and pearl epaulettes. A long reel of white tulle was fastened with orchids and a diamond and pearl pendant, the gift of the groom, adorned her neck.

The bridesmaids were attired in rich, China white silks, en train, point lace trimmings, with draperies and flowers to match their characteristic tastes. Miss Kautowitz wore Empire drapery of old rose, and carried a bouquet of variegated pinks. Miss Rosenfield's drapery was of lavender mousseline de soie with diamond ornaments, and carried a bouquet of heliotrope. Miss Frank wore yellow ribbon drapery, and carried a bouquet of choice flowers. Miss Schuman's draperies were of Nile green ribbon, and she carried a basket of mignonette. Each of the bridesmaids wore Grecian [tiaras] of white rolled ribbon, with clusters of lilies of the valley as the crown pieces. They also wore souvenirs presented by the bridegroom, consisting of rings set in turquoise and pearl, in love-knot design. The little maid of honor wore white China silk with tulle drapery, white ribbon bows, and carried a basket of moss rosebuds. Mrs. Dimond wore a silver grey Bengaline flounced with black lace and trimmed with silver passementerie and diamond ornaments. Mrs. Shartenburg wore a black

Pompadour silk, flowered in lavender, with jet trimmings and diamond ornaments. Each of the groomsmen wore souvenirs presented by the bride, in the form of scarf pins in the design of a crescent and arrow, set in pearls.

The reception was held in the Trocadero at 6:30 o'clock, and after the presentations were over, the master of ceremonies, Mr. Alex Strauss,⁴ invited the company to the supper hall. Caterer George A. Harris of Boston served an elaborate menu in which rare dishes in great variety were interspersed with choice wines and relishes in elegant style. Toastmaster Strauss then read a series of congratulatory telegrams from different parts of the country, and toasted Rabbi Lasher, Mr. Leopold Dimond, the bridegroom, and president Leopold Hartmann of the Temple committee. The latter, in behalf of the congregation, presented the bride with a superb gold-lined silver service and salver, for the reception of which Mr. Lyons conveyed the thanks of his wife. There was a season of festivity by the older folks which participated in the banquet, and then they repaired to the dance hall, where Reeves's Orchestra had invited the younger element to the waltz, lancers, schottische, and other fashionable figures. This reception was specially designed for the friends of the bridal couple, and until midnight the hall presented an animated and picturesque spectacle. Then they were bidden to partake of a supper specially prepared by caterer Harris. Mr. and Mrs. Lyons made their adieux in order to catch the midnight train for New York and Washington, where they will spend their honeymoon. During the afternoon the wedding presents were exhibited at the residence of the bride's parents on Friendship Street, and a magnificent array of silverware, bric-a-brac, and a miscellaneous collection of household ornaments and utensils, invited critical appreciation for their value and beauty. The festivities were prolonged to a late hour, and Mr. and Mrs. Dimond were the recipients of cordial congratulations upon the splendid success which had crowned the nuptial celebration, and which in point of social distinction and completeness stamped it as one of the most notable events in Hebraic circles ever chronicled in the city's social life.*

Leopold Dimond, father of the bride, was born in New York City on January 27, 1845, the son of Jacob and August Dimond. He moved to Providence at the age of eighteen, probably to join relatives already living there. He early engaged in the dry goods business on a small scale, first appearing in *The Providence Directory* in 1872, where his first venture was listed at 170 Charles Street in the Hedley block. As business thrived, he erected and occupied a building on Randall Square in the North End of Providence. He maintained a dry goods business in Randall Square for the next twenty years. In 1895 he operated dry goods and ladies' garment stores at 281 Atwells Avenue on Federal Hill and 299 Westminster Street in downtown Providence.

In 1898 the O'Gorman Company entered the department store business at 244 Westminster Street. Dimond leased the departments selling women's garments of

*Any incorrect spellings were in the original newspaper clipping quoted.

all sorts. He had similar interests in Boston, Massachusetts. In 1901 Dimond assumed control of the entire business, which had become one of the city's largest department stores. By this time his sons had joined the organization. In 1908 the company was incorporated as L. Dimond and Sons, Incorporated, "To engage in the business of manufacturing, buying and selling ready-to-wear garments and other personal property."

Although active in public affairs, Dimond's only elective office was one term in the House of Representatives of the Rhode Island General Assembly in 1894. According to his obituary: "In store matters he was better known as a friend than as an employer, having always a smile and a pleasant word for all his workers." The story continued: "He never forgot those who worked with him and encouraged him in the 'little North End store.'"

Dimond was a member of many charitable organizations, "although the extent of his gifts will probably never be known." He was a member of the Masonic Redwood Lodge, No. 35, A.F. and A.M. and was for many years a trustee or officer of the Congregation of the Sons of Israel and David (Temple Beth-El), serving as president of the congregation in 1897-1898.

For several years prior to his death, Dimond's sons, Abraham, M. Maurice, and Henry, were in partnership with him. He had been in failing health for a number of years and had been confined to bed for the last five months of his life. He died at home on February 24, 1911, in his 67th year. He was survived by his three sons; his widow, Johanna Abrams Dimond; and daughter, Flora S. Dimond Lyons. On the very day of his death *The Evening Bulletin* (Providence) carried one and two-thirds pages of advertisements for Dimond's, "Rhode Island's Fast Growing Store." It boasted entrances on Westminster, Weybosset and Snow Streets, a considerable spread.⁵

Johanna Dimond, the same age as her husband, survived him by three years, dying unexpectedly in Frankfort, Germany, on April 18, 1894.⁶ She had been a very active member of the Montefiore Lodge Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Association.⁷

Louis Lyons,* born in London, England in 1868, came to Providence in 1889 at the age of twenty-one. As stated in the account of his wedding, he was in 1892 a senior member of the firm of Lyons & Brown of the Berinek Knitting Company. In later years he prospered in the jewelry manufacturing business, a staple industry in Rhode Island, and by 1900 was located at 101 Sabin Street in Providence, known as the Manufacturers' Building, a center of jewelry manufacturing. The Lyons Manufacturing Company was incorporated in 1906 with Louis Lyons as president

*See "Jews in the Jewelry Industry in Rhode Island Part I," p. 294.

and treasurer and was capitalized at \$100,000. It was listed as "manufacturing jewelers and ring-makers."⁸ In later years (1931) his business was listed as Louis Lyons & Company, Jewelry, at 385 Westminster Street.

With the Great Depression, the jewelry industry came upon hard times. The Lyons enterprise was not listed after 1932, and in 1933 Lyons was recorded as "Insurance Agent" at 111 Westminster Street. The 1934 Providence Directory listed him as general manager and treasurer of the LaSalle Ring Company, Inc., at 107 Stewart Street in Providence, another jewelry factory area. This was seemingly a belated appearance in the Directory, indications being that Lyons had left Providence during 1933. He joined his family in Hollywood, California, where he spent the last five years of his life. He died there on November 3, 1938, in his seventy-first year.

Lyons had been a congregant, trustee, officer, and honorary trustee of Temple Beth-El over a period of 44 years. He served as chairman of the Religious School Committee for 25 years and was president of the Congregation from 1920 to 1927, the fourth longest tenure. He was survived by his wife, Flora L. Dimond Lyons; an only son, Stanley; a sister, Rose Lyons of London; and two grandchildren, Joan B. and Louis Lyons, all of Hollywood, where he was buried. A memorial service was held for him at Temple Beth-El on Broad Street on Friday evening, November 11, 1938. David C. Adelman and Adolph Meller paid tribute to his memory. Lyons was a member of the Masonic Redwood Lodge, No.35, A.F. and A.M.⁹

Flora L. Dimond Lyons survived her husband by eight years. She died in Hollywood, California, on March 8, 1946, and was buried there with her husband. Her main interest had been the Temple Sisterhood. Her only son, Stanley, had died some seven years earlier. She was survived by her daughter-in-law, three grandchildren, and two great-grandchildren. Both Flora and Louis Lyons are memorialized at Temple Beth-El.¹⁰



NOTES

¹ "Dedication ceremonies at the Temple on Friendship Street", *The Providence Daily Journal*, December 8, 1990. Reprinted in the *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes* 3:251-261, (May) 1962. Account stated: "Miss Flora Dimond then sang a soprano solo with cultivated taste and sympathetic feeling. ..." (Page 258 of latter citation.)

² The Shartenberg family of Pawtucket, particularly Jacob, were prominent in Temple Beth-El affairs. For many years, from as early as the 1880s to the post-World War II era, the family engaged in the retail dry goods and department store business in Pawtucket (New Idea Store, 1885, and Shartenberg & Robinson, 1890, both in the Weeden Building on Main Street in Pawtucket, R.I.). See "Jewish

Family Names, Pawtucket and Central Falls" (1880, 1885, and 1890). *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes* 2:89-90, (June) 1956 and 138-140, (April) 1957. See also "Chartered Organizations," *ibid.* 2:42, (June) 1956.

- ³ The Rev. Dr. Raphael Lasker, a native of Posene in Russian Poland, was spiritual leader of Congregation Ohabei Shalom of Boston, Massachusetts. He had participated in the dedication of the Friendship Street synagogue two years earlier. Temple Beth-El at the time was between rabbis. Rabbi Morris Sessler had recently left Providence, and a successor, (Rabbi David Blaustein), had not yet been selected.
 - ⁴ Alexander Strauss, a clothing merchant in Pawtucket, rose to the rank of major in Co. A, First Battalion, Rhode Island Cavalry. He was president of Temple Beth-El from 1879 to 1897. See front cover of Volume 2, Number 2, of *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes* (2:front cover, May 1957).
 - ⁵ Obituary of Leopold Dimond, *The Evening Bulletin* (Providence, R.I.), Saturday February 25, 1911. Also Providence City Directories.
 - ⁶ Obituary of Johanna Abrams Dimond, *The Providence Sunday Journal*, April 19, 1914.
 - ⁷ Adelman, David C., "Montefiore Lodge Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Association," *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes* 4:47-71, (May) 1963. Pages 59, 63, 64.
 - ⁸ Obituary of Louis Lyons, *The Evening Bulletin* (Providence, R.I.), November 4, 1938. In Memoriam notice in the *Temple Beth-El Bulletin*, Vol. 12, no. 5, November 23, 1938. Also Providence City Directories.
 - ⁹ *Ibid.*
 - ¹⁰ Obituary of Flora Dimond Lyons, *The Evening Bulletin* (Providence, R.I.), March 9, 1946. Memorial notice in *Temple Beth-El Bulletin*, Vol. 19, no. 13, March 20, 1946.
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JEWISH FAMILY SERVICE — A RETROSPECTIVE

By ELEANOR F. HORVITZ

The year 1989 marked the sixtieth anniversary of the Jewish Family Service, founded on April 17, 1929, as the Jewish Family Service Society. For sixty years Jewish Family Service has carried out the mission stated by Arthur J. Levy, the agency's founder and first president, to strive to strengthen the Jewish family. The purpose was to administer "Family Welfare, Family Rehabilitation and conduct other Charitable Work."¹ Two important questions to be answered in this article are "Who acted as his 'brothers' keepers' before there was a Jewish Family Service?" and "How did the Jewish Family Service Begin?"

BEFORE THE JEWISH FAMILY SERVICE

Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Association

The first known Jewish charitable association in Providence was the Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Association, chartered on March 17, 1880:

For the purpose of visiting and granting weekly benefits to sick members and to assist the poor and needy. ... The preamble to the Constitution read as follows: "In order to follow the example of our noble mothers who always endeavored to the fullest extent of their ability to extend moral and material aid to their Heaven-born religion, to reach the hand of sisterhood to the lowly and humble, to strengthen and support the poor and needy, alleviate trouble and distress, and to practice charity and benevolence, we the Hebrew Ladies of Providence, R. I., do organize ourselves into association for these purposes ..."²

The Association was organized by Rabbi Jacob Voorsanger of the Congregation of the Sons of Israel and David with a group of young women who had immigrated from Germany. Membership was a symbol of social prestige, and applicants were rigidly screened by an investigating committee.

Five years later, in 1885, the name was changed to Montefiore Lodge Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Association of Providence, Rhode Island.³ The association was one of the organizations later involved in the founding of the Jewish Family Welfare Service.

Records of this organization have been well recorded and well preserved. The two most important committees were the Sick Visiting Committee and a Charity

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Committee which investigated all applications for relief. The needs of the Jewish community are revealed in these records. A small sum was given to a man to start a business, money was appropriated to help a woman and her children move to Chicago, and donations were given regularly to the Rhode Island Hospital. At almost every meeting the ladies were confronted with cases of distress. In 1904 they responded to a request by the Miriam Society of South Providence (predecessor of the Miriam Hospital Associates) for assistance to a hospital building fund and, after a hospital was established, they gave a yearly donation.

One fund-raising project was the production of a cookbook which realized money from advertisements as well as from its sale. Charity of the Association extended to people in need outside of Rhode Island, such as victims of the 1900 hurricane and flood in Galveston, Texas, and the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906. However, "in the closing days of 1914 ... under the threatening shadows of a great world war, the minutes contained this wry comment written in biblical phrases: 'It was also spoken of that in spite of great needs abroad — charity be given at home first.'"⁴

*Ladies Hebrew Union Aid Association and the
Jewish Home For The Aged*

Almost parallel in time with the Montefiore Lodge Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Association was the Ladies Hebrew Union Aid Association, chartered on April 22, 1890. "To give aid and charity to the poor."⁵ "During the first twenty years of its existence, in common with similar organizations of the period, the society was concerned in a rather diffuse manner with the care of the sick, infirm and destitute. What the women lacked in worldly goods, they made up in devotion and compassion. Monthly dues were set at thirty cents, a not inconsiderable sum"⁶

Disturbed about the lack of facilities for elderly Orthodox Jews in the early years of the 20th century, the Association formed a subsidiary organization in 1911 for the purpose of opening a center for these individuals under the Association's direction. The Association rented a cottage at 161 Orms Street for \$28 a month, collected household articles to furnish it, and, on March 27, 1912, "obtained a formal charter, incorporating the new unit under the title, The Jewish Home for the Aged by the Ladies Union Aid Association, to 'provide and maintain a home for the aged and infirm.'"⁷ The small quarters were soon outgrown, and on June 14, 1914, a new facility was opened at 191 Orms Street, Providence, in a building purchased by the Association.

"In March 1924 the Association received a letter from the recently formed Jacobi Medical Club generously offering to the Home the services of the Jewish doctors of the community."⁸

As early as June of 1923 a prospective benefactor had suggested the possibility of a personal gift of \$50,000 for construction of a new building to house the elderly. The offer was accepted with the proviso that management be retained under the auspices of the Ladies Hebrew Union Aid Association. On February 26, 1930, a group of individuals were given a charter to form the Jewish Home for the Aged Building Corporation. After a very successful building campaign, a new Home became a reality when twenty-five residents of the old building on Orms Street were transferred to the newly erected building on Hillside Avenue in Providence. On July 9, 1932, the name of the corporation was changed from the Jewish Home for Aged Building Corporation to the Jewish Home for the Aged of Rhode Island.⁹

Shortly thereafter, on July 22, 1932, the name of the women's organization, which had been the Jewish Home for the Aged by the Ladies Union Aid Society, was legally changed to the Ladies Association of the Jewish Home for the Aged.¹⁰ However, the Ladies Hebrew Union Aid Association was still a viable and active organization and continued to meet at the Orms Street building.

Rose Sheffres (Mrs. Samuel Sheffres), who had served as president of the Ladies Union Aid Association for many years, said in her report at an annual meeting:

As we go back to the very humble beginning of the Ladies Union Aid Association we can only marvel at the accomplishments of the handful of women — who despite the fact that they had little time — yes, and little worldly goods, managed to find time to help others. In those days, most women raised large families, did their own sewing and baking — and then in a spirit of thankfulness for their own bounty, turned to the needs of those less fortunate than themselves.¹¹

Festival Committee for State Institutions

In addition to their concern with the Jewish aged, various members of the Ladies Hebrew Union Aid Association, as early as 1910, visited the State Institutions, or Howard, as they were then familiarly called, to help the residents.¹² Ladies Hebrew Union Aid was responsible for forming, together with the Montefiore Lodge Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Association and the South Providence Ladies Aid Association, the Festival Committee for State Institutions. The Festival Committee was responsible for the Jewish Chapel, in which a Rabbi gave weekly sermons. These women were also available to provide for needs of the Jewish residents and to give parties for them.

South Providence Ladies' Aid Association and the Jewish Orphanage

Another early Rhode Island "brothers' keepers" organization was the South Providence Ladies' Aid Association, founded in 1908 on August 22, "To aid the

worthy poor."¹³ Less than two weeks later on September 2, several of the same incorporators signed a charter for "A Rhode Island Home for Jewish Orphans," "To support and maintain orphan children between the age of six and twenty-one."¹⁴ The Home was established in the South Providence Hebrew Congregation building on the corner of Willard Avenue and Caswell Court, and in a few months seventeen children were living there. The women soon became disturbed over the operation and financial set-up of the Home and withdrew their support. However, a group led by Herman Paster obtained a charter, dated November 2, 1908, for the same institution, which they designated the Machzeka Hadas Home for Jewish Orphans, "To sustain, keep and educate Jewish Orphans."¹⁵

The South Providence Ladies' Aid now had a charter for an orphanage, but no orphanage. The assistance of the Montefiore Lodge Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Association was solicited, and a second Hebrew orphans' home was established at 151 Orms Street. The two institutions were constantly in financial difficulties. Business leaders of Providence were called upon, and they prompted a meeting of a joint committee representing the two institutions. The two orphanages, the Machzeka Hadas Home for Jewish Children and the Home for Jewish Children on Orms Street, were merged. A new charter was obtained on July 28, 1909, for a Jewish Orphanage of Providence, "To provide for the wants of orphans, abandoned and destitute children, to provide for their education and maintenance, and to establish a home and shelter."¹⁶ Women who were active in the orphanage, chiefly as fund raisers, were part of a group which was first called the Ladies' Auxiliary Society, later changed to the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Jewish Orphanage of Rhode Island.¹⁷

To accommodate the children a large two and a half story Victorian mansion located at 1213 North Main Street was purchased. The children were transferred during the latter part of June, 1910.¹⁸

When the quarters on North Main Street became crowded, a tract of land located on Summit Avenue between Fifth and Sixth Streets was purchased for a building. That building was dedicated on October 5, 1924. The new Home with capacity for seventy-four children was a "modern, attractive, red brick veneer structure."¹⁹

A study of the history of the Jewish Orphanage seems to indicate that it was a successful solution to the problem of the orphans and the abandoned and destitute children mentioned in the charter. It also had another role for children who needed a temporary home during family crisis. They, like the permanent residents, were trained and educated during their stay.

The census of the Home, which had averaged 41 children during the first years

of operation on Summit Avenue, reached a peak of 46 children in 1927, remaining near this figure for a number of years. By January of 1943, though, the projection was that there might be not more than five or six children remaining in the building. It was then determined that the Jewish Family and Children's Service foster care program would assume the responsibility for orphaned Jewish children.

