



**RHODE ISLAND
JEWISH HISTORICAL NOTES**

Memorializing the Death of President William McKinley by assassination, September 14, 1901. (*Courtesy of The Outlet Co.*)

RHODE ISLAND JEWISH HISTORICAL NOTES

VOLUME 6, NUMBER 4

NOVEMBER, 1974



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RHODE ISLAND JEWISH HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

209 ANGELL STREET, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND 02906

TABLE OF CONTENTS

THE OUTLET COMPANY STORY	489
<i>by Eleanor F. Horvitz</i>	
THE BREAK IN	532
<i>by JUDGE JOHN C. BURKE</i>	
ORININ, MY SHTETL IN THE UKRAINE	542
<i>by Beryl Segal</i>	
KING DAVID'S LODGE OF NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND	578
<i>by Benton H. Rosen</i>	
HAKHAM RAPHAEL HAIM ISAAC CARIGAL: Rabbi of Newport, 5533 (1773)	587
<i>by Marvin Pitterman and Bartholomew Schiavo</i>	
NEWPORT AS ARARAT	604
<i>by Seebert J. Goldowsky, M.D.</i>	
SAMUEL BELKIN AT BROWN	610
<i>by Rabbi William G. Braude</i>	
THE TOURO INFLUENCE—WASHINGTON'S SPIRIT PREVAILS	614
<i>by Sister Lucille McKillop</i>	
LOCAL JEWISH HISTORY—THE RHODE ISLAND EXPERIENCE	622
<i>by Seebert J. Goldowsky, M.D.</i>	
THE TWENTIETH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION	629
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES	630
<i>by Seebert J. Goldowsky, M.D.</i>	
NECROLOGY	632
INDEX TO VOLUME 6	635



The Outlet Co. store, occupying one-half of the first floor of the Hodges Building, as it appeared during the earliest years following its opening in 1894. (Courtesy of the Providence Public Library)

THE OUTLET COMPANY STORY AND THE SAMUELS BROTHERS

by ELEANOR F. HORVITZ

"The Journal and Bulletin point blank refuse to print our advertisements and give us no reason for doing so. If our ads were not truthful we would not blame them. If we attempted to fool the public, we would not blame them, but their intellect is so badly clogged that they cannot even invent an excuse, but then, what can you expect of a paper that does so many ridiculous stunts . . ." This was part of an editorial in a newspaper called *THE OUTLET BULLETIN*, dated November 7-9, 1901.

Joseph and Leon Samuels solved their advertising problem by publishing their own free newspaper, and a good newspaper it was, championing the rights of the underprivileged. This was only one of hundreds of problems which they confronted and successfully met. Theirs is a Horatio Alger story.

Joseph Samuels was born in Washington, D.C. on June 7, 1868, the son of James and Caroline (Katzenberg) Samuels. He spent his childhood in his native city of Washington, where he attended the local public schools, proving himself to be an alert and earnest student.¹ As a youth he accompanied his parents to their new home in Philadelphia, where he obtained his first business training. He remained in Philadelphia until 1891,* when (according to Bicknell) he came to Providence with his brother, Leon. It is recounted that "their success in Providence was instantaneous, having accomplished many achievements in the way of overcoming obstacles and the development of every opportunity which have marked the career of the Outlet Company Department Store. The early days of their venture were difficult ones for the two young men whose progressive advent was resented by the merchants already established in the city. They were both possessed of considerable experience in the line of business they intended to follow. They came with new ideas and enterprise that was remarkable and readily overcame the obstacles placed in their way by their adversaries."¹

Another source² gave 1894 as the year the Samuels brothers came to Providence, likely a more accurate date. The latter author however describes their father as a "successful merchant" in the national capital and later in Philadelphia, a statement disputed by others. For example,

*More likely 1894. See below.



COL. JOSEPH SAMUELS 1868-1939
(Courtesy of The Outlet Co.)



LEON SAMUELS 1869-1929
*(From oil portrait, Courtesy of
The Outlet Co.)*

in a Resolution³ adopted by the Directors of the Retail Board upon Joseph Samuels's death, it was stated that "He was forced to start earning his living as an errand boy at the age of 11 following the death of his father. Colonel Samuels received his training for many years in the rough and tumble of the school of hard knocks before going into the clothing business for himself and coming to Providence with his brother 45 years ago. Here the two brothers started from scratch in a small Weybosset Street store which with gradual expansion has developed into the great business block now housing the Outlet Company, one of the biggest and most progressive business establishments in Providence." From this Resolution it is learned that the father of Joseph and Leon was a native of New York City, and that their mother had been born in Philadelphia. It refers also to the minor jobs held by Joseph Samuels in Philadelphia business houses before he decided that to be successful he had to work for himself. Thus, setting himself up with a small sign announcing a clothing business, he embarked on a form of salesmanship which was in vogue in those days. He would go from place to place conducting the sales of clothing in small towns throughout the east, making a brief stand in each town. He opened his first permanent store in Meriden, Connecticut with a sales force of two people. They advertised by distributing hand bills from door to door.