Council of Jewish Women and the North End Dispensary

The Council of Jewish Women, another all-woman organization, had a varied role: educational, social, and charitable. One very important accomplishment of this group was the opening in 1908 of the North End Dispensary of the Providence Section, Council of Jewish Women. A state charter was not obtained, however, until September 29, 1911, at which time the Dispensary had already functioned daily for some three years. The organization was chartered, "to provide medical aid and surgical treatment for the poor and needy sick of all denominations."²⁰

Many Jewish physicians of the period subsequently served on its staff. The dispensary functioned daily for thirty years, finally going out of business in 1938, having outlived its usefulness.²¹

Ladies Hebrew Aid Society of Pawtucket

Much of the documentation of organizations available to future generations is in the form of charters, bylaws, and minutes. Often, however, the accounts of personal experiences of the founding men and women bring a much-needed feeling of their identification with us. For example, a history of the Ladies Hebrew Aid Society of Pawtucket is graphically portrayed in the following excerpts from a president's annual meeting report:

And so it came to Pass:

In the small community of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, situated on the banks of the Blackstone River and the home of the cotton industry a small group of Jewish people dwelled. It was in the year 1915. They had their small house of worship.

And it was good:

Whenever an act of charity had to be done in the community, or a stranger came into the land and was stranded for funds, the men got together and alleviated the condition.

And so it came to pass:

On January in the year one thousand and nine hundred and fifteen, one of the citizenry, one Abraham Goodman, now deceased, realized they needed the help of the women.

And it was good:

He called the women to a meeting at the little synagogue. And the

women responded by leaving their homes and their children. They came to hear what the important meeting was about.

Mr. Goodman and Mr. Charles Kalman, the president of the synagogue at the time, explained the need for a ladies organization to help with the charitable work.

And so it came to Pass:

That the Ladies Hebrew Aid Society was born on January in the year one thousand nine hundred and fifteen.

And so it came to Pass:

The charitable work progressed. Families were reunited — coal and food were provided to needy. Stranded strangers, passing through our land were assisted. Many a day I can remember a stranger partaking of a meal at our table ... These women had charity in their hearts.²²

The president spoke also of the help the women gave toward the war effort of World War I. of the money they raised for a new synagogue in Pawtucket, and of the large chandelier which they purchased to enhance the beauty of the synagogue.

The members of the Society also participated in the civic activities of their non-Jewish neighbors. They sent money to such diverse charities as the Memorial Hospital, the Cancer Drive, the Red Cross, and the Civic Music Association. They aided members of foreign birth to become citizens. Their deeds continued through World War II. And, as the president said in her report, "And it was Good."

Other Organizations

Approximately 46 other organizations were formed primarily to aid those in need, according to a study compiled by David C. Adelman for the *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, Volume 2, No. 1, June 1956. The study consists of a list of charters granted to Jews either by the Legislature or by the Secretary of State under the General Laws. Undoubtedly, there were many other organizations which did not seek a charter and were organized in a less formal manner.

Several Young Men and Young Women Hebrew Associations were organized in Rhode Island. The earliest is the Young Men's Hebrew Association of Bristol, chartered April 30, 1896: "For social and benevolent purposes."²³ A Young Women's Hebrew Association, chartered March 13, 1900, set as its goal: "To work for and bestow the proceeds of such work among poor and needy persons, and to do other charitable work."²⁴ The YMHAs and YWHA's were the forerunners of the Jewish Community Center of Rhode Island.

Jewish Federation Of Social Service

On June 27, 1927, representatives of the Jewish Community Center, the Miriam Hospital, the North End Dispensary, the Montefiore Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Association, and the South Providence Ladies Aid Society formed the Jewish Federation of Social Service, and on July 6, 1927, the Jewish Federation of Social Service accepted membership in the Providence Community Chest.²⁵ In addition to the organizations which had met on June 27, the Jewish Orphanage of Rhode Island was represented.

HOW THE JEWISH FAMILY SERVICE BEGAN

The minutes of The Jewish Federation of Social Service for February 8, 1929, note the appointment of a committee of five to prepare and execute plans for the formation of a society to replace the South Providence Ladies' Aid Association and the Montefiore Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Association as family relief agencies for the Jewish people of Providence. Chosen from the three women's organizations to make up the committee of five were the following: Mrs. Estelle Einstein, Mrs. Philip Kramer, Mrs. E. Rosen, Mrs. Edward M. Finberg, and Mrs. S. Horenstein.

The Providence Community Fund, Inc., had requested that Jewish Federation of Social Service use its offices to form a new organization for charitable work. Arthur J. Levy chaired the committee which represented the three organizations.

The result of the work of the committee of five culminated in the formation of the Jewish Family Welfare Society, established on April 17, 1929, as reported at the January 29, 1930, Board of Directors meeting of the Jewish Federation of Social Service. In the interim, in April 1929, the Montefiore Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Association and the South Providence Ladies Aid Association had passed resolutions to discontinue all family welfare work and to amalgamate their organizations into the Jewish Family Welfare Society. The two women's organizations resigned as agency members of the Jewish Federation of Social Service, and the new Jewish Family Service Society became a constituent agency of both the Federation and the Providence Community Fund, Inc. Temporary bylaws were adopted, and the new Society was organized. A charter was granted on April 25, 1929. Arthur J. Levy was elected the first president and served for nine years. Jacob S. Temkin was elected at the 10th Annual Meeting of the Jewish Welfare Society on January 8, 1939.²⁶

Sophie Rabinowitz Gordon acted as Executive Secretary for a short period in an office located in the Jewish Community Center building at 65 Benefit Street.

The first decade of Jewish Family Service was marked by an understanding of the importance of providing social service in addition to economic assistance to the

poor. It was a response to the economic needs caused by the Depression and by the repercussions from Hitler's regime as the first refugees began trickling into Rhode Island.

An examination of the first book of minutes of the Jewish Family Welfare Society (March 2, 1920, to April 17, 1929) reveals the continuous interaction between the organization and other established Jewish organizations. As early as March 2 in the first year the Society had been referred a case by the Jewish Orphanage. The Society soon realized that the aspect of its program dealing with social services was fully as important as its relief-giving measures.

The Board of Trustees, in April of 1930, recognizing the importance of providing social services in addition to economic assistance to the needy, named Jessie Josolowitz Executive Director to spearhead this commitment.²⁷

Direct charitable work continued. The Jewish Family Welfare Society shared with the Ladies Union Aid the expense of providing Passover supplies for the State Hospital for Mental Diseases, a responsibility which the Festival Committee had borne alone.

The minutes of February 9, 1931, referred to clothing which had been collected and distributed among needy families. The society contributed toward repairs of the South Providence shelter, and transients who sought help from individuals were advised to seek that aid from the Jewish Welfare Society.

The problems of the Depression were reflected in several minutes of the 1930 decade, with the greatest number of requests being concerned with unemployment and job hunting. A committee was set up to deal with the unemployment problem.

By March of 1932 dentists were donating their services to clients referred by Jewish Family Welfare Society. In December of that year thanks were given to the Ladies Union Aid, the Montefiore Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Association, the South Providence Ladies Aid Association, and the Miriam Hospital Associates for aiding the Society by furnishing shoes, clothes, medicines, and glasses to families under its care. At the Annual Meeting of 1932 the cooperation received from the Providence Hebrew Shelter and the Sisterhood of Temple Beth Israel was acknowledged.

At the Annual Meeting the following year additional organizations were thanked for their cooperative efforts: the League of Jewish Women, for Passover relief with their donations, and the Council of Jewish Women for contributing to the Milk Fund.

The Annual Meeting minutes of December 17, 1934, reflected the same appreciation to the cooperating agencies. On May 20, 1935, the Executive Director, Jessie Josolowitz, reported the great value of the Jewish Family Welfare Society in the community.

The enactment of social service and Social Security legislation in the 1930s provided the Jewish family Welfare Society some help in aiding those in need, but, while relief could be obtained through public agencies, it was still the Society's responsibility to give care and services and in some cases supplementary relief to Jewish families on public relief lists.

The 1936 minutes referred to the important role the Ladies Union Aid had played in investigating transients in Rhode Island who wanted to return home and also in helping to finance their travel.²⁸ Thus, the Jewish Family Service was continuing to cooperate with other organizations.

Jessie Josolowitz submitted her resignation on June 28, 1937, saying that "the purpose and scope of the society, as she saw it, was directed toward rehabilitation, building for independence and self-maintenance." Her report also contained the last mention of appreciation for the work of the other cooperating agencies.²⁹

On December 27, 1937, Isadore Gandal succeeded Jessie Josolowitz as executive director. However, in his report at the annual meeting he made no mention of the cooperating agencies as Jessie Josolowitz had always included in her reports. It is, therefore, not clear what their involvement with Jewish Family Welfare Society actually was.

At the end of the first decade the minutes seem to indicate that the Jewish Family Welfare Society had taken over the responsibility of distributing the Moes Chitim* funds for Passover supplies. They also arranged for Jewish children to attend the Beach Pond Camp.

The Jewish Family Service was beginning to become involved with the victims of Nazi Germany who came to Rhode Island, forecasting the role it would play in finding foster homes for refugee children and in the resettlement of Jewish families from war-torn Europe.

The many autonomous charitable agencies were fast becoming obsolete as the United Jewish Appeal conducted fund-raising and the Jewish Family Welfare took over the social service role.

*Also transliterated as *Moes Hittim* or *Maot Hittim*, literally "Money for wheat." Money given to the poor at Passover for the purchase of matzo, unleavened bread. (Hebrew)

THE PERIOD 1939 - 1989

In the '40s the scope of the Jewish Family Service Society was enlarged to include psychiatrists as consultants. In 1942 a license was granted for services relating to children. A new responsibility for children emerged with the closing of the Jewish Orphanage and the need to arrange for adoption and foster care. The name of the agency was changed to Jewish Family and Children's Services to reflect the new emphasis. Under Joseph Galkin, Executive Director from 1942 to 1950, placement of refugees from the war in Europe and its aftermath was a key issue.

During the 1950s locating foster homes was still a priority, Homemaker Services were introduced and expanded, and additional emphasis was given to counseling. In 1960 the agency moved its offices from 65 Benefit Street to 333 Grotto Avenue.

The 1970s brought a new director, Paul L. Segal, and national accreditation. This decade was a busy time for the agency, with the promotion of Tay-Sachs testing in cooperation with The Miriam Hospital; a move to the present location of the agency, the United Way Building at 229 Waterman Street; and new programs for the elderly and for widows. With the ever-widening services there was another name change to Jewish Family Service.

During the 1980s the agency has developed the Family Life Education Institute, the Parent Exchange, Warmline, a kosher meal site for the elderly, and the Lifeline emergency response system, all while providing consultation services to communal agencies such as the Providence Hebrew Day School, the Solomon Schechter Day School, the Jewish Community Center, and the Bureau of Jewish Education. Of significant importance has been the role of the Jewish Family Service in the resettlement of the Jews who left the Soviet Union to reside in Rhode Island.

This brief history of Jewish Family Service exemplifies how Jewish women and men of Rhode Island, whether as individuals, members of organized charitable societies, or as associates of social service agencies, have continued over the years to be their "brothers' keepers."



NOTES

¹ Anniversary Commemorative Portfolio, "60 Years Here For You," compiled by Jewish Family Service, 1989.

² *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, Volume 2, Number 1, June 1956, p. 23.

³*Ibid.*

Jewish Family Service

Board of Directors, Jewish Family and Children's Service, April 17, 1944.
 Front row, l. to r., Archibald Silverman, Charles Brown, Arthur Levy, Jacob Temkin, Alter Boyman, Leo Weiss, Archibald Albert.
 Second row, l. to r., Benjamin Brier, Ruth Adelson, Sara Feinberg, Mrs. Ephraim Rosen, Helene Bernhardt, Rose Presel, Rabbi Morris G. Silk, Max Grant, Joseph Galkin.
 Third row, l. to r., William Smira, Max Kestenman, Jacob Felder, Walter Strauss, James Goldman, William Herman, Harold Moskol.

⁴ *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, Volume 4, Number 1, May 1963, p. 71.

⁵ *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, Volume 2, Number 1, June 1956, p. 24.

⁶ *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, Volume 2, Number 4, April 1958, p. 242.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

- ¹¹ Speech presented by Rose Sheffres (Mrs. Samuel), President, Ladies Union Aid, at an Annual Meeting (1947?).
 - ¹² *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, Volume 7, Number 1, November 1975, p. 160.
 - ¹³ *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, Volume 2, Number 1, June 1956, p. 46.
 - ¹⁴ *Ibid.*
 - ¹⁵ *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, Volume 3, Number 2, October 1959, p. 89.
 - ¹⁶ *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, Volume 2, Number 1, June 1956, p. 49.
 - ¹⁷ *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, Volume 3, Number 2, October 1959, pp. 94, 95.
 - ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 91, 93.
 - ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 98.
 - ²⁰ *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, Volume 2, Number 1, June 1956, p. 56.
 - ²¹ *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, Volume 2, Number 3, December 1957, p. 175.
 - ²² Speech delivered at the 1945 Annual Meeting of the Ladies Hebrew Aid Society of Pawtucket by the president, Bertha Sholes Lipson.
 - ²³ *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, Volume 2, Number 1, June 1956, p. 29.
 - ²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 32.
 - ²⁵ Anniversary Commemorative Portfolio, *Ibid.*
 - ²⁶ *Ibid.*
 - ²⁷ Minutes of Jewish Family Welfare Society, April 6, 1930.
 - ²⁸ *Ibid.*, October 19, 1936.
 - ²⁹ *Ibid.*, June 28, 1937.
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A CENTURY OF JEWISH FERTILITY IN RHODE ISLAND

by CALVIN GOLDSCHIEDER, PH.D.

Patterns of reproduction and family size are issues central to Jewish continuity in its most basic form. The level of fertility is linked directly to population growth and indirectly to the Jewish family. Large family size has been linked nostalgically with the distant past, when the size of immigrant families was supposedly large and, by inference, warm and protective. More recently, small family size among American Jews has been associated with the demographic decline of American Jews, who, so it has been argued, are not reproducing themselves in sufficient numbers for population replacement. A systematic examination of what is known about Jewish fertility calls into question some of the more dire predictions about the erosion of Jewish population (Goldscheider, 1986a).

The data from the Rhode Island Jewish community surveys of 1963 and 1987 are particularly well suited to examine issues of Jewish fertility change because we now have an extensive sequence of data that allows us to reconstruct, over about a century, the fertility histories of Jewish women. Since the original study of Jewish fertility in Rhode Island was comprehensive and detailed (see Goldscheider, 1964, 1986b), systematic comparisons can be made that shed light not only on overall changes in fertility but also on patterns of fertility differences among Jews. Thus, we have the opportunity to re-examine a series of relationships for the same community, using similar methodological strategies, and thereby to reconstruct fertility trends and differentials among Jewish women for over a century. The Rhode Island data allow us to examine long-term trends in Jewish fertility, linking them to social and demographic changes in the community. We also explore variation in Jewish fertility within the community for these two survey periods, examining changes in the relationship between religious denominational affiliation and Jewish fertility and investigating the linkages between the changing patterns of labor force participation of women outside of the home and Jewish fertility and the potential for conflict between work and family roles.

COHORT FERTILITY TRENDS

From the 1963 and 1987 surveys of Rhode Island, we constructed the average number of children born to Jewish women who were ever married, for those born in the last decades of the 19th century to the cohort of women born in the period 1963-69. We used the number of children expected as the basis for estimating the family size of those who had not completed their childbearing years — the last three

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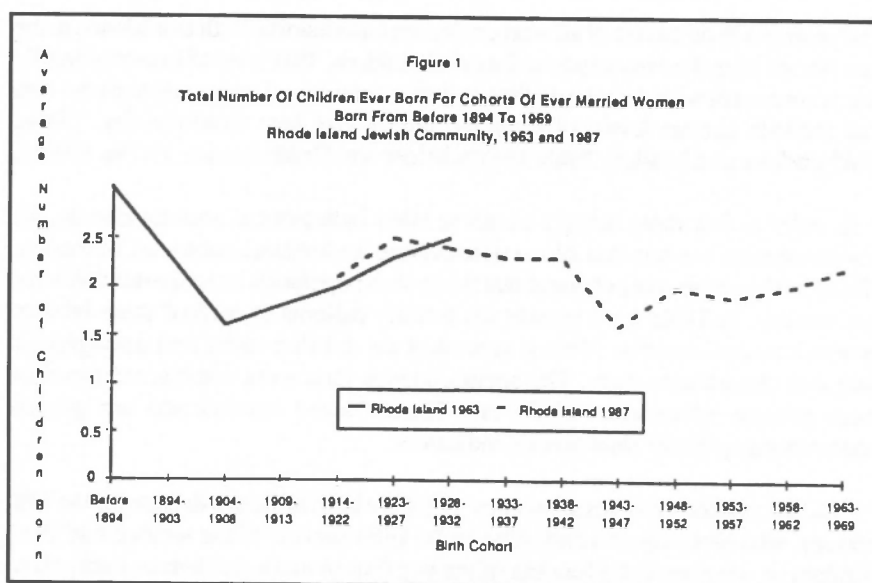
Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes, Vol. 10, No. 3, Part B, November, 1989

cohorts (1953-69) of women in the 1987 survey (Figure 1).*

What do these cohort data show about the variation in fertility over this period of time? Several important features of these data are noteworthy:

- (1) The family sizes of the older cohort of women, those born in the last decades of the 19th century, are the highest recorded for the entire range of cohorts—around three children. This characterizes the oldest cohorts in each survey. This is not a large family size by Eastern European Jewish standards or even compared with the women who were having most of their children in the latter part of the 19th century in the United States. These women not only survived to the 1960s and 1980s but were having their children for the most part in the first two decades of the 20th century.
- (2) A clear downward shift in completed family size characterizes the cohorts of women born after 1894, reaching a low of between 1.6 children and 1.8 children for the 1904-13 cohorts. These were second generation American women who were having their families in the 1920s and 1930s, reflecting the full impact of the economic depression on fertility levels and the timing of childbearing.
- (3) A recovery from these very low, below replacement levels of fertility may be clearly discerned in these data. The recovery is evident for the four cohorts born 1914-33 from the 1963 survey, increasing from 2.0 to 2.5. These were women who were having their families during the late 1930s and through the post-World War II baby boom. A similar increase is evident from the 1987 survey: cohorts of women born 1913-22 had 2.1 children, increasing to around 2.5 children for the 1923-32 birth cohorts. These birth cohorts of women were marrying after World War II (almost all between 1946 and 1958) and having their first child in the period between 1949 and the early 1960s.
- (4) The 1987 data allow for an examination of the follow-up of these “baby boom” patterns for the cohorts born after 1933. The two cohorts born 1933 to 1942 had an average completed family size of 2.3 children; family size declined to a low of 1.6 children for the women born in the early post-World War II period (1943-47), who were having their children during the 1960s and early 1970s. They were the

*The concept “cohort” is used in this paper to designate a group of women born in a given period of time and, hence, exposed to similar experiences and pressures in their childbearing patterns. The two surveys overlap in the cohorts covered, allowing us to compare the fertility of several cohorts from each of these surveys. In every case, the approximate cohort overlap reinforces the consistency of the survey results, despite somewhat different methodologies and some variation in the study population covered. In no example, the 1929-33 birth cohort of women reconstructed from the 1987 cohort had an average family size of 2.4. Both the 1914-23 cohorts reconstructed from the 1963 survey and the 1913-22 birth cohort of the 1987 survey had the same average family size of 2.1 children. The largest discrepancy between the two surveys was 0.2 children for the cohorts born during the 1920s.



offspring of the post-World War II baby boom; their parents had 2.4 children on average, but they are not likely to have more than 1.6 children.