Their route took them to Providence in 1894. The brothers intended to remain for only thirty days, but after looking over the field decided that Providence was the place they had been looking for as the site for a permanent business. The little store out of which the Outlet Company was to grow was bare of furnishings, and the stock was piled up on packing cases which were used as counters. The business in those first years was widely advertised, with one bargain sale following another. They used methods not considered proper by other merchants. They showed that you could get good values, and sales skyrocketed. The store was originally called the Manufacturers' Outlet because it was considered a direct outlet from the manufacturer to the consumer with no middle man costs. Joseph Samuels married Alice March Murr, daughter of Lewis and Bertha (Silverberg) Murr, on January 17, 1900 in Boston, Massachusetts. He had one daughter, Bertha Carol, born in Providence on June 4, 1903.

Leon Samuels was one year younger than Joseph, having been born on July 4, 1869.¹ Like his brother he attended the public schools of Philadelphia. At age 12 he was selling papers in the street, but before reaching 21 he is reported to have acquired a good knowledge of the

mercantile business. He and Joseph engaged in several selling ventures and acquired a modest capital and good credit. Bicknell describes his rise thus: "Like the majority of men who have risen to commercial prominence during the last half century, he is emphatically self made, cutting his way from the most humble walks of mercantile pursuits, defeating inch by inch and step by step the many obstacles piled high in his path, but relying upon his own alert and farseeing judgment he quickly gained the uppermost rung of the commercial ladder." He married Mildred Eidelberg in New York City on February 19, 1899. He had one daughter, Claire.

THE EXPANSION

In the small Weybosset Street store the Samuels brothers bought and sold little stocks of merchandise, mainly clothing, but in addition they must have carried such items as tobacco, for Mrs. Claire Mandell recalls how her father, Hyman Katz, would sell them tobacco from his store on North Main Street. Katz, who saw the brothers daily as they picked up their supply of tobacco (for roll-your-own cigarettes), called them "very smart boys" and "hustlers". Mrs. Florence Zacks's father, Bernard Kwasha, purchased his wedding pants from an Outlet stall in 1897.

The small store with its crude cases for displaying merchandise (display tables were improvised from packing boxes and boards placed on wooden horses) soon was inadequate for the business generated. An article published in 1903^{4,5} contains an account of how the store expanded from its location in a small section of the Hodges Building on the ground floor of 176 Weybosset Street: ". . . from the start the business prospered and soon outgrew its quarters. To overcome this difficulty, the land in the rear of the Hodges block, fronting on Pine Street, was cleared and a brick building erected. The original front space was more than doubled. As time went on and the business grew, more space was needed, and finally the whole of the Hodges Building was occupied by this enterprising concern. In the year 1902 the firm purchased the old City Hotel property, adjoining the present quarters and began the erection of a modern business block. This building is now completed, and on October 1st the enlarged store was opened for business. On this date 35 new departments were added, and the Outlet Company became one of the largest department stores in New England. Commencing nine years ago in a small corner of the present mammoth store, the growth and success of this concern has been unparalleled in the business annals of Providence." At the time when this enthusiastic



Opening of the new block on October 1, 1903. *(Courtesy of the Providence Public Library)*



Outlet Store circa 1909 occupied the whole block on Weybosset Street from Garnet Street to Eddy Street with the exception of the Jacob Wirth's Café building just out of view to the right of the Outlet Hat Store. *(Courtesy of The Outlet Co.)*

article was written (1903), the *Providence Journal* and *The Evening Bulletin* were not accepting their advertising.

In a 1909 *Board of Trade Journal* there are six sketches showing the expansion of the Outlet Company. These illustrations, according to the accompanying article, "disclose a monument to the enterprise, energy and business methods of Joseph and Leon Samuels." From a small unpretentious store on Weybosset Street, they started on their journey to progress. Referring to the conservatism and business acumen of the Samuels brothers, the *Journal* commented: "Each expansion, however, was not thought of until the increased business absolutely warranted the new move. Today the store occupies, with the exception of a small part on Weybosset Street, the entire block from Garnet to Eddy Street and from Eddy Street, with the exception of one small building, back to Pine Street. When the Outlet Company first started in its small store, the buildings surrounding it were of old vintage and in dilapidated conditions. The expansion and improvements of this block started the big boom for Weybosset Street."

In February of the same year an article in the *Providence Journal* carried this headline: "Samuels Bros. in Big Realty Deal. Purchase Building at Weybosset and Union Streets. About \$300,000 Involved." It was described as "one of the most important real estate deals of recent years. The property at the northwest corner of Weybosset and Union Streets, [is] at present occupied by stores and offices of Mrs. Spink's dancing academy. [There are] No immediate plans and all tenants can stay. It might be for expansion of [the] store or a hotel or theatre." Whatever the plans, Joseph Samuels commented, they will be carried out "so as to reflect credit on the city and add to its attractions for the travelling public. . . . The land will be occupied by a block that will add to the attractiveness of the business section. For a number of years we have been considering the possibility of securing the property as a part of our plans to develop Weybosset Street which we firmly believe is to be more and more the main business street of the city."

By 1914 the *Board of Trade Journal* referred to the "Outlet of today" as occupying the entire square block with the exception of two small corners, while overflowing to a big structure in process of construction on Pine and Eddy Streets.

Plans for their modern building of steel construction to be erected at Pine and Eddy Streets were announced in the *Providence Sunday Journal* of March 28, 1920. The structure was to consist of five floors



The Outlet Co. store as it appeared in May 1914. (Courtesy of the Providence Public Library)

and a basement, giving the company a total additional floor space of 78,000 square feet, with a frontage of 148 feet on Pine Street and 78 feet on Eddy Street. There would be an entrance on Pine Street and a continuous straight main aisle from Weybosset Street to Pine Street, devoted exclusively to bargain tables. The structure of steel was to have "fancy gray brick and terra cotta trimmings." Angell and Swift were the architects.

To carry out this expansion some familiar buildings were demolished. The old City Hotel on Weybosset Street built in 1832, where Charles Dickens had stayed when he paid his one and only visit to Providence on February 20, 1868, was torn down in 1903. For the expansion of 1912 (mostly on Garnet Street) three buildings including the old Hof Brau Haus and numerous saloons were razed. Expansion was not only for store space. In 1914 the old Oriental Saloon on Pine Street was purchased and torn down to make room for a new warehouse and garage. The warehouse and garage at the corner of Eddy and Pine Streets, comprising 14,000 square feet of floor space and six stories high, was considered one of the most modern fireproof buildings in Providence.

The famous old Jacob Wirth's Café property was first acquired for use by lease in March 1917. On February 25, 1922 the *Providence Journal* reported that the "Samuels Land Company gets Weybosset Street property. \$110,000 worth of revenue stamps attached to deed. The property at the corner of Weybosset and Garnet, owned by Jacob Wirth of Boston and Eliza Wirth Fidler of Philadelphia." When that was also demolished, the *Evening Tribune* of Providence reported nostalgically on June 21, 1923: "The demolition of the small two story building at the corner of Weybosset and Garnet Streets marks the passing of a land mark which was famous in pre-Volstead days . . . formerly occupied by Jacob Wirth & Co. it was for many years a gathering place for the elite of the beer imbibing fraternity. The choicest of imported and domestic ales and beers were dispensed by the Maxs' and Ottos' of former times. Many an overworked or overheated businessman, as well as the proletariat, found rest and pleasure at tables or leaning upon the bar, consuming countless steins of Narragansett, Pilsner or Wurtsberger. The steady march of progress which has marked the growth of the Manufacturers Outlet Co. from a small beginning to its present gigantic proportions demands the removal of the landmark to permit erection of a new modern structure which will be the last of the building units needed to complete the Outlet Company stores that

now cover the entire block bounded by Weybosset, Eddy, Pine and Garnet Streets."

On the first floor of the Outlet Company, near the Garnet Street entrance, there is a plaque bearing the following inscription: "1894. Presented to the Founders, Joseph and Leon Samuels, by the employees of the Outlet Company on the completion of this entire block. 1923."