(5) There are already indications from the 1987 Rhode Island survey of a new average family size emerging among the cohorts born in the late 1940s that indicate that the 1.6 average family size of the 1943-47 cohort was exceptionally low. Women born 1948-52 already had an average family size of two children by 1987, higher than the low levels of the 1943-47 cohort. Their younger sisters of the two cohorts 1953-62, those already married and those not married, are expecting to have around the same family size of two children.

Comparing these family size patterns and family size expectations from the 1987 survey data with results from the 1963 survey data on the Greater Providence Metropolitan Area shows a general stability in the overall low levels of completed and expected family size that has characterized the Jewish community over the last century: this low level has fluctuated around two children per family for the last several generations. The average family size of all ever-married women in 1963 was 2.1, as it was for the 1987 survey.

Assuming that the actual family size of the youngest cohort of Jewish women is very highly correlated with their expected family size, then average family size will remain at population replacement level for the Jewish community of Rhode Island.

The youngest birth cohort of all women that we can examine with confidence in the new Rhode Island survey expect to have 2.2 children. This level of expected family size is consistent with data from other Jewish community surveys and national data that indicate similar levels of expected family size (see Goldscheider, 1986a; Goldscheider and Mosher, 1988; Goldscheider and Goldscheider, 1989a, 1989b).

In order to link these fertility trends to other indicators of societal change, we combined them in a way that allows us to capture the fundamental social, economic, family, and demographic changes that the Jewish population has experienced in the last century. In Table 1 we present the fertility patterns of each of these broader generations and describe selected aspects of the detailed social and demographic data that characterize them. The socioeconomic data were constructed from the more general information of the two Rhode Island surveys and are general approximations rather than precise indicators.

The first cohort combines all women who were born in the last decades of the 19th century, who were ages 65 and older in the 1963 survey. These women had three children on average. Fully four out of ten had four or more children and only three percent were childless. Most of these women were foreign born, married at around age 20, and had their first child 12-18 months after marriage at age 21 or 22. Few of these women worked after they married, but well over 95 percent married and very few were divorced. Women of this cohort averaged about eight years of secular education and even fewer years of formal Jewish education. About one-fourth had no Jewish education. Many of these women started out their married life with few resources and generally were better off economically than their parents but struggled to improve their standard of living. Those who went to high school, and those who had higher levels of education, married later (usually at age 24), and had fewer children (about 2.3) compared to their sisters who had less education, married much earlier, and had 3.6 children. The women of this cohort clearly wanted better for their children from the new opportunities emerging in American society. Most of these women were Orthodox in affiliation and in practice, and almost none married non-Jews.

This pattern sharply contrasts with the social, demographic, and fertility profile of the cohorts directly exposed to the economic depression in the late 1920s and 1930s in the United States, women who were born in the first decade-and-a-half of the 20th century. Those women had 1.7 children on average, fully 14 percent were childless, an additional 26 percent had only one child, and only three percent had four or more children. Thus, while four out ten women of the late 19th century cohorts had four or more children, four out of ten of the women of the depression cohorts had no children or only one child.

TABLE 1
Family Size Distributions and Selected Social and Demographic Characteristics
of Five Birth Cohorts: Rhode Island Jewish Population

	Late 19th Century	Depression Cohorts	Baby Boom	1970s Cohorts	1990s Cohorts
Number of Children*					
None	3	14	5	7	14
One	9	26	7	18	10
Two	24	39	43	56	47
Three	25	18	35	13	20
Four+	39	3	10	6	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Average	3.1	1.7	2.5	2.0	2.1
Social and Demographic Indicators**					
Age at Marriage	20	24	21	24	26
Foreign Born	80	25	10	3	2
2nd Gener.	20	65	45	20	10
3rd+ Gener.	X	10	45	77	88
Years of Education	8	12	14	16	18
% Never Married	3	7	5	11	15?
% Divorced	0.5	2.5	12	15	20?
Intermarried	1.2	5.6	6.6	20	25?
Orthodox	52	20	6	4	7
Reform	10	20	33	35	35
% No Jewish Education	25	25	18	15	13

*For the 1990s cohort, estimate is based on family size expectations.

** These indicators refer to women of this cohort.

Source: 1963 Survey of Greater Providence and 1987 Survey of R.I.

The women of this second cohort were largely second generation Americans, married at ages 23 or 24, and had their first child two to three years after they married, when they were around age 26. Some of these women worked during the span of time between when they were in high school and when they married, but only about 20 percent worked after they began to have children. Most were exposed to the hardships of the economic depression that had wiped out many of the early gains of their parents' generation. Almost all grew up in foreign-born families and associated their Jewishness with the "old world" of their immigrant parents' generation. Taking advantage of the access to public education and having parents who had sufficient resources to encourage even their daughters to spend a longer time in school, most of the women completed high school. And the more extensive their education, the later their marriage age and the fewer their children; the very clear inverse relationship between socioeconomic status and fertility (the higher the education, the smaller the family size) was weakening as almost all these women were under economic pressure to have very small families. Only a small proportion intermarried with non-Jews in this generation, but clearly more than in their parents' generation, and those that did were rarely integrated in the Jewish community. While most grew up in Orthodox homes, only about 20 percent remained Orthodox as adults, 20 percent were affiliated with Reform Judaism, and over half identified with Conservative Judaism. Still the level of Jewish education for these women was low, and one-fourth had no formal Jewish education.

The baby boom cohorts born in the mid 1920s through the mid 1930s increased their family size to 2.5 children, but did not return to the pattern characteristic of the pre-depression cohorts where large proportions of women had four or more children. A comparison of the family size distributions of the baby boom and depression cohorts shows clearly that the increase in family size among the former was the result of an increase in the proportion of two children and the near doubling of the percent of women who had three children (from 18 percent to 35 percent), along with the sharp decline in childlessness and the one child family. While the proportion with four or more children increased from 3 percent to 10 percent, there was no return to the significantly higher levels characteristic of the late 19th century cohort. The women who were having children during the baby boom were marrying at ages 21 or 22, earlier than those who were having children during the 1930s; they also were having their first child at an earlier age.

Increasing proportions of this cohort were third generation Americans, but an equal number grew up in households where their parents were foreign born. Higher proportions attended college, and many did not work while raising their families but returned to work, often part time, after their children went off to college or got married. The women who worked were largely in clerical and sales jobs, with teaching and social work their major professional occupations. Significant increases

were taking place in the level of their socioeconomic gains, reinforced by the stability of their life styles. Few of these women divorced, but many more did so than the cohort facing the economic depression; almost all married, and there were no indications of significant increases in the extent of marriage with persons who were not born Jewish. There were increases in both the level of Jewish education and in the proportion who identified with Reform and Conservative Judaism, with less than 10 percent identifying themselves as Orthodox. This period of upward social mobility placed almost all Jews of this cohort in the middle classes, with those left behind in the lower classes having fewer children than their sisters in the middle and upper classes. The traditional inverse relationship between socioeconomic status and fertility had weakened and tended to be positive.

The fourth cohort covers women who were having children in the 1970s (women who were born in the late 1940s and early 1950s). They reduced their family size by 20 percent from 2.5 children of the baby boom cohorts to 2.0 children on average. These birth cohorts of the 1970s were distinctive in the very high proportion with two children (56 percent), their higher level of one child families, and lower levels of the three or more child families. But they had not returned to the pattern of the childless family characteristic of the economic depression cohorts. These women were caught up in the major changes in the women's movement in the United States, questioning the traditional role of women in the household and traditional marriages in general. Fully three-fourths of these third generation Jewish American women had at least some exposure to college, and about half completed college. Many more viewed having children and family continuity as a role conflict with their individual independence and autonomy as women. Greater emphasis was placed by them on their careers, and new patterns were emerging of later marriage, increased divorce, and increased independence. Inter-marriage with non-Jews increased significantly with this cohort, along with a continuing decline of affiliation with traditional Judaism, Orthodox and Conservative Judaism. More remained Jewish ethnically, in ways that were less "religious" and ritual oriented and less linked to the formal institutional and organizational structure of the Jewish community.

We obviously do not really know what the fertility levels will be of the generation born in the middle to late 1960s who will be having their families until the end of the 20th century. We also do not know the nature of their social and demographic patterns as these too will unfold in the course of the next two decades. We can estimate some of these future patterns on the basis of current characteristics, values, and attitudes.

One important implication of the current family size expectations of the cohort of the 1990s is that they, too, will have some distinctive patterns of fertility. It is likely that the level of their fertility will not be exceptional compared with the long-

term pattern of two children on average that has characterized this community and the American Jewish population as a whole for several generations. If the expected family size of women born between 1958-69 cohorts materializes in the 1990s, then the 2.1 children these women expect to have will be exactly at replacement levels. More of this cohort will be childless (a return to that feature of the depression cohorts), but significantly fewer will have only one child, and there should be a somewhat larger proportion who will have three or more children compared with the cohort of the 1970s. These women and men will marry significantly later than previously recorded cohorts, are likely to begin their childbearing in their early thirties, and divorce, remarriage, and intermarriage are likely to increase substantially. Almost 90 percent of these women will have gone to college, 75 to 80 percent will be working outside the home full time or part time, most during the period while their children are in school and growing up in their household. Most will have some exposure to Jewishness through formal Jewish education and are likely to continue their connections with the Jewish community. They are not likely to identify Judaism (*i.e.*, the religious element) as a major component of their Jewishness; if their current attitudes and values are indicative, they are likely to view the core of their Jewishness in terms of family connections and the State of Israel. They will have been exposed to an increasing number of years in formal Jewish education, and significant numbers will have visited Israel or at least will consider the State of Israel a major part of their Jewish identity. Less than 10 percent are likely to think of themselves as Orthodox, 40 percent will affiliate with Conservative Judaism, and about one-third will be Reform.

FERTILITY VARIATION AMONG JEWS

Four major sociodemographic changes have occurred in American Jewish communities that are linked to these fertility trends: (1) the transformation of the socioeconomic status of Jews, particularly their high levels of educational attainment and occupational achievement; (2) ecological changes and the residential dispersal of the Jewish community; (3) changes in the expression of Judaism and Jewishness; and (4) the revolution in women's roles. The broad societal level linkages to cohort fertility trends that we have examined can be translated into specific questions about fertility differentials at the group level. We review below four differentials that have been important in the study of Jewish fertility in the United States.

The major internal social class variations characteristic of earlier cohorts which experienced rapid generational economic mobility have all but disappeared among recent cohorts. Most young adult Jews have at least completed college, and in the Rhode Island data about half of the young adult men and women age 25-44 had been to graduate school; 40 percent of the men and 50 percent of the women were in professional occupations. And these are second generation college-educated men

and women, the children of college-educated parents. Therefore, the social class variant in fertility operates within a very narrow range between those with some college education, those who completed college, and those with graduate school education. Indeed, not to have completed college is increasingly a rare event in the American Jewish community. The relationship between fertility and social class is no longer a low-middle-high comparison but a comparison among those whose life styles and values are from the lower middle to the upper middle classes. It is not surprising, therefore, that few family size differences can be documented that are statistically significant by these educational or occupational measures.

The shifting residential pattern — from urban to suburban and back to urban areas, as well as to new areas of residence that have lower levels of Jewish density — continues long term ecological processes characteristic of American Jews. There are areal differences in fertility, particularly between suburban and urban areas, but these are related in complex ways to Jewish fertility, reflecting the age composition and life course differences among areas and the selective migration of families (suburbs have younger families, and older persons are concentrated in urban places).

Two important sources of fertility variation — religiosity and the role of women — have changed over the last quarter of a century. In the 1960s, the results of fertility studies of the Jewish community of Greater Providence as well as in other United States communities pointed to a changing relationship between religiosity and Jewish fertility. Those who defined themselves as Orthodox or demonstrated other measures of religious observance (regular synagogue attendance or the regular performance of religious rituals) had a larger family size than those who defined themselves as Conservative or Reform Jews and who were less observant of religious rituals. These differences by religiosity were narrowing over the generations, as exposure to American society changed the religious life styles of all the Jewish denominations. Most, if not all, of the differences among Jews by religious denomination were a direct result of the social class composition of these religious categories. Thus, for example, few fertility differences among the various levels of religious observances remained after eliminating the effects of social class and generation. There was no indication from the data that religious ideological factors influenced the reproductive behavior of Jewish women in the United States (see Goldscheider, 1964, 1986b).

A quarter of a century later, the 1987 survey data showed (Table 2) that there were small and insignificant differences between the fertility patterns of those who define themselves as Conservative and Reform Jews. However, those who currently define themselves as Orthodox have somewhat larger families than Conservative and Reform Jews, a trend evident among those over age 65 as well as among those age

TABLE 2

Average Family Size by Religious Denominational Affiliation,
Cohorts of Women Born Before 1898 to 1953-1969;
Expected Family Size by Labor Force Participation Of Women
Rhode Island Jewish Population

Age	Birth Cohort	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform
		(1963 Survey)		
65+	Before 1898	3.1	2.7	2.5
45-64	1899-1918	1.8	2.0	2.0
35-44	1919-1928	2.4	2.2	2.4
		(1987 Survey)		
65+	Before 1922	2.5	1.8	1.8
45-64	1923-1942	2.4	2.4	2.2
35-44	1943-1952	2.4	1.8	1.6
18-34*	1953-1969	2.5	2.0	1.9

*The average number of children expected to all women was used for this cohort. Note that the number of cases for those who identify themselves as Orthodox is small and should be interpreted with caution.

Age	Birth Cohort	(1987 Survey)** Working	Not Working
40-44	1943-1947	1.5	2.2
35-39	1948-1952	1.9	1.9
18-34	1953-1969	1.9	2.0

**Total number of expected children

Source: 1963 Survey of Greater Providence and 1987 Survey of Rhode Island.

30-39. For example, the average family size among women over age 65 who currently identify themselves as either Conservative or Reform was 1.8 children; among older Orthodox women average family size was 2.5 children. Among those age 35-44 the average number of children born among the Orthodox was 2.4 compared with 1.8 and 1.6 among the Conservative and Reform, respectively. The average number of children already born to women of the cohort born between 1948-57 (*i.e.*, who were age 30-39 in 1987) was 1.6 children for both Conservative and Reform Jews, while among the small number of Orthodox women, the average was around three children. The data on family size expectations of the youngest cohort are consistent with these conclusions: Orthodox women age 18-34 in Rhode Island expect to have 2.5 children, on average, higher than the 2.0 children expected by women who identify themselves with Conservative and Reform Judaism.

These data show, therefore, a very stable level of higher fertility among the Orthodox of the last several generations, of around 2.5 children, and some possibility that younger Orthodox women will have a slightly larger family size. This pattern combines with a tendency among the younger Orthodox toward a pattern of earlier marriage and early childbearing. Although small in number, Orthodox Jews in Rhode Island (and probably elsewhere) are contributing disproportionately to the population growth of Jewish communities in the United States.

A final consideration using the data on expected family size focuses on the impact of the changing labor force participation of Jewish women, their high rate of working outside of the home, and the potential conflict between these new work-career roles and childbearing. In the 1960s the proportion of women working who were married and in the childbearing ages was very low. The data from the survey in 1963 show that the labor force participation rate among women in their reproductive period was very low, around 20 percent, and lower than among non-Jewish women. Indeed, the small number of women who were engaged in work outside of the home in the 1960s precluded a detailed analysis of the relationship between fertility and labor force participation.

It was generally the case in the 1960s that family size was inversely related to the labor force participation of women: women who worked were likely to have fewer children. It was not clear whether the smaller family size of Jewish women who worked was an outcome of "work-related reasons" or whether the causal direction was in the opposite direction, *i.e.*, those with fewer children were more likely to work. Since those who were working were distributed among women both with higher and lower levels of education (the former were more career oriented, and the latter worked to make ends meet), it was difficult to disentangle the social class connection to the lower fertility of working women. In short, in the 1960s there was little basis from the data available to indicate that a critical factor in the lower

fertility of Jewish women in general was the alternative roles to family that Jewish women in particular had uncovered through working in the labor force outside of the home. Nor was there evidence of a specific relationship between labor force participation and Jewish fertility that was critical in understanding the patterns of American Jewish fertility.

In contrast, the data from the 1987 survey suggest that there has been a major change in the extent and the patterns of relationship between fertility and labor force participation of women. First, there has been a major and dramatic increase in the participation of women in the labor force outside of the home. The survey documented that three-fourths of the women age 25-44 and 60 percent of the Jewish women age 45-64 were working for pay outside of the home.

The data point to a clear pattern of larger family size among women age 40-44 who are currently not working compared to the pattern for those working full or part time. Indeed, while women age 40-44 (the birth cohort 1943-47) had around 1.6 children, a particularly low level compared to earlier and later cohorts, women who are not working at all have an average of 2.2 children compared to 1.5 children for those women who are working full or part time.

However, this pattern among the older age cohort does not characterize women in the two younger age cohorts, ages 35-39 and ages 18-34. For those age 35-39, the average expected number of children is similar for women working full time, part time, or not working (1.9 children). For the youngest cohort (age 18-34), working women expected 2.1 children and non-working women expected 2.0 children. These data are based on expectations about completed family size and not actual behavior, and are limited by the small number of cases of non-working women available for analysis (since most of the women are now currently working). Nevertheless, it seems likely that the pattern of conflict between career and childbearing, between women's roles outside the home and having children, is no longer characteristic of younger Jewish women, even though it may have been characteristic of Jewish women in earlier cohorts. It appears from these data that the major increases in the work participation of Jewish women documented by the 1987 survey have not resulted in changes in expected family size, although it is likely to have affected the timing of both marriage and childbearing.

The major changes over the last several decades appear 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 with careers working outside of the home. These new family formation and childbearing patterns fit the high educational level of Jewish women in Rhode Island and their high level of labor force participation. However,

the new roles that have become characteristic of Rhode Island Jewish women do not appear to have led to significant changes in the number of children expected.

The Jewish population in the United States has experienced major changes in the last century from an immigrant to a fourth generation community (Goldscheider and Zuckerman, 1984; Goldscheider, 1986a; 1986c). Jews have become highly educated, affluent, and have developed new forms of expressing Judaism and Jewishness. In the context of these broad transformations, family patterns, including the number of children and the timing of childbearing, have been transformed as well. Fertility changes over the last century have in part reflected the broader changes characterizing the Jewish community, and in part have influenced those changes. These patterns of fertility fit into a broad social science framework that links demographic change to social, economic, and family transformations that have characterized the American Jewish community in the processes of integration and modernization.

The evidence we have presented shows that a century of cohort fertility trends and differentials reflects the contexts of American society and the distinctive socioeconomic and family patterns of Jews. Of critical importance for the analysis of fertility, as well as for family and fertility policies, is the emphasis on the changing roles of Jewish women and the impact of this revolution on recent demographic patterns. The data from several studies have revealed the adjustments American Jewish women and men have made to the challenges of both family and work roles. It is clear from these studies and the data that we have presented that there has been a rejection of the "traditional" family but not a rejection of new forms of family relationships that are more egalitarian. There is no evidence that the changes in family roles of women and men have resulted in a pattern of fertility decline that portends the demographic erosion of the Jewish community. It is clear that a critical theme in Jewish fertility studies is how the changing roles of women in the 1970s and 1980s have affected their family formation patterns and their family size. It is likely that Jewish fertility patterns (particularly the timing of childbearing and the relationships between specific socioeconomic factors and fertility, not necessarily the level of fertility *per se*) will remain distinctive, both relative to the non-Jewish American population as a whole and relative to earlier cohorts of Jewish families in the United States.