Thus they occupied the entire block, which included a street originally chosen because it was in the low-rent district. Weybosset Street was in marked contrast to the high-rent retail establishments on lower Westminster Street between Dorrance Street and the Turk's Head Building. That they had great imagination is evidenced by their willingness to start in business in an area where "every door and window of Jacob Wirth's establishment breathed the aroma of good food, spiced with the fragrance of light and dark beer . . . where swinging doors of saloons flapped hospitably . . . and the change of seasons was marked only by the transition from hot toddy to bock with, of course, sloe gin for the ladies."⁶

The Samuels brothers had not only imagination, but also remarkable native business acumen. Thus we learn that in 1894 "every possible card was stacked against the new venture. . . . The country as a whole had not yet shaken off the inertia of a widespread depression. . . . Capital had gone into hiding and credit had disappeared; manufacturers brooded over stocks of goods that no one would buy; workmen loitered outside plants that had shut down for lack of orders."⁶ In this depression they used a unique method which led to their financial success. "Buy quality goods in quantity, and turn them over fast—at the smallest possible profit per unit."⁶ This merchandising policy attracted hoards of customers who could not afford the prevailing high prices.

UNIQUE ADVERTISING

From the beginning their methods of advertising were unlike any to which Rhode Islanders had ever previously been exposed. When they could not get newspaper advertising, they retaliated with every device of publicity. "Into the 'high-rent district' they sent patrols of sandwich men, wearing signboards that shrieked: 'It's a bargain! Come and get 'em while they last!'"⁶ The angry reaction of the conservative downtown merchants to the sandwich men parading up and down Westminster Street was well known. It was manifest in the behavior of the *Journal-Bulletin* papers.

There are still a few copies extant of the original *Outlet Bulletin*, the Samuels brothers' answer to the *Providence Journal's* rejection of their advertising. This newspaper was published weekly and distributed by their own carriers, with a free circulation of 100,000—the largest in Rhode Island. It was no throwaway; it was a crusading newspaper with an editorial policy. The motto under their heading of "Weekly—Reliable and Interesting News" was "The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth in our advertisements." The news stories and editorials in the issues still available for study were concerned with winning free transfer tickets on the street railways for the people. That they were successful is of great credit to the Samuels brothers. Lincoln Steffens wrote about this contest: "A powerful bloc ruled the Rhode Island street railways at the turn of the century. The greatest popular grievance against their control was that the bloc would permit no transfer tickets, as in other states from one street car line to another. For every ride, a full fare was charged, and it was only when the voice of the people screamed the political house down that transfer tickets were introduced."⁶ The *Outlet Bulletin* succeeded in having free transfers issued as of July 10, 1902. The newspaper took up other issues on behalf of the people. It exposed the "Money Loan Sharks" who charged exorbitant rates. It advised its readers that it was the "duty of every citizen to register" to vote and that it would print reviews of candidates' speeches. During the years of the newspaper, the early 1900s, it explained the laws on registration and naturalization to the many readers who were recent immigrants. In this connection there was an unfavorable editorial on Senator Nelson W. Aldrich who was referred to ironically as "our great boss of Rhode Island."

The newspaper also contained a section titled "The Outlet's Home Corner," which included a children's column featuring puzzles and games, an article on physical culture, cooking recipes, advice from the family physician, and health and beauty tips. A short story in the issue of September 26, 1901 had the fascinating title "Her Second Engagement".

A considerable portion of the newspaper was devoted to advertisements showing values in men's, women's and children's furnishings and such items as suitcases. Accompanying the pictures of the sale items was a column on "What Fashionable Women Wear".

It editorialized in many issues on the absence of Outlet advertisements in the leading Providence newspaper. Thus on one occasion it commented: ". . . probably our ads always brimful of interesting and

tempting values would make some of their advertisers' advertisements look insignificant. We have from the very beginning sold the very highest standard merchandise at cut prices, such low prices they fairly threw some of their Westminster Street merchants into hysterics — — — they thought they could put a damper on our progress by keeping our ads out of the *Journal and Bulletin*, but they reckoned without their host, the people know a thing or two and it would not take them long to find out where they could get the most for their money, and that is why the Outlet continues to grow larger and stronger each day."

They used their newspaper as a means of publicizing the values they offered to the public. "Talk About Colossal Nerve. When manufacturers come to us and want to buy back at our prices the merchandise which they sold us it is mighty good evidence that we are tramping on someone's toes. Only last week a well known silk manufacturer came to us with the above proposition and said other merchants objected to our cutting prices. There are many things they object to. If they had their way they would probably remove Weybosset Street off of the Providence map. They object simply because they know we give standard values and undersell them, and it is such extraordinary silk, velvet dress goods and lining values as we offer you in this advertisement that we are drawing the knowing ones to our store. 'Old Friends',* trading stamps, premiums and other alluring tactics have no weight with the people in the face of our genuine value-giving."