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The data presented in this paper were collected as part of a larger project sponsored by the Jewish Federation of Rhode Island and Brown University. The basic data and its methodology are detailed and described in Goldscheider and Goldstein, 1988. Sidney Goldstein shared joint responsibility for collecting and organizing the data. I accept the responsibility for the specific data analyses and interpretations in this paper. Professor Frances K. Goldscheider provided helpful comments on an earlier draft. An earlier and more detailed version of this paper was presented at the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, Israel, August, 1989. Judith Cohen was helpful in recasting and suggesting revisions for this version.

A copy of the data from the 1987 survey has been filed in the North American Jewish Data Bank. A general report on the 1987 Rhode Island survey containing extensive descriptive materials on the community and its changes over the last quarter of a century is available in Goldscheider and Goldstein, 1988. This volume also includes some general substantive comparisons between the findings of the 1987 and 1963 surveys and notes some differences in the survey populations covered and the different methodologies utilized. The 1963 survey of the Greater Providence Metropolitan Area was analyzed extensively in Goldstein and Goldscheider, 1968, and reprinted in 1985. It also was used as the basis of a detailed descriptive report to the Jewish community in Goldstein, 1964. In addition, the fertility data of the 1963 survey were analyzed in detail and were reported on in a 1964 doctoral dissertation and in a series of articles in the 1960s. A reprint of the dissertation and a list of articles on Jewish fertility that used the 1963 data are reviewed and documented in Goldscheider, 1986b. This volume contains materials on Jewish fertility from the 1963 survey that were not previously accessible in published form, and includes a brief new introduction as well. An overview of the changes in the Jewish community over the last 25 years was presented in this journal in Goldstein, *et al*, 1988.

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Left to right, Michael Fink, Bernard Kusinitz; Sophia Porson, U. S. Department of State; President of Portugal Mario Soares, Dr. Maria Barros Soares.
Photo by Rafael Baptista

PORTUGUESE PRESIDENT VISITS TOURO

By MICHAEL FINK

Among the big Newport events of Sunday, June 25, 1989, the aftermath of the tanker oil spill in the harbor and the dedication of a monument at Brenton Point commemorating the Portuguese explorers of America, a happening of great significance to Jewry took place. President Mario Soares of Portugal took time and a detour from the day's parade route after the dedication ceremonies to pay a historic visit to the Touro Synagogue, the first visit by a foreign head of state to Touro, the oldest synagogue building extant in the United States and a National Historic Shrine. In 1790 George Washington visited Touro and put in writing his guarantee of religious freedom in the new land — "to bigotry no sanction." The little congregation to which he pledged and penned his promise included Portuguese refugees from the Inquisition who had fled the northern fastnesses of the Portuguese mainland above Lisbon.

Now, almost 200 years later, the President of Portugal apologized for his country's past persecution of Jews and visited Touro Synagogue. In the little village of Castelo de Vide, on March 17, 1989, President Soares declared that Jewish mapmakers made possible the "Great Discoveries" — a scientific pursuit of geographic truth. He grieved for the purge of Jews that depleted forever the intellectual life of his country. In the presence of the Israeli ambassador to Portugal and representatives of the "New Christians," secret Jews who practice behind closed shutters, he apologized publicly for the Inquisition and invited his audience to come out and renew their faith openly.

President Soares said in March: "The medieval Jewish quarter of Castelo de Vide bears witness to the presence of Jews in our country, from the earliest times of our nationhood. It demonstrates that Jews were an important component and made an invaluable contribution to our history. Unfortunately religious extremism, with the introduction of the Inquisition in Portugal, came, against our better traditions, to increase the persecution of the Jews. Their expulsion from Spain and Portugal ... constituted one of the principal causes of the decline of the Iberian peoples across several centuries."

He spoke of "the persecution of which the Jews were invariably the victims, throughout time, either by the Spanish or the Portuguese, successively or simultaneously requiring the forced conversion, burning in autos-da-fe, and exiling to the north of Europe some of the best Portuguese souls, where they greatly contributed to the progress and modernization of those countries that welcomed them."

Michael Fink is a professor of English at the Rhode Island School of Design, a writer, and a former editor of the *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*.

Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes, Vol. 10, No. 3, Part B, November, 1989

"With the Revolution of the 25th of April, 1974," he said, "Portugal recovered its tradition of tolerance, coexistence with that which is different and respect for others. ... The Holocaust of the Jews ... teaches us what the extremism of inhumanity and fanaticism can do. ... Against the horrors of fanaticism, of intolerance and of inhumanity, there is only one possible answer: to affirm the critical spirit, the freedom of thought, respect for human rights, and the spirit of tolerance. In the name of free and democratic Portugal ... who through history knew dogmatism and oppression [I want] to reaffirm the values of liberty and human rights, making a solemn appeal to the ideal of respect for others, people or peoples." He concluded: "In the name of Portugal I ask the forgiveness of the Jews for the persecutions of which they were victims in our country."

Plans for the President's visit to Touro resulted from my visit to Castelo de Vide the week following this historic speech, when I spoke to the Count of Botelho about the link between Newport and Portugal. When President Soares planned to visit Rhode Island, I received a message through the Count and the editors of *The Portuguese American Journal* in Providence asking that the President visit Touro. I called Bernard Kusinitz, President and Historian of the Synagogue. He composed an official invitation to the President on Touro stationery, which we sent by fax machine to Lisbon.

Joining President Soares at Touro on June 25 were the Count of Botelho, who was instrumental in organizing the Presidential visit; Dr. Maria Barros Soares, wife of the President; Sophia Porson of the United States Department of State, translating for the President; Goao Perreira Bastos, the Ambassador from Portugal to the United States, and his wife; Correia De Jesus, the Portuguese Secretary of State for Immigration, and his wife; Nunes Barata, the President's chief of staff; and Carolina Matos and Jose Baptista, publishers of *The Portuguese American Journal*.

I spoke a few words about the ties of family and ritual of the Portuguese people here in Rhode Island to the great Jewish culture that once flourished in Portugal. Touro Rabbi Chaim Shapiro cited "the connection between our ancient roots."

Kusinitz, in his official welcome to the President, listed the Spanish and Portuguese names of Mordecai Campanall, Moses Pacheco, Simon Mendez, Abraham Burgos, and Jacob Tinoco, who were among the first wave of fifteen families who came to Newport from Barbados in 1658. He referred to Aristides de Sousa Mendes do Amaral e Abranches, the Portuguese Consul in Bordeaux, France, during World War II. "Defying his government's orders, he, with his two sons, issued exit visas to enable people to leave France, cross Spain, and reach neutral Portugal, thus enabling refugees to escape Nazi Europe. All in all, they wrote some 30,000 visas in two days, including 10,000 for Jews. Sad to say, for his efforts

Mendes died in disgrace and poverty in Portugal." But, Kusinitz explained, in 1987 President Soares posthumously presented the Mendes family with Portugal's Order of Liberty Medal at a ceremony in Washington, D. C. Kusinitz cited President Soares's words at Castelo de Vide and said, "Would that other heads of state — and religions, too — display the same moral courage, the historical insight, and love of humanity to say what should have been said long ago. ... With all the sincerity that I can command, may I say we accept your words in the spirit that they were spoken. To paraphrase what someone once said: many of us have just enough religion to make us hate, but not enough to make us love. Ladies and Gentlemen, in the fifteenth century Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain had enough religion to hate, but not enough to love. In the twentieth century, Mario Soares has enough religion to love; and because of it, not the least inclination to hate."

"Therefore," he concluded, "it is not enough that we merely accept his words. Rather, we must build on the spirit of his love and tolerance ... I believe that through the strength of his character, the boldness of his ideas, and the clarity of his literary expression, history will link him to such men as the first President of the United States and to the Righteous Christians of our time. In so doing, I believe that history will indeed consider Mario Soares the George Washington of Portugal."

President Soares responded, without written notes, through his interpreter, about his "humble and modest" declaration in Castelo de Vide. He spoke contemplatively, with a melancholy mien. He compared his own pain as a victim of political tyranny to the sufferings of the Jews and urged upon us tolerance and fairness in all areas of human experience. The Jews, he said, "lived insecurely in the high mountainous ridges between Portugal and Spain, poised on the roof of the world." In his own time of exile and uncertainty, he determined to speak about their fate. He described the Jewish philosopher Spinoza as the interpreter of the Portuguese Renaissance. In conclusion, he drew a parallel between the beauty and dignity of Touro, which impressed and refreshed him, and the tiny restored hidden synagogue of Castelo de Vide.

As I look back on that historic day in Newport, my memory is scenic and symbolic. The sea beyond the rocks of Brenton Point — so delicate, so vulnerable to abuse. Freedom of worship, the right to live who you are — also noble and also fragile: endangered resources. These metaphors will last in my mind. President Soares brought something to Touro and Newport. He also took something from it, besides a plaque and a medal. He shortened our sense of history and time. The past, present, and future go round and round like points of a giant compass, an ancient star.



TOURO SYNAGOGUE — 225TH ANNIVERSARY

A year of celebration in honor of Touro Synagogue's 225th Anniversary finished on a high note with three days of festivities, August 18 to 20, 1989. Highlights of the weekend included:

- A full schedule of Shabbat activities, developed by Rabbi Chaim Shapiro of Touro, including traditional religious services, kosher meals, a walking tour of the area led by Dr. Daniel Snyder (Executive Director of the Newport Historical Society), and educational and religious lectures given by Rabbi Shapiro.

- A Late Friday Evening Service-Oneg Shabbat conducted by Rabbi Shapiro, with the singing of Cantor Bernard Beer and a sermon by Rabbi Emeritus Theodore Lewis. Inspired by his citing of the qualities which led Touro's founding fathers to take the bold step of building their synagogue, the capacity crowd adjourned to the Community Center for fellowship and refreshments.

- A Gala Anniversary Ball at the Hotel Viking on Saturday night, chaired by Marcia Cohen, Barbara Epstein, and Bella Werner. The ballroom was decorated as a garden, with a delightful fountain gracing the entryway, balustrades lining the dance floor, potted trees and plants throughout the room, an elegant gallery area displaying some of Touro's artifacts, a magnificent ice sculpture of the synagogue, and on each table black lacquer branches supporting twinkling lights and exotic flowers. The evening's program featured an appearance by Newport's famous Artillery Company and reflections on Touro's significance by Bernard Wax, Director of the American Jewish Historical Society, and the Honorable Itzhak Oren, Consul of the State of Israel in Boston — as well as recognition of Touro's presidents, past and present.

- The Society of Friends of Touro Synagogue Members' Brunch and Annual Meeting on Sunday, conducted by President Burton Fischler, with reports by officers, discussions from the floor, and election of a new slate of officers.

- The Annual George Washington Letter Ceremony, with Milton Mitler as Master of Ceremonies, viola music by Rivka Golani, reading of the Moses Seixas Letter to George Washington by Seixas descendant Joshua Seixas Howard Fausty, followed by Harold Sebag-Montefiore's delivery of Washington's reply, and Fred Friendly's comments and reading of his very special letter written about the death camp at Mauthausen as World War II drew to a close.

The members of the committee which planned the weekend were Mr. Aaron J. Slom, chairman, and Mrs. Slom, Mr. and Mr. Bernard E. Bell, Dr. and Mrs. Elie Cohen, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Dannin, Mrs. Samuel Endler, Mrs. Herbert Epstein, Dr.

and Mrs. Alan R. Feinberg, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Friedman, Mr. Joseph Galkin, Dr. and Mrs. Seebert J. Goldowsky, Dr. and Mrs. Arthur Josephson, Captain Howard N. Kay, Mr. and Mrs. Norman H. Klein, Mr. and Mrs. Bernard Kusinitz, Mrs. Max Meierowitz, Dr. and Mrs. Irving Nemtsov, Mr. Zalman D. Newman, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Riesman, Mr. and Mrs. Seymour Schechter, Dr. and Mrs. Naftali Sabo, Mr. and Mrs. Saul Schweber, Rabbi and Mrs. Chaim Shapiro, Mr. and Mrs. Earle Slom, Mr. and Mrs. Alexander G. Teitz, Mr. and Mrs. Jacob N. Temkin, and Mrs. Jack M. Werner.

QUOTABLE QUOTES

Touro is not only the oldest synagogue in continental North America, but the "synagogue of dreams fulfilled." It was built here in Rhode Island because of men who "dreamed of a religious freedom to be practiced within the framework of a dualistic society, where church and state would be completely separate and all men could walk as their consciences persuaded them — everyone in the name of his own God."

—Bernard Kusinitz, *President, Congregation Jeshuat Israel*

On Chanukah we say, *Nes Gadol Hayad Sham* — a great miracle happened there. ... [Touro] has withstood the negative forces in human nature that would have us not have the freedom that we are here to celebrate today. Touro Synagogue, as an edifice, derives its strength from the spirit of those who enter it; its foundation is born of idealism and has been fortified through crisis. ... And make no mistake about it. History attests that religious liberty is a fragile experiment unique to this country, and that there are forces in human nature constantly seeking to undermine it. ... Our founding fathers recognized that we must guard religious liberty with eternal vigilance against tyranny and bigotry ... so that future generations, of any religion or none at all, may enter Touro Synagogue and echo: *Nes Gadol Hayad Po* — a great miracle happened here.

—Burton Fischler, *Past President, Society of Friends of Touro Synagogue*

— From Society of Friends of Touro Synagogue
Update, Vol. 1, No. 3, September, 1989



THE BROWN CONNECTION

By SEEBERT J. GOLDOWSKY, M.D.

While doing research for my forthcoming history of the Congregation of the Sons of Israel and David, I was impressed by the fact that for almost a century there has been an affinity between the rabbinate of Providence, Rhode Island and the local academic community. The rabbis, with one exception, have been spiritual leaders of the Congregation of the Sons of Israel and David (Temple Beth-El), and the college, with two exceptions, was Brown University. This paper will merely catalogue the names of the rabbis, the name of the college, the nature of the affiliation, and the year. Other academic attainments of the subjects of this report can be readily obtained from available sources.

TEMPLE BETH-EL

DAVID BLAUSTEIN — Brown University, A.M. 1898; instructor in Semitic Languages 1897-1899.

BENNETT GRAD — Brown University, graduate student 1900-1901; instructor in Semitic Languages 1900-1901.

GUSTAV NAPHTHALI HAUSMANN — Brown University, special student, registered in 1902.

HENRY ENGLANDER — Brown University, A.M. 1906; Ph.D. 1909; lecturer in Biblical Literature and History 1906-1910.

NATHAN STERN — Brown University, lecturer in Biblical Literature and History 1910-1915.

SIMON COHEN — Brown University, graduate student 1918-1919.

SAMUEL MARCUS GUP — Brown University, graduate student 1919-1920.

WILLIAM GORDON BRAUDE — Brown University, A.M. 1934; Ph.D. 1937; lecturer in Biblical Literature 1937-1942; Honorary D.D. 1955; Providence College, special lecturer in Religious Studies, 1970.¹

LAWRENCE M. SILVERMAN — Brown University, A.B. 1965.

LESLIE YALE GUTTERMAN — Providence College, special lecturer in Religious Studies, 1984-1987.²

TEMPLE EMANU-EL

ISRAEL MAX GOLDMAN — Brown University, graduate student, Biblical Literature, 1932-1935; Honorary D.D. 1949.



NOTES

¹ The Providence College lectures were sponsored and financed by the Jewish Chautauqua Society.

² *Ibid.*



Board of Trustees of the Miriam Hospital, 1932

Front row, l. to r., Charles Brown, Jacob Ernstof, Walter L. Sundlun, Helal Hassenfeld, Treasurer; Max L. Grant, President; Alter Boyman, Vice President; Mrs. Abraham Klemer, Vice President; Samuel Temkin, Recording Secretary; Harry S. Beck, Financial Secretary.

Second row, l. to r., Joseph Smith, Mrs. Joseph Smith, Mrs. Isaac Woolf, Charles Brown, Mrs. Morris Falk, Mrs. Harry Parvey, Mrs. Louis Smira, Dr. Isaac Gerber, Henry Hassenfeld.

Third row, l. to r., James Goldman, Henry Burt, Herman Silverman, Harry Lyons, Samuel A. Olevson, Charles M. Hoffman, Superintendent; Philip C. Joslin, Harry R. Rosen, Jacob E. Edelstein.

Photo from The Providence Sunday Journal, January 17, 1932.

THE MIRIAM HOSPITAL: 65 YEARS OF CARING

By BETTY R. JAFFE

On November 15, 1925, a new hospital, The Miriam Hospital, opened the doors of a recently renovated building on Parade Street in Providence to its first patients. This event, the 65th anniversary of which is to be celebrated in 1990, fulfilled the dreams of many for a Jewish hospital and gave promise to the realization of a vision of an institution dedicated to the delivery of full health care services to the people of Rhode Island. On March 25, 1926, an Act to Incorporate The Miriam Hospital was approved by the Rhode Island General Assembly, by which fourteen incorporators were empowered

to create a body corporate that shall have perpetual succession for the purpose of organizing, erecting, acquiring, equipping, transacting and maintaining a hospital and in connection therewith a training school for nurses for the sick, disabled and injured in the city of Providence, state of Rhode Island.¹

The incorporators of the hospital were Lucy Black, Charles C. Brown, Fannie Grant Brown, Alter Boyman, Ethel Cutler, Theresa Feldman, Dr. I. Gerber, Mary D. Grant, Max Grant, Laura Klemer, Sarah Payton, Rose Siegel, Walter Sundlun, and Betty Woolf. The Jewish founders of the hospital envisioned a Jewish hospital established for the medical and surgical care and treatment of all, Jews as well as non-Jews.

The development of The Miriam Hospital represents a significant chapter in the social, cultural, and medical history of Rhode Island, as well as in the social, cultural, and economic history of the Jews of Rhode Island. Indeed, the development of The Miriam Hospital parallels the rise of Rhode Island as a medical center, and at the same time emphasizes the emergence of the Jews as an important economic force. The entire history is too vast to be presented within the pages of these *Notes*; however, it is possible to provide an overview and outline of important sources, events, concepts, and philosophies. Information is derived from primary sources and interviews with present and past leaders, lay, professional and administrative, in addition to magazine, journal, and newspaper articles. Selection of data and analysis of material is the writer's.

The Miriam Hospital has changed in sixty-five years from a small, limited, local, almost neighborhood clinic to a large facility. Its identity as a Jewish institution has remained fundamental and constant, and this identity has been and endures as the dynamic, driving force behind its evolution.

A LOCAL HOSPITAL: EARLY YEARS, 1926 TO 1938

The responsibility for the origin of the idea of a "Miriam Hospital" can be traced to a group of women who constituted themselves as the Miriam Hospital Association in 1902, after breaking away from a group of both men and women who had founded the Miriam Lodge Number 13, probably as early as 1895. Ruth Woolf Adelson, a daughter of Betty Woolf, remembers, during her childhood in the early 1900s, meetings of women of the Miriam Hospital Association. Mrs. Adelson recalls that these women would walk up the stairs of three-story tenements to distribute and collect yellow and blue boxes, *pushkes*,* into which the families had dropped coins. These donations and other funds raised from whist parties were used to defray the costs of beds in existing hospitals and to buy kosher food and medications for others ill at home. Mrs. Adelson emphasizes that the women of the Miriam Hospital Association gave birth to the idea of a hospital, paid the deposit of \$1,000 to secure the property, and then turned to men to give flesh and bones to their idea. She is proud of the women and their accomplishments, attributing the achievement of the men to being ramrodded by their wives.²

The Grant and Brown family memorabilia, part of which is in the possession of Bette L. Brown, wife of the late Howard G. Brown, son of Dr. Charles and Fanny Grant Brown, contains two important Miriam Hospital items. The first of these is a handwritten President's Report of Mrs. Fanny Brown, presented as she concluded her term of office in 1945, which outlines the background of the activity of the women who conceived the idea of a Miriam Hospital and who started the annual donations from the women's organization, a tradition which continues to this day. The other item, a portion of a 1957 report, also handwritten, entitled "This Is Your Life, the Miriam Hospital Women's Association," authoritatively asserts that the source of the hospital's name is the Biblical Miriam who cared for her brother Moses and guided him to maturity.³ These Rhode Island Jewish women were following the same road as their sisters elsewhere in the United States who were discharging the biblical promise to "bring ... healing and cure."⁴

This period of early development from 1895 to 1925 has been ably researched and written in an essay, "Jews in Medicine in Rhode Island," by Seebert J. Goldowsky, M.D., *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, Volume 2, Number 3, December 1957, pages 151 to 191. Attention is called especially to pages 172 to 183 for a review of the history of the Miriam Lodge and the Miriam Association, including an extensive bibliography and notes. The thrust of Dr. Goldowsky's essay is that the emergence of The Miriam Hospital represents the coalition of three organizations which believed in the necessity of founding a Jewish hospital. They were the Jacobi Medical Club, a professional and social organization of Jewish physicians; The

*Small can kept in the home, often in the kitchen, in which money to be donated to charity is accumulated (Yiddish).

Miriam Hospital Association, whose aim was to create a place for the medical care of Jews who could eat the proper kosher food and communicate in either Yiddish or English with their physicians; and the North End Dispensary, the only Rhode Island location, other than private homes or offices, where Jewish doctors were allowed to practice, inasmuch as they were not granted staff privileges in any of the other area hospitals. Dr. Goldowsky's article is required reading for a thorough understanding of the background of The Miriam Hospital before its beginning as the hospital on Parade Street.

The chronicles of the history of The Miriam Hospital after its opening on Parade Street originate within two bound volumes of the Minutes of the meetings of the Board of Trustees of the hospital. The first of these dates from the first regular meeting of the Board on April 26, 1926, and continues through December 1932; the second volume resumes with the Annual Meeting in January 1933 and ends with the December 1937 Board meeting. The records in these two volumes offer a rich primary source of information, with very few reports missing, although the chronology toward the end of the second volume has been interrupted and some of the reports are not in the proper order.

In these minutes, matters discussed, not unlike those currently on the agendas of hospitals, covered items such as standards of care, medical qualifications, nurses' pay, charity cases, and new surgical procedures, to name a few. A sterility clinic, prenatal dispensary care, and an outpatient department were undertaken by the fledgling institution. Important concerns were costs of treatment, reporting of alcoholic beverages during Prohibition, and relationships with other agencies, including the Community Fund, which the hospital joined in 1930. Coping with the Depression, with its financial burdens of decreasing income but continuing costs, was a serious matter. Balancing the requirement to maintain standards while being forced to decrease employees' pay occupied much of the time and efforts of the leaders of The Miriam Hospital in this period.

The role of the women, still organized as the Miriam Association, is preeminent, as much in financial and practical, as in intellectual and emotional support. During the early years a library for patients was initiated by the women, who, in 1936, also procured the services of a volunteer as the first social worker, albeit only part time. As they had demonstrated their energy and imagination in collecting funds and making the original down-payment for the building on Parade Street, so the women continued with a variety of efforts, raising and transmitting substantial funds to the hospital Board.

Despite the fact that The Miriam Hospital's existence signified that Jewish doctors had, at last, a place to bring their sick patients, the heads of departments were

non-Jews, whose reputations had been established in the community at large. Jewish doctors in hospitals in the 1920s and 1930s were few and generally were family practitioners, while non-Jewish doctors were usually the only ones trained in specialties. Non-Jewish doctors as heads of services brought credibility to the hospital.

Throughout this period two concepts dominated and became the permanent keystone of The Miriam Hospital's philosophy: maintaining the quality of the hospital and of the medical staff with a high ranking by the American College of Surgery; and the charge of being a Jewish hospital, cognizant of Jewish traditions in every area from dietary laws to humane and compassionate treatment of patients and employees, Jew or non-Jew.

YEARS OF ENTRENCHMENT: PLANS FOR EXPANSION — 1938 TO 1952

For the period of 1938 to 1952, a time of entrenchment, but with plans formulated for expansion, only two years of Board minutes are available, 1950 to 1952. These minutes are on microfilm and also in hard copy in a volume, *Minutes of Board and Annual Meetings*, covering Benjamin Brier's term in office as President from 1950 to 1955. For the twelve-year period between 1938 and 1950, the *Memorabilia*⁵ of the Miriam Hospital Women's Association contains letters, articles, newspaper clippings, and photographs. With these, one may piece together a relatively complete picture of these fourteen years.

The early years of this period witnessed an improvement in the overall economy as Rhode Island and the rest of the country recovered from the Depression. A theme recurs concerning the inadequacy of space for patients and treatment areas, as well as the need for more room for additional departments, such as Social Services. During 1938, a drive for 2000 more members was launched, and, at the Annual Meeting in 1940, a Building Fund Drive was announced, with a goal of expanding the facilities and moving the hospital to larger quarters elsewhere.

Although World War II caused a shortage of physicians and nurses, the medical staff solved some of its problems by recruiting physicians who had succeeded in escaping the German Blitzkrieg and the roundup of Jews for concentration camps. In order to overcome the regulations of the state of Rhode Island and the Rhode Island Medical Society, which did not recognize the European training of the emigre M.D.'s, these physicians served as interns and residents, thus fulfilling requirements, until they passed the necessary examinations and were certified and approved to practice in the state.

During the years 1942 to 1945, as the nation was on a war-time footing, expansion

did not occupy center stage even though fundraising continued. The federal government, under the Hill-Burton Act, announced a grant of \$197,000 for the erection of additional facilities, conditional on the hospital's raising matching funds. This was the first such amount received from the federal government. The opinion that Parade Street was inadequate with regard to size and expansion possibilities resulted in a survey of possible sites in the city until a suitable location was found in the building housing the Jewish Orphanage on Summit Avenue on the East Side of Providence. It was commonly acknowledged that the need for an orphanage was fast disappearing, making the building available. With Dr. Charles C. Brown as chairman of the Search Committee, the site at 164 Summit Avenue was procured, and, in March 1944, an agreement was signed by Dr. Brown, for The Miriam, and Henry Turoff, of the firm of Barker and Turoff, for architectural services. Construction was delayed until after the war.

In 1947, a New Miriam Hospital Building Committee was formed to raise \$1,200,000 for the new hospital. Plans called for renovation of the existing building and the addition of a third floor. A large portion of the funds was raised, bank loans were received in anticipation of more receipts and a projected increase in costs, and in 1950 the project was begun. Two years later, the new hospital was completed at a final cost of more than \$2,000,000, with \$670,143 from the federal government (for the years 1949 to 1953), and the remainder from the building campaign fund, including many generous memorials. The new Miriam Hospital was dedicated on December 13, 1952, and, according to *The Providence Sunday Journal* of December 13, 1952, was an "uninstitutional building' ... as much (as possible) like patients' homes." The new facility was to employ 450, with 150 beds (expanded to 210 in an emergency), and 30 bassinets. The size of the new Miriam Hospital was of great significance, but, even more important was its scope, which symbolized that it was prepared to take its next step, a giant step, toward assuming the responsibility of becoming a modern health care facility servicing the Providence area and the entire state.

A COMMUNITY HOSPITAL: MODERNIZATION OF FACILITIES AND SPECIALIZED SERVICES;
CREATION OF RESEARCH FACILITIES — 1952 TO 1970

While the preceding 25 years had been a time of steady growth, accelerating somewhat after World War II, the next period, from 1952 to 1970, was characterized by explosive expansion and specialization, reflecting similar movement in medical care in the entire community. At The Miriam Hospital two parallel forces, each dependent on the other, were apparent: the development of a modern physical plant and, in the medical fields, the increase in specialization and research. For these years, the hospital has complete notes of meetings on microfilm, as well as hard copy of Minutes of 1952 to 1955 — Board, Annual and committees.

Conditions after World War II effected a radical change in the organization of the medical staff. Prior to the war, Jewish physicians were mainly general practitioners, either because of the lack of funds to pursue specialty training or, more frequently, because internships and residencies were invariably closed to Jews. As a result, the heads of services in the early Miriam Hospital were non-Jews. After the war, throughout the nation, the movement for Medical and Surgical Board certification developed and expanded, and, as a direct effect of the war and the experience gained by doctors, internships and residencies multiplied. Additionally, and most importantly, the G.I. Bill covered residencies and provided financing for veterans who were M.D.'s, enabling them to seek advanced training and to specialize in all branches of medicine and surgery. Henceforth, there would be no necessity for non-Jewish doctors to be heads of services, as Jewish doctors would be trained as specialists and, thus, be eligible to become heads of departments.

It is apparent from the minutes and from witnesses that the impetus for enlarging the physical space originated in the imagination of The Miriam Hospital leaders, whose ultimate aim was that The Miriam should become a teaching hospital. The first step to this goal was the appointment, in January 1955, of Dr. Alexander M. Burgess as Director of Professional Education. This action guaranteed two results: the creation of a substantive educational program for all attending physicians, which would realize the highest standards of professional practice, and, for the first time, accreditation for intern and resident training. Since The Miriam was not affiliated with a medical school, this accreditation would be granted only if there were a Director of Professional Education.

At the same time a Medical Code of Practice was instituted, by which, among other items, a strict division into medical and surgical specialties was established, as well as the mechanism for enforcing these rules. At The Miriam Hospital, each physician was a member of the specialty department for which he was Boarded or Board-eligible. Only surgeons were permitted to perform operations or to assist and only in their specialties. This Code resulted in more professionalism among the staff and improved care for patients. Another effect was the termination of the obstetrical department in 1957, because it had diminished in size and scope, and because the Board had determined that obstetrical patients would receive better care at a specialized facility, the Lying-In Hospital. Shortly thereafter, a Code of Practice for Patient Care was issued, creating a hierarchy for attending physicians and specialists and clarifying limits of care and treatment of patients.

Almost as soon as the move to Summit Avenue was complete, plans were made for a new building campaign. As facilities became crowded and overtaxed, more clinic space and beds became necessary. As early as 1956, projections were being formulated for a new campaign, with \$700,000 promised by the federal government

under the Hill-Burton Act. Over a ten-year period needs increased and the requirements of affiliation with a university medical program at Brown University mandated a more ambitious facility. All this activity culminated in late April of 1966 when a new \$6,500,000 addition was dedicated, with capacity increased from 160 to 247 beds. The background for this development parallels the evolving cooperation and coordination with Brown.

In 1962 The Miriam had established a close working relationship with the Medical Program at Brown University. This was a two-year graduate program, granting an Master of Science in Medical Sciences and preparing those who completed the course to continue at a medical school, frequently Harvard or Mount Sinai. In April 1963, after lengthy discussions with Brown's Trustees, the Miriam's Board of Trustees had approved a motion stating its intentions to affiliate with the projected Medical School. One of the essentials of this association was a research program and physical space for such a program. With this matter on the agenda, even during the building of the new hospital addition, a new structure to house the research center was in preparation. In 1968, the signing of a contract signalled the start of construction of this center, projected for \$1,600,000, of which \$325,000 was a federal grant.

Joseph Ress, who has served The Miriam Hospital in many capacities, as Board member with a specialty in professional matters and as President of the hospital from 1955 to 1956, was the liaison to Brown University (where he served on the Board of Trustees) during the very important discussions on affiliation with the Medical Program and Medical School in the 1960s. Mr. Ress cogently assesses the development of The Miriam Hospital, from a clinic-like facility, becoming a hospital with a commitment to the community, then an institution with full time resident heads of departments, while creating a strong medical education program. The final stage was The Miriam's emergence as a first rate teaching hospital for the delivery of excellent full-service medicine by an outstanding staff, characterized by cooperation between full time and attending physicians.⁶

With the opening of the new wing and the promise of a new research center, concurrently with the close cooperation with Brown, The Miriam Hospital became a desirable place for outstanding medical and hospital professionals. In the year 1966 - 1967, the first full time hospital-based chiefs of medicine and surgery, Dr. Robert Davis and Dr. F.A. Simeone, were engaged. With the naming in 1969 of Dr. Stanley Aronson as full-time pathologist-in-chief and Dr. Herbert C. Lichtman, with a joint appointment in medicine and pathology, the required hospital-based personnel were in place for full participation with the new four-year medical school at Brown.

A UNIVERSITY/TEACHING HOSPITAL: MODERN FULL SERVICE FACILITY — 1970-

This collaboration was formalized in 1970 through an agreement by Brown University and five hospitals: the Rhode Island, Lying-In, Miriam, Roger Williams, and Pawtucket Memorial. Brown was to have a fully accredited medical school, and these five hospitals were to be teaching hospitals for medical students.

For The Miriam Hospital, this participation with a medical school meant that the character of the hospital would change from a community institution to a teaching facility. But, at the same time, The Miriam would retain its identity as Jewish, with its association with the Jewish community intact, with its leadership Jewish, and its values dedicated to the highest aims of Judaism. The environment of a teaching hospital is one which encourages cooperation and coordination between attending physicians and full-time hospital-based staff as they work toward excellence. Implicit in this arrangement is the spirit of inquiry, searching, questioning, improving, and excellence. By the summer of 1970, the stage was set for The Miriam Hospital to present itself as a modern university-affiliated teaching hospital, committed to the delivery of complete quality health care and research for Rhode Island and Southern New England.

Dr. Banice Webber and Jerome Sapolsky assess the Miriam's affiliation with Brown as the high point in a history of remarkable growth of the hospital. Dr. Webber's view reflects a lifetime of association with The Miriam; as the son of an early Parade Street staff member, as a surgeon and President of the medical staff, and, presently, as a practicing radiologist and member of the Miriam Board. Jerome Sapolsky directed the hospital during the period of tremendous growth. He was Executive Director from 1967 to 1976 and then served, under a 1976 reorganization, as President until 1984. Both Dr. Webber and Mr. Sapolsky believe that the partnership with the Brown Medical School has been crucial in attracting outstanding graduates of accredited U.S. medical schools as interns, residents, and fellows, who stay after their training to practice in the state. For Dr. Webber, an important result of the affiliation is that The Miriam now has the means and skilled personnel to conduct research. He is also concerned that the hospital maintain its identity as "the only Jewish community organization that has served the entire community for almost 100 years, either as a hospital or as a health-giving organization." Sapolsky credits the Trustees of the 1960s with the vision to become part of the Brown program, but emphasizes the uniqueness of The Miriam as its identification and continuation as a Jewish institution of excellence and compassion. He sees the "parallel in a teaching hospital with the best of Judaism: a spirit of inquiry that prevents mediocrity and promotes self-criticism and currency."⁷

The sources of information for the contemporary period, from 1970 to the

present, are numerous, varied, and complete, with minutes of the Board of Directors, the Executive Board, and Annual Meetings. The records for the years 1970 through 1979 are on microfilm, and overlapping these are reports for 1978 to the present on file in hard copies available through the President's office.

The Miriam Hospital seen through these archives is a large and very complex health care institution. But it remains distinct and identifiable, with its unique constituency and history, as a Jewish hospital. Even so, The Miriam, as well as all five hospitals, incurred costs for the alliance with the new Brown Medical School/Teaching Hospital network. One of these was the forfeiture of part of its autonomy inasmuch as certain areas of activity became conditional on approval by all the participants. Other restrictions and restraints are exerted by state and federal governments through their agencies. The Rhode Island Health Planning Council passes on such matters as the acquisition of equipment and the addition of facilities, based on state need and on the financial capability of the hospital. With the increase in Medicare and Medicaid, both the state and federal governments play a large role in constraining and controlling health care, complicated in the 1980s by considerable reductions in federal government funding. In 1977, The Miriam joined the Consortium of Jewish Hospitals, the name of which was later changed to Premier Hospital Alliance. The Hospital gained much desired aid and consultation from this group, the purpose of which is to discuss, analyze, and resolve matters of interest and importance common to Jewish hospitals.

Within the hospital itself, the personnel in administration and on the medical staff has increased. The only exception was the elimination in 1977 of Pediatrics, inasmuch as it was believed that children could be cared for with a higher standard of treatment at the Rhode Island Hospital, a location where pediatric medicine, as well as all branches of pediatric surgery, occupied more space and maintained house personnel adequate and appropriate to the tasks. This action followed the area trend toward specialization and allowed The Miriam to concentration on being a general hospital for the care of adults.

Many hospital-based physicians with appointments at Brown joined the Miriam staff, augmenting the primary care facilities and accelerating and enlarging the more complicated critical care services, so that The Miriam became equipped and staffed as a tertiary care hospital. Supporting this expansion was a concurrent increase in interns and residents recruited from accredited American medical schools.⁸ Since 1977 all slots have been filled through the national program for matching. With these added pressures of the medical education program simultaneous with inflation, costs soared, and the hospital became a very expensive place to run.

At present, matters relating to all phases of medical staff activity are regulated by

the medical staff through its Executive Committee. This group and the Professional and Academic Committee of the Board of Directors have jurisdiction over professional matters: medical, surgical, dental, and research. Chronological records of these meetings can be found with other minutes cited above in the President's office. *Chart Notes*, published on a monthly basis for members of the Medical Staff Association, is a digest of important events, meetings, and research studies of and for the hospital's physicians and dentists.

Complexities in the care and treatment of diseases and conditions were addressed during this period. New methods of diagnosis and breakthroughs in treatment necessitate continual review and purchase of current equipment. The acquisition of Computer Tomography (CAT) Scan and, most, recently, the use of Magnetic Resonance Imaging (MRI) have enabled the Radiological staff to achieve a level of accuracy previously unknown in x-ray diagnosis. The introduction of angiography, angioplasty, the refining of surgical procedures, and the cardiac rehabilitation program located at Brown, have allowed the department of Cardiology to move far ahead. A change in duration from extended hospital to out-patient surgical care in many instances has produced a need for an ambulatory care center and, answering this requirement, the Miriam Health Centers building opened in May 1989.

The 1980s have been characterized as a litigious age, and regrettably, The Miriam Hospital has been involved in several suits. The first two of these occurred in the surgical staffs: one involving cardiovascular surgeons against the hospital; the other concerning podiatrists, whose group was suing several area hospitals. These suits were resolved in out-of-court settlements, resulting, respectively, in a reorganization of the cardiovascular surgery department and in the podiatrists being assigned to the department of surgery, under the authority of the chief of surgery. The third suit was brought by the state of Rhode Island against the hospital, initiated because of perceived inappropriate accounting procedures. Charges were dropped by the state after The Miriam implemented improved accounting procedures and internal audits.