CHARITABLE ACTS

Another way in which the Outlet Company's name was kept before the public was in its various acts of philanthropy. For example, each Christmas 500 tons of coal were distributed among poor families.⁷ In the *Outlet Bulletin* there was an advertisement soliciting applicants for this coal. In a 1919 publication the free coal distribution was described as follows: "For over twenty years we have distributed at Christmas time free coal to the worthy poor. Our method of distribution has been through the clergymen of all denominations. The giving of this coal is a cherished custom which we enjoy and we want all our patrons to feel that they are a party to the giving of this coal because it is a testimonial of our appreciation of their continued patronage."⁸

There are many examples of the types of charitable services rendered. A *Providence Journal* news story of August 18, 1920 told of a truck being donated to ex-servicemen at Wallum Lake, the Rhode Island

*Unexplained.

state tuberculosis sanatorium. During the summer months the Outlet Company placed its automobiles at the service of the various orphanages throughout Providence. On these outings the children were taken for rides into the country and served refreshments. A story of March 16, 1931 in the *Providence Journal* refers to the Outlet Company sending a truckload of blankets to the Home for Aged Men on Broad Street in Providence when fire destroyed much of the building.

Doctor Irwin Graubert, an optometrist, whose office was formerly located in the Outlet Company building, has displayed on his waiting room wall a clipping from the *Outlet Bulletin* of 1904 conveying the following information: "Free examination and free glasses to those who cannot afford to have their eyes properly treated. Free examination in our optical department."

This tradition of service has continued. For example, *Women's Wear Daily* of July 27, 1960 reported: "Outlet set new world record by setting up anti-polio clinic in Men's Furnishings Department when epidemic hit Rhode Island. 11,020 persons were given Salk shots by Navy medical men." Space in the store is still made available for the sale of merchandise made by the blind.

DENTAL CLINIC FOR CHILDREN

By far the best known and most enduring act of charity is the Joseph Samuels Dental Clinic for Children. News of the gift appeared first in the *Providence Journal* of September 7, 1929 announcing that Samuels had presented \$300,000 to the Rhode Island Hospital for construction and endowment of a children's dental clinic. This endowment was an outgrowth of an interest he had had in the sponsorship of a dental clinic in Cranston, which provided the children of needy families with oral treatment and education in oral health.

Plans called for the building to be erected on the hospital grounds. The clinic services would be free to children whose parents were for financial reasons unable to provide them with proper dental treatment and without consideration of race, creed, or color. The clinic was also to serve as a medium through which medical and dental practice would be brought into closer contact. The facilities of the clinic were to be offered to dentists who studied in the extension courses in dentistry at Brown University.

On March 18, 1931 the new dental clinic was opened officially. Many paid tribute to Joseph Samuels: "A Providence business man, who put into action an idea born of a desire to fill a community need, was told

last night that a grateful state and city and the kindred professions of medicine and dentistry realize that the unique institution he made possible not only will be the means of more effective work to relieve or prevent human suffering but likewise will promote equality of opportunity throughout the world.”⁸ Governor Norman S. Case in his remarks stated: “This clinic was founded because Colonel Samuels wished to give every Rhode Island child an equal chance for health. The thanks of the parents and children of today are due him.” Mayor James E. Dunne remarked: “Although Colonel Samuels has achieved prominence in the financial and business life of the city, he always has kept the common touch and thought of those who have not been so fortunate. The idea of giving a dental clinic to Providence was characteristic of this man who finds his greatest pleasure in giving and sharing with others the successful results of his labors.” A resolution was passed by both houses of the Rhode Island Legislature lauding him for this magnanimous act. Modestly Samuels replied: “The people of Rhode Island have been very good to me and I know of no better way to show my appreciation of their goodness”⁹

In May of 1932 Samuels gave the dental clinic an additional \$10,000, which gift was announced at a meeting of the Rhode Island Dental Society. The society also thanked Samuels for use of radio station WJAR for its weekly broadcasts on the prevention of dental diseases.

In March of 1933 Joseph Samuels was made a fellow of the American College of Dentists. He was the first layman to receive this award. On bestowal of the fellowship he replied, “I would not be human if I did not feel proud and pleased at the honor which I received tonight. I know that the American College of Dentists does not confer its degree without good reason, but I believe I have been honored too much. My only contribution was to furnish the funds to build and equip a clinic for the children of the state”¹⁰

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Free band concerts were provided for the people in various public parks throughout the Providence metropolitan area by the Outlet Company. Arrangements were made with Fay’s Second Regiment Band to give these concerts at a cost of \$60.00 and carfare each Friday evening during the summer. The city clerks of the various communities were consulted for sites at which to hold the concerts. The cost of sponsoring these concerts was well worth the resulting publicity. A typical notice read, “The concert in Pawtucket on baseball grounds will include popular and classical selections calculated to please all music

lovers. The affair is entirely free through the generosity of the Outlet Company" or "Special concert to be given for baby food fund. Outlet Company will offer fine musical treat at Roger Williams Park."¹¹ Eventually the city of Providence appropriated sufficient money for public sponsorship of the concerts.

The Samuels brothers were always interested in sports and sponsored what they called "The Outlet Marathon" held on February 22, 1909. The runners started from Greystone, Rhode Island and finished in front of the Outlet store, a distance of 7½ miles. The time was 41:31:04. Arranged by the Providence Athletic Association, it attracted thousands of people along the entire route, not least at the Outlet Company.⁵

ADVERTISING STUNTS

In other and more flamboyant ways, the Samuels brothers saw to it that the Outlet Company became an institution well-known throughout Rhode Island. Their showmanship was legend. Leon Samuels, who handled the advertising for the Outlet Company, dreamed up the "gimmicks" to sell the store to the public. His role in the management of the store was always subservient to his brother's, although as the store grew Joseph Samuels was willing to take almost any risk his brother urged upon him if it would promote the retail business.¹² It was no coincidence that the brothers were such good friends of Edward M. ("Ed") Fay, well-known theater owner. Edward "Eddie" Higgins and Warren Walden spoke of this friendship. "He (Ed) was quite the guy with the Colonel." They believed that many of the publicity stunts originated with Fay, who in turn was helped by the Samuels's financial backing. A good example of this teamwork was the appearance of the magician, Houdini, in February of 1906. Fay's theater,* then Keith's Theater on Westminster Street, and the Outlet Company's props made Houdini's performance a sellout. Standing room and even the stage were utilized to accommodate the crowd. The Outlet packers brought out their especially constructed box, which was a large packing case made of boards. Houdini allowed himself to be bound and tied with a strong rope as securely as if he were in a strait jacket. He was lifted into the packing case, its top was nailed on, and the packing case was bound with heavy ropes. It took him 11 minutes to get out. The box was intact and the ropes were in place.

The period July 29 to August 3, 1907 had been declared Old Home Week in Providence. Ready as always to take advantage of this event

*Fay's Theater opened about 1917. Keith's was located at 260 Westminster St., Fay's on Union St.



Old Home Week arch, showing the wedding and bridge to the Outlet Store, August 3, 1907, Crown Hotel in the background. (Courtesy of *The Outlet Co.*)

was the Outlet Company. A triumphal arch was erected across Weybosset Street with Mayor Patrick J. McCarthy driving the first nail for its erection. The set piece on top of the arch represented the landing of Roger Williams. What brought the most publicity was a plan to hold a wedding on top of the arch. The execution of this idea entailed many problems. The advertising department finally persuaded a young couple, Charles Irving Adams of Providence and Nettie A. Pinkham of Pawtucket, to hold their scheduled wedding on top of the arch by promising to reward them with three rooms of furniture for their new home. The next obstacle was to persuade a clergyman to perform the marriage. Joseph Samuels had been refused by six clergymen, until one, more daring and adventurous than the others, finally agreed. The wedding party had to climb out of a third story window in the Hodges Building section of the Outlet Company block to mount the arch. A band below played the wedding march. The public was invited to attend the marriage ceremony, and thousands filled Weybosset Street. At high noon the couple were married. A story in the August 4, 1907 *Providence Journal* called the wedding, "As beautiful a wedding as any bride might wish". The same article reported also that the wedding had advertised the Outlet Company all over the east. A generation later, with somewhat less fanfare, the Outlet Company again erected an equally impressive arch for the Rhode Island Tercentenary Festival (1936).