Reorganization in the administration occurred in 1976, in order that The Miriam would be uniform with other teaching hospitals, particularly as to titles and duties of professional officers. The President of the hospital became the Chairman of the Board of Directors, all of whom were volunteers. Prior to this, in 1974, the title of Executive Director had been changed to that of Executive Vice President, who, under the new organization, became the chief executive officer, with the title of President. During the 1980s, there were added the Executive Vice President, chief of day-to-day operations, and various vice presidents, heads of administrative departments.

In 1986, the hospital organization was completely revamped, mainly with the goal of improving financial management and overall efficiency in the handling of the complexity of hospital matters and finances. The new organization created the Miriam Corporation with aegis over all the divisions, with the Chairman at its head. Under this umbrella is The Miriam Hospital, charged with the direct responsibility of the operations of the hospital and headed by the Chairman. Also under the corporation is the Miriam Hospital Foundation, responsible for fund-raising and funds administration and headed by its own chairman, with the Chairman of the Board serving ex-officio. The third of these divisions is named Health Ventures, concerned with new business activities of a "for-profit" nature. This division has its own chairman, also with the Chairman in an ex-officio capacity.

Health Ventures took form because of the gradual diminution of federal funds in all phases of health care endeavors affecting The Miriam: construction, services, treatment, and research funds. To meet increasing needs, hospitals nationwide have been compelled to solve financial problems with profitable business ventures, usually in areas related to health fields. Concurrent with the decrease in public subsidies and other restrictions, The Miriam has had to meet the ever-expanding problem of AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) and the explosive use of drugs. A recent addition to these ongoing problems of the 1980s is medical and nuclear waste disposal. These are long-term dilemmas for the 1990s, requiring vigor and imagination for their resolutions.

The Miriam Hospital of the last two decades of the twentieth century is a different place from its first home on Parade Street. The simple minutes reported by volunteers and the handwritten entries in ledgers of births from 1937 to 1946, revealing a homey neighborhood place of healing, contrast with the detailed professional minutes and records of the 1970s and the 1980s, which reflect a modern, tertiary-care facility, allied with a university medical school and able to provide a complete and competent range of health services. An institution which was founded as a place where Jewish doctors could treat Jewish patients has become a hospital for 24-hour emergency service, with a capacity for nuclear medicine, respiratory care, advanced surgical procedures, sophisticated radiology and anesthesiology, quality research, and state-of-the-art ambulatory care.

The Miriam remains differentiated from other hospitals, including all the teaching hospitals, because of a defined and perpetual constituency: it is still maintained largely by the Jewish community as a place where Jewish doctors can treat Jewish people. But it is more than that. It has reached out to the general community and surpassed its earlier purpose and become a hospital to service and care for a larger group, comprising the state of Rhode Island and neighboring parts of New England. It is a place where doctors of all religions and ethnic backgrounds

treat Jews and non-Jews alike.

The Miriam Hospital, as it stands at the present time, has struggled and been beset by economic pressures of all kinds. But, motivated by the vision and legacy of its trustees and directors, present and past, it continues to be a highly respected institution.

The current President, Steven Baron, reports that, with the nation-wide crisis in health care, the hospital is evaluating the environment to determine the strategic choices for the future. He regards this as a challenge — as a time to assess The Miriam's options, to examine short and longer term programs and plans and to continue and maintain its financial viability. For these reasons, especially since it has been several years since the hospital has mounted a major appeal to the community, it has embarked on a fund-raising campaign with a goal of \$9,000,000. Mr. Baron is confident that, with the generosity of the Jewish community and the rest of the state, that goal will be reached.⁹

As The Miriam approaches its 65th anniversary and the last decade of the twentieth century, its leaders are challenged to draw on its solid, meaningful history, on its Jewish tradition and roots, to perpetuate the hospital as an institution of quality service and excellent care, with respect and compassion for all who receive and give this service. The challenge also exists for the Jewish community — to continue its support as the partner and constituency of The Miriam Hospital. With the history of this partnership, shared by trustees, staff, administration, and the Jewish people of Rhode Island, ... in the words of President Steven Baron ... "The Miriam will be here for the community and the community will be here for the Miriam."¹⁰



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association Library and The Miriam Hospital Women's Association, whose headquarters are in the hospital on Summit Avenue, are repositories for hundreds of newspaper articles, photographs, and originals and copies of correspondence covering the entire history of The Miriam Hospital. Other information is available from hospital records and minutes.

Since the history of The Miriam Hospital is a story of human beings, the writer wishes to acknowledge all those people consulted for this essay. In addition to those individuals cited above and in the end notes, interviews were also conducted with others. Special thanks are due to Bertha Iventash, secretary to Dr. Herbert Scheffer, a former Executive Director, interviewed in February 1989; Stanley Grossman, Chairman of the Board from 1975 to 1979, interviewed January 23, 1989; Ralph Semonoff, Chairman of The Miriam during the years 1983 to 1987 and Chairman of the Miriam Foundation, interviewed February 6, 1989; and Edwin Jaffe, outgoing Chairman of the Miriam Corporation, May 9, 1989. Their suggestions, observations, and analyses are incorporated in this study and have enhanced the writer's research.

NOTES

- ¹ 1926 Rhode Island Acts and Resolves.
 - ² Interview with Ruth Woolf Adelson, December 15, 1988.
 - ³ Interview with Bette L. Brown, Providence, October 17, 1988. Fanny Grant Brown was the daughter of Mary Grant, an incorporator of the Hospital and a founder of the Miriam Lodge.
 - ⁴ Jeremiah 33:6.
 - ⁵ The *Memorabilia* of the Women's Association of The Miriam Hospital are kept in the office of the Women's Association on the second floor of the hospital.
 - ⁶ Interview with Joseph W. Ress, December 19, 1988.
 - ⁷ Interviews with Dr. Banice M. Webber, February 15, 1989, and Jerome R. Sapolsky, February 8, 1989, and February 15, 1989.
 - ⁸ *Ibid.*
 - ⁹ Interview with Steven Baron, May 16, 1989.
 - ¹⁰ *Ibid.*
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HENRY LOEB JACOBS AND BRYANT COLLEGE

BY GERTRUDE METH HOCHBERG

The sixth President of Bryant College declared in his inaugural address, "Henry* Jacobs, Bryant's first President and one of the most successful business leaders of his time, would have been pleased that his vision had been realized and satisfied that Bryant has executed consistently and well its historic mission — 'Education for business leadership.'"¹

Thus recognizing Henry Loeb Jacobs, a pioneer in the field of business education, the story of Bryant's development is also the story of Dr. Jacobs's life. It all began with the Rhode Island Commercial School owned and operated in the Butler Exchange Building.

Jacobs had grown up in Dayton, Ohio, and had been educated in private schools and the University of Michigan. As a very young man, he had learned how to take shorthand and had become secretary to a senator, traveling around the country with him. Later, he had served as official reporter for the Pennsylvania Legislature and had opened a business school in Dayton (now known as Miami-Jacobs Jr. College). He had then sold his business school to buy a chain of dime stores in New York State. Realizing that a small operation like his could not compete with huge, nationwide chains, he had sold his dime stores and had come to Rhode Island to assist the ailing head of the Rhode Island Commercial School.

Jacobs was assistant principal for one year in 1906, and the next year he bought the school. By 1916, the school was ready to expand. He offered to buy Bryant and Stratton, a business school founded in 1863 to offer Civil War veterans a chance to invest their "mustering out pay" in an education that would give them jobs in business.

The aging Theodore Stowell, principal, agreed to sell. Jacobs moved the school to the Butler Exchange Building, where the Fleet Bank now stands, and merged it with the Rhode Island Commercial School.

He then realized that to meet competition and to accomplish enrollment gains the school needed to grant degrees. In 1916, he persuaded the State Legislature to empower the College to grant degrees. Now Bryant and Stratton could give its students Bachelor's degrees in Business Education. To qualify for degree-granting privileges, Jacobs hired consultants from the New York University business department and from the Harvard Graduate School of Business. Jacobs continually

Gertrude Meth Hochberg was Vice President for Public Affairs, Bryant College, 1947-1978.

*Dr. Jacobs preferred to be known as Henry rather than as Harry, his given name.

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upgraded the curriculum by introducing more advanced courses.

Over a fifty-three-year period which ended with his election by the College trustees as President Emeritus, Jacobs brought the College from a small school of business to its present eminence.

In 1935, he moved the College to the East Side of Providence, where he converted the old Sprague Mansion on Hope Street into Bryant's South Hall. This became the first of twenty-six buildings. These, together with upgraded courses and degree-granting programs, now became "Bryant College," nationally accredited in 1965.

Dr. Jacobs contributed many services to public and private organizations. In 1917, Governor Beeckman appointed him to the State Penal and Charitable Commission. In 1941, Governor McGrath named him to a seven-member commission to study a plan for improving the State Institutions. He served two terms as Chief Crier of the Town Criers Association and was President of the Eastern Business Teachers Association in 1925 and state director of the Department of Business Administration of the National Education Association in 1939. During World War II, he was treasurer of the State Americanization Committee, in 1947 he was Grand Chaplain of Masons, and in 1945 he was elected president of the Rhode Island Kennel Club. He also served as a member of the corporations of Rhode Island Hospital and Butler Hospital. He received honorary degrees from Providence College, Rhode Island College of Education, Rhode Island College of Pharmacy, and Calvin Coolidge College.

Jacobs was married to the former Harriet Einstein, a banker's daughter from Kittanning, Pennsylvania. The couple were members of Temple Beth-El in Providence. Mrs. Jacobs took an active interest in Temple activities and became the fourth President of the Sisterhood. They had two children, E. Gardner Jacobs, who succeeded his father as President, and Dorothy (Mrs. George) Lederer.² Surviving are two grandchildren and four great-grandchildren.

Jacobs's second wife, Jeanette Carroll of Providence, died in 1956.

Dr. Jacobs did not live to see the College move to its present location in Smithfield, Rhode Island. He died on January 22, 1963. His funeral was held at the Central Congregational Church, of which he had become a member in 1952.

At the celebration of Bryant's 125th Anniversary, a Bryant anniversary flag was carried from the College's birthplace on Westminster Street, Providence, to the Howard Building on Fountain Street, to the former East Side campus, and then to the beautiful new campus in Smithfield. The event symbolized the birth and growth

of Dr. Jacobs's dream — the evolution of Bryant from a proprietary skills-oriented school to a traditional college, an institution dedicated to educating students regardless of sex, race, religion or national origin for "a life as well as a livelihood."

If Henry Loeb Jacobs could come back to stand by the Archway on the Smithfield campus, he would be astonished at the College's breathtaking modern architecture, the great computer center, gymnasium, student life buildings, 16 dormitories, and the vibrant community of 3000 undergraduate students, 113 full time and 126 part time professors and instructors, 870 graduate students, 1700 evening students, and over 5800 employed adult students in the Center for Management. He would see himself immortalized in the Jacobs Library and see his visage sculpted at the head of the "President's Walkway," a gift of the Alumni Association, dedicated at the Inaugural Celebration by Dr. William E. Truehart, the first black to head a four-year college or university in New England. In his inaugural address, the new President asserted as one of the "highest priorities, the preparation of our students for functioning effectively in an increasingly global society,"³ a goal fully in accord with the far-reaching aims of Dr. Henry L. Jacobs when he founded Bryant in 1916.



NOTES

¹ William E. Truehart, Inaugural Address, Bryant College, October 22, 1989.

² See "Jews in the Jewelry Industry in Rhode Island," p. 290.

³ *ibid.*, Truehart.

BEYOND NEW YORK, A SECOND LOOK: THE OCCUPATIONS OF
RUSSIAN JEWISH IMMIGRANTS IN PROVIDENCE, R.I.
AND IN OTHER SMALL JEWISH COMMUNITIES 1900-1915

by JOEL PERLMANN, PH. D.

I worked on the social history of Providence for the better part of fifteen years, and an important part of my effort focussed on the city's East European Jewish immigrants and their children — specifically the occupations of the immigrants and the schooling and occupations of their children. I will describe briefly how I came to do my research and why I did it in Providence and then report on some new explorations. The new work rests on a remarkable new source of evidence relevant to American Jews at the turn of the century, and I will describe that new evidence as well. This paper is therefore partly about the substance of American Jewish history, and about Rhode Island Jewish history in particular, and partly about evidence and historical methods for using certain kinds of evidence.



I was interested in the schooling and social mobility patterns of American ethnic groups. Just how differently had ethnic groups responded to American schooling? How much more schooling had some groups obtained compared to other groups? And just how much did the schooling they received help some ethnic groups to get ahead faster than other ethnic groups? We hear so much today about how education is crucial for getting ahead in the world, and how it helps to overcome inequalities in social life — 'a child born poor, if only he receives a good education, has a good chance of overcoming his poverty.' ... Just how much, then, had schooling helped the children of the immigrants in the past? I was especially interested in the period of the great migrations at the end of the last century and the beginning of this century.

Why was I interested in that period specifically? Partly I suppose for personal reasons: it was in this period that my own family was established in the United States. Also, while on a leave from graduate school, I had ended up working part time at the City College of New York (CCNY), just at the time that the clientele of that school was shifting from heavily Jewish to more predominantly Irish and Italians, blacks and new immigrants (such as Puerto Ricans and Asians). And if any single American institution can be said to symbolize the promise of the upward mobility for the immigrants through education, surely CCNY has good claim to that role. Working there I became engrossed in questions about schooling, getting ahead, and ethnicity.

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Moreover, in addition to any personal reasons I had for choosing to study the period of the turn of the century, surely that period was a critical time for the fate of ethnic groups in the twentieth century and deserves careful attention.

From the way I have put the issues that concerned me, it should be clear that whatever other ethnic groups I would study, I would certainly study the Jews of East European origin. For they are the classic example of a group that is thought to have used education in a special way and to have enjoyed especially rapid rates of upward mobility. I focussed on three other groups as well. I studied the Irish, since they were regarded as the immigrant group that posed the greatest challenge to America's absorption powers in the nineteenth century. I studied the Italians, because the Italians have often been contrasted with the Jews in terms of their behavior in connection with schools and with upward mobility generally. And finally I studied the Blacks, because they have been so central to an understanding of American equality and inequality for so long.

In sum, then, I began with great historical issues — ethnic differences in schooling and the impact of schooling on getting ahead. Then I began a search for the sort of evidence that would allow me to explore these great issues — evidence on the behavior of large numbers of people, evidence that would permit exploration of typical behavior and the sources of differences in behavior — in other words, evidence drawn from a survey of the population.

But where could I obtain a survey of the population from the years of the great migrations? There was no such survey ready made, but the evidence for one could be put together from a variety of historical sources. First of all, there are the records of the United States Census. The Census Bureau has administered a census every decade, and, in the past, many states (including the State of Rhode Island) administered censuses as well. And census records have typically been well preserved. I do not refer here to the published reports of the census. These of course have been preserved. But so too have often been preserved the raw data from which the published census reports were made — the census manuscript schedules. These schedules are the records that the census takers wrote as they went from house to house, gathering information on every individual: age, race, sex, marital status, occupation, literacy, country of birth, and so forth. These schedules, I reasoned, could provide a sample of all the school-age children living in a particular place at the time of the census. The census would also tell me about their parents at the same time: what they did for a living, where they had been born, and so forth.

Then, I reasoned, if I could find a city with a well-preserved set of school records I could trace my sample of school-age children from the census manuscript schedules to the school records. And then, finally, I could trace the children to still

other records from later years (by which time the children had grown into adulthood) — to determine what these individuals now did for a living. I could, for example, trace these former schoolchildren to city directories or marriage records.

In Providence I found all these historical sources. The city boasted superb census records, school records that may well be unique in their comprehensiveness and detail, and, finally, city directories and marriage records (complete with wonderful indices). Moreover, Providence offered much more than merely the sources. Providence was a place of manageable size, a place that had a multifaceted economy (not, by contrast, a mill town relying heavily on a narrow range of jobs), a place with a good mix of ethnic groups and — finally — a place not too distant from Harvard, where I was enrolled in graduate school, and not too distant from New York, where (as I mentioned) I was then working on my leave from graduate school.

And so in 1974 I began working on Providence social history, and I worked on it consistently thereafter. First, I and a small army of research assistants painstakingly collected samples of 12,000 school-age children from census records of 1880, 1900, 1915, and 1925; and we traced these 12,000 individuals to school records and then across time to their jobs as young adults. The work I am describing felt like a herculean effort, I might say, and it took the better part of three years. But in the end I had a unique source of evidence about social origins, schooling, and getting ahead in America at the turn of the century. Exploring these issues has kept me busy for the better part of the fifteen years since 1974.

Last year I published a book based on the Providence data I had collected, *Ethnic Differences*.¹ I will not repeat here the findings of the book, except to show how it was that the book's line of argument led me to a concern with the occupations of Providence's Jewish immigrants. One of the great questions about the Jews in America is why they have received such unusual amounts of education and why they have advanced so rapidly in socioeconomic terms. Some observers have stressed various cultural differences between the Jews and others. One example is their tradition of learning. Also relevant may have been the long heritage of acting carefully as a minority group, behavior that conceivably may have led to resourcefulness. And a long history of involvement in trade in Europe (even if at humble levels of material well-being) may have encouraged initiative as opposed to fatalism. But other observers have stressed something other than the cultural attributes of the Jews, namely the fact that so many of the Jews had basic job skills that turned out to be useful in this country and that helped them enter the skilled trades from which they could get a leg up. Many, in particular, came with skills as tailors. Others came with skills in trade. Not that these Jewish immigrants were not impoverished — they were. But they had certain skills, the argument goes, that favored their more rapid advance in the marketplace.

I wondered whether my evidence couldn't help resolve this difference in interpretations. Jews may have come to the United States with more skills, and individuals with such skills may have been more likely to enter skilled labor or petty trades. But suppose we compare the children of immigrant Jews to the children of other families in the same social niches — compare the children of skilled workers who were Jews with the children of skilled workers who were not Jews, compare the children of petty traders who were Jews to the children of petty traders who were not Jews, and so on. In the end I concluded that while the differences in fathers' occupations between Jews and others were surely important, they cannot explain all of the difference between the children of the East European Jews and the children of others in the same social niches in Providence, and I concluded, therefore, that the explanations of Jewish behavior that appeal to cultural attributes deserve serious attention. In any case, the relevant point here is simply that to assess arguments about Jewish upward mobility, I had to look carefully at the occupations of the Jewish immigrants.



Having explained my interest in the occupations of Providence Jews, I turn now to the second of the topics I mentioned at the outset, a new source of evidence recently made available to social historians. This new evidence is useful for the study of Jewish occupations in particular but it is useful for a great many other aspects of American Jewish history as well.

Recall that I mentioned earlier the existence of census manuscript schedules — the actual records that the census takers took as they went from house to house. This past year a colossal project was completed, the creation of a huge computerized sample from the 1910 United States census manuscript schedules — a sample of 366,000 individuals — that is available to historians. Why is this sample such an interesting source? For two reasons. First of all, it is a sample of staggering size. Remember by comparison that when the *New York Times* or ABC runs a national sample it is typically based on about 1,500 to 2,500 people. Remember too that I spent three years with a research team collecting a sample of 12,000. Now, suddenly — a sample of 366,000 was at my disposal!

The second factor that makes the sample so important for the study of the Jews is the information on mother tongue collected in the 1910 Census, the first federal census to include the subject. Mother tongue, in turn, is so important because it allows us to identify precisely the East European Jews in the sample.

Identifying Jews in census data has been a major problem for historians of American Jewry and, indeed, for contemporary social scientists interested in

studying the Jews. Census records are crucially important for understanding social patterns. But censuses have almost never included questions about religion. Consequently, to study the Jews in census records, researchers have had to rely on indirect measures. There are two indirect measures that can be used: one is place of birth. A large fraction of the East European Jewish immigrants, and hence a large fraction of America's Jews generally, came from the Russian Empire. Also, conversely, a large fraction of everybody who came from the Russian Empire were Jews. So researchers have tried to learn something about Jewish life by focussing on the Russian-born, or the children of the Russian-born.

The other indirect way of learning about the Jews has been to study individuals who told the census taker that Yiddish was their mother tongue. This strategy of studying individuals grouped by mother tongue is, of course, limited to the study of the East European Jewish immigrants — not their descendants — because their descendants very quickly reported that *their* mother tongue was English. Nevertheless for the study of the immigrant generation the study of the Yiddish mother tongue group could be very useful.

I say *could be* very useful and not *has been* very useful. That is because the published census reports rarely classified social patterns by mother tongue — for example, the reports never classified the occupations of individuals by their mother tongues. As a result, for most social inquiry, researchers have been thrown back on the first indirect strategy that I described: namely, studying the place of birth of individuals, and treating the Russian-born as a proxy for the East European Jews. My own study of East European Jews in Providence in my book, for example, used this method.

Now the problem with this method is that a notable proportion of the Russian-born immigrants were not in fact Jews. Researchers have long known this fact in a general way, of course. But the 1910 public use sample — that body of data on 366,000 individuals that I have been describing — allows us to study this issue in depth. We can study just how many of the Russian-born were Yiddish speakers — in any city or region, in any age group in any occupation, among the male workers, the women workers, and so forth. And more valuable still, we can turn away from the criterion of the Russian-born and exploit the criterion of Yiddish as a mother tongue to identify East-European Jews.

The criterion of Yiddish mother tongue, of course, does not restrict us to *Russian-born* Jews, but rather encompasses Jews from all over Eastern Europe. That is another great advantage. We are generally interested in the East European Jew, not just the Russian Jew. Attention has been focussed on the Russian Jew in particular principally because of the problem of identifying Jews by place of birth that I have

been discussing. Thus, for example since the fraction of Jews among immigrants from the Austro-Hungarian Empire was much smaller than the fraction of Jews among immigrants from the Russian Empire, researchers have so often limited attention to Jews born in the Russian Empire when studying East European Jews. Now, with the mother tongue data, we need not restrict ourselves to the Russian-born to study Jews. And, in any case, should we wish to focus especially on the Russian-born Jews or to compare the experiences of Jews born in the Russian Empire with those born in the Austrian Empire, the simultaneous availability of the mother tongue and place of birth data in one computerized sample makes it possible for us to do that too.

One might ask, however, whether, in focussing on the Yiddish mother tongue group, are we not losing many Russified or Polanized immigrant Jews, Jews who had grown up on other mother tongues? The answer is that we lose very few. First, there simply were not many with mother tongues other than Yiddish, at least among the Russian Jews, especially before 1910. A census of the Russian Empire in 1897 found that only 3 per cent of the Russian Jews spoke languages other than Yiddish.² Second, there may have been some Russification between 1897 and 1910, but it cannot much affect our analysis today. That is because of one intriguing aspect of the 1910 census. That census asked not only about the respondent's mother tongue, but also about father's mother tongue and mother's mother tongue. Thus, the census takes us back in time a generation so that it is in essence asking about mother tongue arrangements well before 1897. To the best of my knowledge, no one has ever used the data on parents' mother tongue to study the Jews before, because the computerized sample from the 1910 census was so recently created. It provides a great opportunity to identify America's East European Jewish immigrants at the high point of the great era of immigration.

The weakness inherent in treating all Russian-born as Jews would be especially great in the 1910 census, because of a complication involving the Poles. In 1910 Poland had long been divided and absorbed into the Russian, Austro-Hungarian, and German Empires (Poland would reappear as an independent state after World War I). Earlier American censuses had classified the Poles as such, but in 1910 Poles were classified in terms of the empire in which they had been born. As such, many Polish immigrants were classified as Russian-born, distinguished from other Russian-born individuals only by mother tongue — Polish as opposed to the other common languages of the Russian-born: Yiddish, Lithuanian, Russian, German, or Finnish.

For 1910, then, it would be an especially serious mistake to treat the Russian-born as Jews. On the other hand, even with Poles excluded, the rate of error in treating immigrants from Russia as Jews is considerable (see Table 1). In the nation as a

whole, just over two Russian-born individuals in three (Poles excluded) were Jews (as judged by the mother tongue of their fathers).³ But the proportion varies substantially by place. In New York City the percentage of Russian-born whose father's mother tongue was Yiddish was especially high. However, in other large cities the proportion was lower, and outside the large cities much lower still.⁴ The precise extent of error created by considering the Russian-born as Jews no doubt varied from census to census.⁵ Nevertheless, the 1910 figures probably provide a reasonable rough estimate of the situation in later years as well.

TABLE 1. RUSSIAN-BORN IMMIGRANTS IN THE CENSUS OF 1910 (Poles excluded)		
<u>Location</u>	<u>Percent whose father's mother tongue was Yiddish (and number in sample)</u>	
New York City	90%	(1,822)
Other cities, 1900 pop. over 250,000	77	(1,021)
Cities, 1900 pop. 100,000 - 250,000	63	(253)
All other places	34	(1,166)
U.S. total (all places)	70	(4,262)

SOURCE: The public use sample of the 1910 US Census.
Includes 14 cities in 2nd row, 19 cities in 3rd row.
Russian-born individuals whose father's mother tongue was Polish were excluded from all rows: 191, 461, 110 and 807 and 1,569 respectively in rows 1-5.

The degree of the error in classifying all Russian-born as Jews, of course, is greater where other immigrants from the Russian Empire were numerous and smaller where such other immigrants were not numerous. In Providence, and generally in Rhode Island, these other immigrants were not numerous. Consequently, using the criterion of Russian-birth to identify Jews works very well in Providence. The best evidence bearing on that point is from a census that the State of Rhode Island administered in 1905. That census was unique in asking individuals' religion. And the results of the inquiry show that 94 per cent of the Russian-born in Providence were Jews.⁶

With that description of the new evidence and of the problem of identification that it helps solve, I can turn at last to the occupations of the Providence Jews. As I explained earlier, my questions had led me to take a close look at a group of school-

age children around the turn of the century, and as part of that effort I took a close look at the occupations of their fathers. In the case of the East European Jews, I collected a sample of children of the Russian-born immigrants in Providence in 1915. I was consequently able to study the occupations of some 561 Russian-born fathers in that year.

The striking finding from that study was how heavily the Russian-born Jews were concentrated in the skilled trades and in commerce — and especially in commerce. In discussing commerce I do not mean to imply that the Jewish immigrants were well off; as often as not they were peddlers, and there is every indication that those who had their own small stores had also started as peddlers. But the concentration in commerce meant that they were differently situated than other groups, possibly in ways that made a difference for later work. Just how differently situated these Russian Jewish fathers were than others in the city can be seen in Table 2. In 1915 fully 71 per cent of the Russian Jewish fathers were self-employed, whereas only 20 per cent of other immigrant fathers were. Twenty-two per cent of the fathers were peddlers, compared to 3 per cent of other immigrant groups. Forty-three per cent were proprietors or self-employed artisans, compared to 16 per cent among other immigrants. At the other extreme, only 13 per cent of the Russian Jewish immigrant fathers were semiskilled or unskilled wage workers — compared to 49 per cent among other groups.

TABLE 2. OCCUPATIONS OF RUSSIAN JEWISH IMMIGRANT FATHERS AND OTHER IMMIGRANT FATHERS IN PROVIDENCE, 1915

A. Percentage self-employed

	Russian Jews	Other immigrants
Employer	11%	6%
“on own account”	60	14
all self-employed	71	20

B. Percentage in selected occupational categories

Peddlers	22%	3%
Proprietors	23	8
self-employed artisans	20	8
semiskilled or unskilled employees	13	49

SOURCE: A sample of fathers of school-age children drawn from the R. I. State Census of 1915 by J. Perlmann.
Included are 561 Russian Jews 761 others.

Moreover, the occupational profile of the Russian Jewish immigrants in Providence seemed remarkably different from that described in the common generalizations about the East European Jewish immigrants in America. Those generalizations said that the East European Jews started in the skilled trades, especially in the garment industry, and typically did not escape manual work during their lifetimes. It is not that I thought these generalizations wrong. Rather the generalizations pertained to the giant Jewish communities that have been so well studied: chiefly New York, but also Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston. And so in 1983 I published an article, "Beyond New York" (in *American Jewish History*) that stressed how different the occupations of the Jews were in Providence from those in New York.⁷

In that article I compared East European Jewish occupations in New York and Providence. Then I presented some evidence that I had found in the published reports of the United States Census of 1900. That evidence suggested that in other middle sized cities, the Jewish occupations were much more like those in Providence than like those in New York — much more likely to be rooted in trade than was the case in New York and much less likely to be rooted in the garment industry in particular. That data is summarized in Table 3. The table published in 1900 allowed me to compare four kinds of occupational groups across all the cities. Two of these occupations were in commerce: peddling and a broader category of retail trade including peddlers, merchants, and dealers. The other two occupations were in manufacturing: tailoring and a broader category of all manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.⁸

TABLE 3. "BEYOND NEW YORK":
OCCUPATIONS OF RUSSIAN-BORN IMMIGRANTS, 1900

Location	Percentage of Russian male workers			
	peddlers	all peddlers, merchants, dealers	tailors	all manufac.
New York City only	5%	16%	28%	61%
5 big centers	7	19	25	53
31 other cities, pop. over 100,000	13	29	15	42
Providence only	24	42	7	39

SOURCE: Published report of the 1900 US Census.

5 big centers include NYC, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston,
Baltimore. 31 other cities include Providence.

The difference between the occupational structure in the middle sized cities and the occupational structure in New York, I reasoned, could have had important implications. From the starting position in commerce, in the smaller Jewish communities, upward mobility might be more rapid, or at least it might take different paths, that is, be based on different kinds of jobs than elsewhere. Also, if the Jews of these communities were less likely to experience wage labor, and more likely to have remained self-employed, perhaps they were less likely to have been radicalized by the socialist movement that was so important in the lives of New York and Chicago Yiddish labor. So these occupational differences might have great importance.

Now of course most Jews were in New York — just over half — and about another two in five were in Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston. Nevertheless, about three Jewish immigrants in ten were not to be found in those centers. They were in smaller Jewish communities, typically in middle-sized cities like Providence. And it is about these three in ten that I thought I had something valuable to say.

But recall: my really detailed evidence was only from Providence; from Providence I had my 1915 sample of many hundreds of fathers of school children. And from that sample I knew the sort of information summarized in Table 2. For the other cities I was limited to the much less detailed evidence published in the census reports of 1900.

Now the huge 1910 census public use sample that I discussed earlier affords us two opportunities. First, we can look at the situation in a later year, in 1910 rather than in 1900, after a decade of massive new migrations. And, second, we can look at the East European Jews in *all* communities of the United States, since by looking at those of Yiddish origin we know we are dealing with Jews. Assuming that the Russian-born in smaller communities were Jews is much riskier, as Table 1 showed. The results of the new exploration are to be found in Table 4.

In 1910 the same occupational patterns that I noted earlier persisted. And the new data show that the same general argument that I made about the middle size places in 1900 can be extended with greater force to the small communities, those with populations under 100,000. There the reliance on commerce was especially great. Thirty-four percent of the East European Jews are peddlers, merchants and dealers, as against 12 per cent in New York City. Only 26 per cent are in manufacturing pursuits, as against 59 per cent in New York.

TABLE 4. OCCUPATIONS OF EAST EUROPEAN
JEWISH IMMIGRANTS, 1910

A. Four categories of occupations

Location	Percentage of Russian male workers			
	peddlers	all peddlers, merchants, dealers	apparel manufac.	all manufac.
New York City only	4%	12%	25%	49%
5 big centers	4	13	23	48
31 other cities, pop. over 100,000 in 1900	4	20	10	34
All other places	7	34	4	26

B. Self-employment

	Employer	"On own account"	Total	Number in sample
New York City only	13%	20%	33%	936
5 big centers	13	21	34	1,252
31 other cities, pop. over 100,000 in 1900	14	26	40	197
All other places	21	40	61	213

C. Self-employment among men over 40 only

5 big centers	18	33	51	293
31 other cities	25	21	46	57
All other places	29	49	78	55

Compare to:

Fathers in

Providence sample,

1915 (from Table 3A)

11	60	71	561
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SOURCE: The public use sample of the 1910 US Census (except last row).
Apparel manufacturing includes all blue collar occupations in that
industrial sector (thus more than tailors).

On the other hand, viewing the combination of the data I had before and the new data, I am also struck that the differences between the middle size communities and the five large communities of Jews were not so great — and in particular they were not as great as the difference between Providence and these five large centers. For perspective, recall that the middle size communities include all those in cities with populations of 100,000 except the five largest Jewish population centers (New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore). Providence had a population of some 175,000 in 1900 and 224,000 in 1910. The number of Russian-born in the city numbered 2,000 in 1900 and 6,000 in 1910. The Providence Jewish community was among the most extreme in the middle-sized group in its reliance on peddling and commerce. Thus in 1900 Providence had the third highest proportion of peddlers among the 36 cities: 24 per cent, whereas the norm for the 31 middle sized communities was 13 per cent.

Also, consider the evidence on self-employment, that other remarkable feature of the Providence fathers in my 1915 sample. There was no comparative data from 1900. Fortunately, however, the 1910 census data now allow us to explore self-employment. Self employment, like reliance on commerce, was more common in the middle-sized Jewish communities than in the five large ones (40 per cent as against 34 per cent). But the difference was fairly small. Once again, it is in the smallest communities that the fraction of self-employed was much greater than in New York. And, finally, nowhere was the fraction of self-employed as high as I had found in Providence among my sample of fathers in 1915.

However, there is a certain lack of comparability between my Providence samples and the national data: in Providence I had studied the fathers of adolescents. And the fathers of adolescents are older men than the group of all adult male workers (the average age of the fathers of the adolescents was 44). Could this lack of comparability explain the difference in the occupations of Providence men and others? To find the answer to this question, I compared men over 40 in the 1910 sample to my Providence fathers of 1915. In the 31 middle-sized cities, the difference from Providence is still clear: 46 per cent, not 71 per cent as in Providence, are self employed. But in the smallest size cities, under 100,000 in size, the fraction self-employed among the older men actually exceeded the fraction self-employed among the Providence fathers of 1915, with 78 per cent of the small sample self employed.

In sum, there were other communities like Providence, but they were typically in the third group, in the smaller cities, those with a population of under 100,000 in 1910. In those cities, among all gainfully employed East European Jewish men, 61 per cent were self employed, 34 per cent were in commerce, and only 26 per cent were in manufacturing.⁹

In my 1983 paper, "Beyond New York," I had speculated that the high proportion of Russian Jews in the workforce of some cities might have limited the opportunities to enter commerce — quite simply too many Jews may have wanted to engage in trade to permit them all to do so. Perhaps, too, in the larger cities the structure of retail trade made it harder for newcomers with very little capital to break in — perhaps, for example, larger stores were more common in larger cities or relations between wholesalers and retailers were tighter there. And just possibly, too, the Jews most interested in entering trade might have moved to the smaller cities where entry into trade was easier. And certainly, those Jewish immigrants with garment industry skills would have had a greater incentive, other things being equal, to come to garment industry centers. Finally, the extent of self-employment and peddling may have varied among the smaller Jewish communities as a result of the extent to which, on the one hand, ethnic hostility operated to limit Jewish opportunities to be hired by non-Jews and, on the other, by the extent to which earlier Jewish immigrations (principally from Germany) may have produced Jewish-owned enterprises that could hire the new Jewish immigrants.¹⁰ These speculations remain only speculations; still, I continue to think they are about right. But I am now struck that even when one ventured beyond New York, Providence may have been fairly exceptional among the middle-sized Jewish communities, not in the greater reliance on commerce and self employment than was typical in New York, but on the degree of that reliance.



NOTES

¹ Joel Ferlmann, *Ethnic Differences: Schooling and Social Structure among the Irish, Italians, Jews, and Blacks in an American City, 1880-1935*; Cambridge University Press, 1988.

² Isaac M. Rubinow, *Economic Condition of the Jews in Russia*, (New York, 1975 [1907]), p. 488.

³ I have used as the criterion for who is an East European Jew father's mother tongue. Virtually all who had one parent of Yiddish mother tongue had two.

⁴ Table 1 is organized by size of place in 1900, in order to be continuous with my earlier work, "Beyond New York: The Occupations of Russian Jewish Immigrants in Providence, R.I. and in Other Small Jewish Communities 1900-1915," *American Jewish History* (March, 1983), 369-394. Had I organized the table by size of place in 1910 the findings would not differ substantially.

⁵ One important reason for such variation would be the shifting boundaries of Eastern Europe resulting from the two World Wars. These boundary shifts, in turn, meant that respondents might change their responses to the country of birth question — for example, between the 1910 and 1920 censuses, and between the 1940 and 1950 censuses. These changes in respondents' place of birth would affect the traction of respondents of Russian birth who were Jews.

⁶ Rhode Island Commissioner of Industrial Statistics, *Twentieth Report* ("The Rhode Island Census"), section on "Church Statistics and Religious Preference," page 275.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Perlmann, "Beyond New York."

⁸ The figures in Table 3 differ slightly from the comparable ones in my earlier paper, "Beyond New York," because in that paper I provided unweighted averages (each city in a size-category of cities counted the same as every other, regardless of the number of Jewish workers in the city). In Table 3, by contrast, I used weighted averages (each city weighted according to the number of Jewish workers; or, to put it differently, all workers in one size-category of cities were viewed together just as though they had come from one city). The reason for the change is that the 1910 sample, large as it is, is not large enough to permit reliable estimates of the occupational profile of Jewish workers in many of the middle-sized cities.

⁹ Further work might determine the extent to which the patterns observed in the middle-sized cities were particularly influenced by one or two cities. For example, many of the garment workers in those cities were in Newark. Nevertheless, the 1900 data for individual cities, presented in Table A of "Beyond New York," shows that the difference between Providence and these other middle size cities cannot be explained away by such a line of argument. Thus, for example, as noted in the text, the proportion of peddlers in 1900 was higher among Russian Jews in Providence than in all but three of the middle-size cities.

¹⁰ I am grateful to Alice Goldstein for stressing these last two points in discussion with me.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

By SEEBERT J. GOLDOWSKY, M.D.

Recent acquisitions in the library of the Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association containing items of Rhode Island interest and a listing of the items:

1. *American Jewish Year Book 1988*. Volume 88. The American Jewish Committee, New York, and the Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1988, 572 pages.

Page 498. Lists the *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, publication of the Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association.