The Outlet Company was the first store to commemorate Mother's Day in Rhode Island and encouraged observance of the day by giving away free carnations each year.⁵

The Samuels brothers were fascinated by the advances being made in the field of transportation. They arranged a display of what their publicity department called "the first genuine aeroplane". It was called "The Bleriot", a French aeroplane, 26 feet, 3 inches long and 27 feet, 7 inches from wing-tip to wing-tip. This French monoplane was the first to cross the English Channel and was brought to the Outlet Company at considerable expense. After the exhibit it was shipped to Los Angeles.⁵ This was in 1909. Later they displayed Charles A. Lindbergh's "The Spirit of St. Louis".⁶

Their interest in the field of communications, which led to the founding of radio station WJAR, first manifested itself in exploring the possibilities of the telephone. In 1915 when the first transcontinental telephone circuit was completed, Providence Mayor Joseph H. Gainer talked to the Mayor of San Francisco from the office of Joseph Samuels. In January of 1927 there were front page articles about Samuels's tele-



Transcontinental telephone circuit established in 1915. Mayor Joseph H. Gainer calls the mayor of San Francisco from the office of Joseph Samuels. Standing left to right: Leon Samuels, Mayor Joseph H. Gainer, Joseph Samuels. Seated: Mayor Gainer's executive secretary. (Courtesy of *The Outlet Co.*)

phone call to London over the first transatlantic telephone circuit. He talked with Harry Gordon Selfridge of London, head of Selfridge & Co., Ltd., one of the largest and oldest department stores in London. The headline reported: "Providence man phones London as service is opened. New England marvels at ease in which another country is linked with the United States". At a cost of \$25 per minute, Samuels spoke for three minutes and is quoted as saying, "I couldn't have heard any better if I had been talking to a friend in Pawtucket." He went on: "It certainly is most remarkable to think we in Rhode Island can establish direct contact with the life of a nation 4,000 miles away. Before many years I believe we will be able to go to London in 48 hours time. Perhaps then our talk will be about the good old days when it took six days by ocean liner from New York."

Mortimer L. Burbank, who rose from clerk in the early 1900s to become president on Joseph Samuels's death, kept fascinating diaries while he was in the advertising department of the Outlet Company. In an entry of June 30, 1906 there is an item to the effect that a Professor Allen of the Rhode Island Normal School would ascend in his balloon and throw out one hundred tickets worth one dollar each when cashed at the Outlet Company store. The Providence newspapers, the *Providence Journal*, *The Evening Bulletin*, and the *Evening Tribune*, gave considerable publicity to the professor's 4th of July "perilous and sensational voyage and descension." The Outlet Company itself included announcements of this daring act in its advertisements in addition to erecting a huge electric display in front of its store. The outcome was documented in the August 2 entry of Burbank's diary revealing that 47 of the one dollar vouchers had been caught. About 5,000 persons watched as Professor Allen, dressed in a suit of dark clothes and wearing a soft black hat with a broad brim, dropped the package of Outlet Company vouchers, which came fluttering down over Francis Street.

Another entry in the diary records a Stout Women's Convention, which gathered at the Outlet Company to show the results of the Nemo self-reducing corset. The newspapers picked up these items from the Outlet's advertisements and gave them double coverage by making news stories out of these schemes.

There was no limit to the diversity of their appeal—from corsets to books—as another diary entry shows: "The Outlet Company Selects Authors: \$150,000 series to be sold here. The Authors' and Newspapers' Association chose the Outlet to be their sole distributor of their \$150,000 series of books by famous authors. Only one leading store in the

principal cities will have these books. *The Rock and the Baltic*, the first book of the series, takes place in Russia”.

The store windows were as often used to attract attention as for the display of merchandise. In the *Providence Journal* issue of January 28, 1907 there is a reference to a window exhibition of ostriches. (Perhaps this tied in with the ladies' millinery of the day.)

Lillian Berger Rubinstein recalls that the Outlet Company borrowed two dresses one of which had belonged to her mother, the other a child's dress, both having been brought to this country from Romania by her mother. The reason for displaying the dresses was to honor Queen Marie of Romania, who was then visiting the United States. These dresses were reputed to have been copies of models worn by the Queen.