2. *American Jewish Year Book 1989*. Volume 89. The American Jewish Committee, New York, and the Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1989, 589 pages.

Pages 69n, 70n, 127-128, 128n. In a paper titled "Recent Trends in American Judaism" by Jack Wertheimer are references to Jacob Neusner, formerly of Brown University.

Page 212. A commentary on "Israel and American Jewry" mentions Jacob Neusner.

Page 531. Lists *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*

3. *Family in War. A Personal Chronicle*, By Paul B. Weisz. Privately printed, 1973, 106 pages, paperback.

A refugee from Vienna, the author relates his experiences as an immigrant to America in the period 1938-1947. The author was on the biology faculty of Brown University and is a resident of Providence, Rhode Island.

4. *Travels Through Jewish America* by Harry Golden with Richard Goldhurst. Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, 1973, 276 pages.

Page 194. Mentions Jacob Neusner in connection with the Havurat Shalom fellowship.

5. *American Jewish Archives*, Volume XL, No. 1, April 1988.

Page 183. Mentions personal papers of Jacob Neusner, 1980-1987, donated to the American Jewish Archives.

6. *A Guide to Special Collections in Rhode Island*. Rhode Island Chapter, Special Libraries Association, 1988. Unpaged, paperback.

Lists Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association Library.

7. *Historic and Architectural Resources of the East Side, Providence: A Preliminary Report*, Rhode Island Historical Preservation Commission, 1989. 107 pages, paperback.

Page 30 (opposite). Temple Emanu-El at 295 Morris Ave. Also Leo Logan Building (stores) at 145-149 Elmgrove Ave.

Page 34 (opposite). Jacob and Pearl Shore House at 48 Harwich Road.

Page 36 (opposite). Max L. Grant House at 90 Hazard Ave. Also John B. and Rebecca Olevson House at 30 Elmway Street, and Bessie and Harry Marshak House, 546 Wayland Ave.

Page 40 (opposite). Leonard Levin House, 80 Clarendon Ave.

8. *Woonsocket, Rhode Island—A Centennial History 1888-1988*. Ed. by Marcel P. Fortin. The Woonsocket Centennial Committee, 1988. 252 pages.

Pages 27, 51, 71, 170. Congregation B'nai Israel.

Pages 71, 80 - 81, 125, 161. Arthur I. Darman, industrialist and Jewish leader.

Pages 80 - 81, 121, 135, 209. The Stadium Theater, a Darman Enterprise.

Pages 103 - 104. Lawrence (Larry) Spitz, labor leader.

Page 246. Lists *An Ethnic Survey of Woonsocket, Rhode Island* by Bessie Bloom Wessel, University of Chicago Press, 1931.

Page 112. Joseph Axelrod in 1937 started his textile empire with the Airdale Worsted Mills on Park Avenue.

Page 135. Eisenberg and Tickton clothing store.

Pages 79, 121. Jacob Finkelstein manufactured parts for anti-aircraft guns in World War II.

Page 191. Hasbro Industries (Hassenfeld family) occupied space in Woonsocket.

Pages 191 - 192, 207. Mark Stevens/CVS, Inc. Consumer Value chain drug stores, founded by Israel Goldstein.

Page 173. Larry Goldstein, president of Mark Stevens/CVS.

Page 83. Robert Levine founded Robert's Children's Shop.

Page 120. Sadwin Manufacturing Company, curtain makers.

Page 121. Sidney Blumenthal Manufacturing, textiles.

Page 27. Increasing influence of Jewish community. Solomon Treitel, first president of Congregation B'nai Israel.

Pages 157, 161, 174, 245. Zelmor Levin, variously executive editor of *The Woonsocket Call*, manager of radio station WWON, reporter for *The Providence*

Journal, and proprietor of the weekly *The Woonsocket Sunday Star*.

Page 146. Leo Drobnis, Play-More Sales Company, toys.

Page 210, Pamela Macktaz named Family Court judge.

9. *American History and Life*. Part D. Annual Index with List of Periodicals, Vol. 24, 1987. 563 pages, paperback.

Pages 355 - 356. Lists several items of Jewish interest under *Rhode Island*, *Rhode Island (Central Falls)*, *Rhode Island (Newport)*, and *Rhode Island (Providence)*.

10. *American History and Life*. Part D Annual Index with List of Periodicals, Vol. 25, 1988. 522 pages, paperback.

Page 349. Lists several items of Jewish interest under *Rhode Island Israelite* (publication), *Rhode Island (Newport)*, *Rhode Island (Providence)*, *Rhode Island Self Help*, and *Rhode Island (Woonsocket)*.

11. *Newport Then and Now, A Comparative View*. By John T. Hopf. Newport: John T. Hopf, 1989. Unpaged.

Photograph of Abraham Riviera House, dating from 1721, which became the home of The Newport Bank in 1803.

Photograph of Thames Street in 1954, showing Jewish-owned stores.

12. *What Did You Do in the War, Grandma?* "An Oral History of Rhode Island Women During World War II, Written by Students in the Honors English Program at South Kingstown High School," Rhode Island Committee for the Humanities, South Kingstown [Rhode Island] School Department, and the Rhode Island Historical Society, 1989.

Page 1. Mentions Judith Weiss Cohen.

Page 3. Photo of Judith Weiss Cohen.

Pages 12, 13. "Coming to Terms with the Holocaust ... And "Prejudice at Home," by Jason Gelles. Article based on oral history of Judith Weiss Cohen.

RHODE ISLAND JEWISH HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING
MAY 7, 1989

The Thirty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association was called to order at the Jewish Community Center of Rhode Island at 2:45 p.m. on Sunday, May 7, 1989, by Aaron Cohen, Co-chairman of the Annual Meeting. After Mr. Cohen welcomed everyone to this special meeting, he introduced Geraldine S. Foster, President of the Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association.

A motion to waive the reading of the minutes of the last annual meeting was passed.

Mrs. Foster reported that the Association now has a membership of 561 members. There are three more Life Members, making a total of 53, and 17 new Annual Members. She stated that she had come to the end of four years as President and thanked everyone for their help and assistance. She gave special thanks to Seebert and Bonnie Goldowsky, Jerome Spunt, Melvin Zurier, Stanley Abrams, Judith and Aaron Cohen, Charlotte Penn, Ruth Page, Samuel Stepak, Robert Kotlen, and Toby Rossner. Special thanks were given to Lynn Stepak for her kindness and capabilities and to Eleanor Horvitz, "the center of the Association," as the Librarian-Archivist.

Eleanor Horvitz explained that the theme of the exhibit at the meeting was the first year that she became Librarian-Archivist, 1974. She reported that many precious artifacts and memorabilia had been acquired. She receives many calls for information and help from various groups and individuals, Jewish and non-Jewish. The Association is working hard to collect, preserve, and upgrade its archives. Mrs. Horvitz also reported that she and Robert Kotlen were planning an exhibit at Highland Court on Jewish businesses.

The Treasurer's report covering the period January 1 to December 31, 1988, was read by Stanley Abrams for the Treasurer, Bernard Bell. The Association's income is derived from dues, donations, and endowment funds. The balance at this time was \$32,182.80. The complete report is on file.

Judith Cohen, Editor of the *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, thanked Dr. and Mrs. Goldowsky, Mrs. Foster, and Mrs. Horvitz for their help with the 1988 issue and reported that work has begun on articles about the anniversaries of Jewish Family Service and The Miriam Hospital for the next issue. Pearl Braude has started interviewing Jewish veterans of World War II for a future issue, and Mrs. Cohen asked for volunteers to be interviewed.

Ruth Fixler, the Chair of the Long-Range Planning Committee, reported that the committee has been meeting to make plans for bringing the Association into the '90s and thanked the committee members for their dedication. A final report will be presented at a later meeting.

Dr. Goldowsky, chairman of the Nominating Committee, presented the slate of officers for the coming year: President, Robert A. Kotlen; First Vice President, Stanley Abrams; Second Vice President, Bernard Kusinitz; Secretary, Caroline Gereboff; Associate Secretary, Charlotte Penn; and Treasurer, Dorothy Horowitz. The other members of the Executive Committee are listed in the report attached to the secretary's report. The President asked the Secretary to cast one ballot in favor of the slate. It was so moved and voted.

Mrs. Foster then turned the meeting over to Robert Kotlen, the new president. He stated that his interests are in increasing membership and preservation of the archives. He called upon volunteers for help and interest. He hopes to create portable exhibits to be shown at schools and other organizations.

Judith Cohen, Co-Chairman of the Annual Meeting, then presented a gift to Geraldine Foster in honor and thanks for being such an outstanding president. The gift was a sculpture entitled "Sabra Dancers" by Klare Sever.

Aaron Cohen introduced the speaker for the day, Dr. Vicki Caron, Assistant Professor of Judaic Studies at Brown University, who gave the 19th Annual David Charak Adelman lecture on "Between France and Germany: Jews and National Identity in Alsace-Lorraine, 1871-1918." Dr. Caron delivered a detailed lecture on the time of transition from the ghetto to the entry of Jews into French and German life and society.

Judith Cohen gave the closing remarks, thanking Eleanor Horvitz and Robert Kotlen for the interesting display and Toby Rossner for her expert help and advice. She thanked those present for attending and made them aware that Lynn Stepak was at the registration desk with membership applications and copies for sale of back issues of the *Notes*; Geraldine Foster's book, *The Jews of Rhode Island*; and informal note paper.

The meeting was adjourned at 4:30 p.m., and a collation and social hour followed.

Respectfully submitted,
Caroline Gereboff, Secretary

NECROLOGY — 1989

BONOFF, J. LEE, born in Providence, a son of Sally (Goldberg) and the late Leo E. Bonoff.

Mr. Bonoff was previously associated with the Miller Electric Co. and the Royal Electric Co. He served as a member of the Board of Directors of Avnet, Inc., New York, and the Canada Wire & Cable Co., Toronto, Canada.

He was an Army veteran of World War II and graduated from Brown University in 1950.

A member of the Board of Directors of the Jewish Federation of Rhode Island and Miriam Hospital, Mr. Bonoff also was a member of the Rhode Island Commodores and a former member of the advisory board of the Rhode Island Hospital Trust Bank. He held membership in the University Club and the Brown University Faculty Club.

Died in Madison, Connecticut, on October 21, 1989, at the age of 62.

CIKINS, MILDRED N., born in Boston, a daughter of the late Solomon and Annie H. (Price) Nisson.

She taught at Temple Israel, Boston, and had lived in Providence for 26 years after moving from the Brookline-Newton area of Massachusetts.

Mrs. Cikins held membership in the National Council of Jewish Women, Rhode Island Section; the Providence Chapter of Hadassah; the Miriam Hospital Women's Association; and the Women's Association of the Jewish Home for the Aged. She was a life member of the Hebrew Rehabilitation Center in Boston.

Died in Providence on March 23, 1989, at the age of 79.

COHEN, CHARLOTTE R., born in Providence, a daughter of the late Morris and Sarah (Talan) Homonoff.

She was co-owner, along with her husband, of Eaton Pharmacy, Providence, from 1937-61, and the Ivy Apothecary from 1961-78.

Active in several organizations, Mrs. Cohen was a member of Temple Emanu-El, its Sisterhood, and its Leisure Club. At the Jewish Community

Center she participated in the Swimmasters and the Yiddish Elder Camp. She was a member of the Pawtucket Chapter of Hadassah, Eastern Star, O.R.T., and the women's auxiliaries of the Jewish Home for the Aged and The Miriam Hospital.

Died in Sudbury, Massachusetts, on June 3, 1989, at the age of 68.

FISHBEIN, DR. JAY N., born in Boston, a son of the late Louis and Sarah (Miller) Fishbein.

Dr. Fishbein was a practicing physician for many years, retiring in 1973. He was a pioneer in the use of diathermy in the treatment of nasal sinuses. Dr. Fishbein received his undergraduate degree and medical degree from Tufts University and did postgraduate work at the University of Pennsylvania, specializing in diseases of the ear, nose, and throat.

He was a member of Roosevelt Lodge, AF&AM; Palestine Temple; Providence Hebrew Day School; Hebrew Academy of Torah; The Zionist Organization of America; Roger Williams Lodge of B'nai B'rith; Temple Emanuel and its Men's Club; Temple Beth Shalom; and the American Jewish Congress.

Died in Providence on July 28, 1989, at the age of 88.

GALKIN, IRA, born in Providence, a son of the late Samuel and Pauline (Shendel) Galkin.

Mr. Galkin was chairman of the board of the American Insulated Wire Corp., Pawtucket, which he founded in 1924. The New England Wire and Cable Club presented him its Distinguished Career Award in 1965.

He was a vice president and honorary vice president of the Jewish Federation of Rhode Island for seven years; president of Temple Beth Israel, Providence; and a member of the board at Temple Torat Yisrael. He was also a member of Roosevelt Lodge 42, AF&AM and was a Shriner.

Mr. Galkin had a number of philanthropic interests such as Brown University, The Miriam Hospital, Jewish Home for the Aged, Camp Yawgoog, and the Boy Scouts of America.

Died in Providence on February 24, 1989, at the age of 93.

GOODMAN, JACOB, born in Pawtucket, a son of the late Abraham and Bessie (Yablonsky) Goodman.

Mr. Goodman was a partner in the Providence law firm of Licht & Semonoff and a mathematician.

A 1926 graduate of Brown University, he received his master's degree from the University in 1928. He taught mathematics at Rutgers University from 1928 to 1934. He received a law degree from Fordham University Law School in 1934.

He was co-chairman of the Pawtucket Charter Commission in 1952 and a member of its review committee in 1974. Past president of the Pawtucket Bar Association, he was also a member of the Rhode Island Bar Association. He held membership in Temple Beth-El and its Men's Club.

Died in Providence on April 4, 1989, at the age of 84.

HASSENFELD, STEPHEN DAVID, born in Providence, a son of Sylvia (Kay) and the late Merrill Hassenfeld.

Mr. Hassenfeld was chairman and chief executive officer of Hasbro, Inc., the Pawtucket toy company. He helped transform the business — founded by his grandfather in 1923 as a distributor of fabric remnants — into an industry giant.

He founded the Hasbro Children's Foundation in 1984 to provide help to poor and homeless children. He was also active in business, civic, and charitable causes, including the American Stock Exchange, the Rhode Island Jewish Federation, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and the United Way.

Many honorary awards were bestowed upon Stephen Hassenfeld. He received doctorate degrees from Rhode Island College, Providence College, and Roger Williams College. He also received the national humanitarian award of the Rhode Island Council of the National Jewish Hospital and the Humanitarian of the Year award from the Rhode Island Big Brothers Association.

Died in New York City on June 25, 1989, at the age of 47.

KATZ, JACOB, born in Providence, a son of the late Hyman and Matilda (Rosen) Katz.

Founder and owner of the former Universal Chemicals Corp. of Ashton, Cumberland, Mr. Katz graduated with a degree in science from Rhode Island State College, now the University of Rhode Island, in 1933. He also received his master's degree from that college.

Mr. Katz was a 50-year member of the American Chemical Society, a fellow of the American Institute of Chemists, and a member of the American Institute of Chemical Engineers, the American Technion Society, and the American Oil Chemists Society.

Died in Boca Raton, Florida on November 22, 1989, at the age of 79.

SHARP, SARAH L., born in New York, a daughter of the late Morris and Anna Goldman.

Mrs. Sharp was a graduate of New York University and did graduate work at Brown University in education. She had been a teacher at Central High School for several years before retiring.

A member of the women's associations of the Jewish Home for the Aged and The Miriam Hospital, she also held membership in Hadassah.

Died in Providence on December 28, 1988.

SHORE, MAURICE, born in Providence, a son of the late Max and Esther (Prebluda) Shore.

Mr. Shore was former president and co-owner of the Allied Fluorescent Manufacturing Co., Providence, since 1946, and founder of Illumination Concepts and Engineering, North Kingstown, retiring in 1986.

A 1944 graduate of the former Rhode Island State College, he was a member of the URI Alumni Association.

He was affiliated with many philanthropic organizations such as the Jewish Federation, The Miriam Hospital Foundation, the Sloan Kettering Institute, Johns Hopkins Medical Center, and Boy Scouts of America. He was a member

of Temple Beth-El and also the Turks Head Club, the Ledgemont Country Club, and the New Seabury Club.

Died in Providence on June 18, 1989, at the age of 66.
 STERN, DR. LEO, born in Montreal, a son of Sholem Shtern and the late Sonia (Alboin) Shtern.

Dr. Leo Stern was chief of pediatrics at Rhode Island Hospital and Women & Infants Hospital and chairman of pediatrics at Brown University, and was internationally renowned in the field of neonatology.

Dr. Stern was a graduate of McGill University in Montreal and received his M.D. from the University of Manitoba in 1956. He was a member of Temple Emanu-El and its Men's Club. A member of the American Academy of Pediatrics, Dr. Stern also held membership in many medical and scientific societies such as the Royal Society of Medicine, the Society for Pediatric Research, the Rhode Island and Providence Medical Societies, among many others.

Died in Providence on May 17, 1989, at the age of 58.

A member of the women's associations of the Jewish Home for the Aged and The Miriam Hospital, she also held membership in Hadassah.

Died in Providence on December 18, 1988.

SHORE, MAURICE, born in Providence, a son of the late Max and Esther (Friedland) Shore.

Mr. Shore was former president and co-owner of the Allied Fluorescent Manufacturing Co., Providence, since 1946, and founder of Illumination Concepts and Engineering, North Kingstown, retiring in 1986.

A 1944 graduate of the former Rhode Island State College, he was a member of the URI Alumni Association.

He was affiliated with many philanthropic organizations such as the Jewish Federation, The Miriam Hospital Foundation, the Shalom Kinneret Institute, Johns Hopkins Medical Center, and Boy Scouts of America. He was a member

ERRATA AND ADDENDA

VOLUME 9, NUMBER 4

*"United Brothers, Bowling and Bagels in Bristol:
A Study of the Changing Jewish Community in Bristol, Rhode Island"*

Page 294: Add to first paragraph, "The last day the Bristol congregation held services was Yom Kippur 1966."

"Sabbath Tour of Synagogues in Providence and Vicinity"

Page 346: Amy Wise Salinger should read "Amy Wise Solinger."

VOLUME 10, NUMBER 2

"Ashkenazim vs. Sephardim in the Colonial Era"

Page 170, Lines 31-32, should read "In 1772, Newport acquired a *mohel* in the person of Moses Seixas, brother of Gershom. ..."

"The Olneyville Hebrew Club — Order of Hebraic Comradeship"

Page 193: Samuel Shindler died February 17, 1987, should read "February 16, 1987."

Back Cover: Names of the rabbi brothers Werner should be reversed. Right center photograph is that of Rabbi Osher Z. Werner while the photograph below his is that of Rabbi David Werner. Rabbi David Arliansky should read "Cantor David Arliansky."

VOLUME 10, NUMBER 3, PART A

"An Annotated Bibliography"

Page 213, Photo Caption, should read "The Narragansett Hotel, about 1954, corner of Dorrance, Eddy, and Weybosset Streets, Providence, Rhode Island. ..."

Page 263, Page 272, Guny, Elizabeth (Mrs. Harold) should read "Guny, Elizabeth (Mrs. Harry)."

Page 272, Goldowski, Bonnie, should read "Goldowsky, Bonnie."

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