On July 12, 1917 Harry Gardiner, "The Human Fly," climbed the front of the Outlet Company store from the street to the top of the roof, using only his hands and feet. Thousands watched, causing traffic to halt for 25 minutes. "The people held their breath and many emitted shrieks at times when the 'human fly' appeared to be losing his hold on the architectural embellishments", it was reported.⁵

"Happyland" at Christmas time in the Outlet Company store was an annual event, going back to the very early years of the store's history. A *Pawtucket Times* December 13, 1906 news item reported enthusiastically: " 'This is a city, not a store', said a transient straying into the Outlet yesterday. An apropos statement because of the immense business being transacted at Weybosset Street in Providence. When you enter the door you are at once struck by the fact that an advertising genius has planned and executed the decoration that meets the eye. It was Happyland and all that means for the little people. Santa Claus in all of his splendour reigns supreme in this fairy bower. It is one of the most entertaining Christmas displays in the state of Rhode Island." Happyland was conceived by the same persons responsible for designing the New York Hippodrome theater. Meanwhile Santa Claus moved about the store, shaking hands. *The Evening Bulletin* in a news story described the Outlet Company's Happyland as being a place where persons could "gratify their desires by not only practicing the strictest economy but make their purchases at a reputable store. Whether the pocketbook be a thin one or overflowing with the coin of the realm, the Outlet will be found one of the shopping meccas of New England and no one need feel that a gift purchased there will not be acceptable in the highest degree."

Credit for the Santa Claus idea is given to Joseph Gettler, who had started out in the advertising department in 1901 and remained with the Outlet Company for 32½ years. He demonstrated the value of combining advertising with news coverage.

The Samuels brothers never missed an opportunity to acknowledge the holidays. Newspaper photographs of the outside of the store, especially for the celebration of the 4th of July, show the elaborate details of these decorations. A July 1, 1906 *Evening Tribune* article relates: "Of the many and various ways of displaying patriotism by large department stores in recognition of the national holiday never was there a prettier or more effective way than that which the Outlet exhibited in front of its store last night. The electricians did themselves proud. There were 200 electric bulbs in the display, the colors being red, white and blue."

Finally, the most notorious publicity was that surrounding Joseph Samuels and Baby Alice, the elephant. Alice the First had been donated to Roger Williams Park in 1928. "Gettler's flair for promotion fit Colonel Samuels's perfectly. In December 1928 the two publicity mongers brought a small zoo to the Outlet store to attract customers. One of the most popular animals in the collection was Alice, an elephant. Perhaps the funniest photograph still in existence at the Outlet Company is one in which the store's founding father, Joseph Samuels, holding his cigar in hand, and looking as dignified as he can, is seen petting Alice for a publicity story."¹² Alice the First died in April, 1936. A new 600-pound, harmonica-playing elephant was first on display at the department store before going to the zoo. This "Baby Alice", which replaced "Alice the First", was to make her debut on Christmas morning at the Roger Williams Park zoo. A photograph shows Samuels posing with the elephant, Doctor Joseph Castronova and Martin Noonan, superintendent of the Roger Williams Park, seemingly pleased to be involved in this showy philanthropy. Doctor Castronova, who was then chairman of the Board of Park Commissioners remarked: "I wish to thank Colonel Samuels We are fortunate in having a citizen as charitable as he. I anticipate a renewal of happiness in the children who will see this elephant and I know it will please Colonel Samuels immensely to see these children thrilled."

Their innovative advertising devices not only attracted considerable business but also earned the Samuels brothers praise from the Board of Trade. In the December 1914 issue of their *Journal* the changes

wrought by these methods are decried: “. . . the town had been much infested with itinerant merchants of the ‘fly-by-night’ variety whose activity and irresponsibility were about equally matched, and whose ‘bankrupt stocks’ and thrilling fire sales were conducive neither to the public welfare nor to the stability of legitimate trade. The ambitious young men from ‘foreign parts’ were not immediately identified as being of quite a different calibre. . . . It was a grand chance for playing to every part of the house from the pit to the gallery with the demand of fair play as the house desire to cater to the working people at living prices. The public responded. It not only patronized the brothers, but it enjoyed fully the laughable things that were put over on the other merchants. . . . Innumerable clever advertising schemes were concocted and carried out, each of which helped make the Outlet and also Weybosset Street, such as the out-door wedding, Christmas pantomimes and tableaux. . . . Every advertising move was a legitimate one. The little shop had become a giant store, its success drawing other merchants to Weybosset Street, making it fully as prominent as Westminster and booming land values and rentals to a marked degree. As for the business the Outlet does with the public, that goes without saying. It is tremendous and ample reward for the pluckiest kind of fighting against great odds.”

JOSEPH AND LEON SAMUELS AS EMPLOYERS

As the vast amount of material relating to news coverage is reviewed, one forms the impression that every act of philanthropy, of civic betterment, of spectacular showmanship originated solely for the promotion of the Outlet Company. What sort of men were Joseph and Leon Samuels? A different picture is drawn depending upon who is being interviewed. There is the “one big happy family” image given by some present employees who have been with the Outlet Company for many years. One such is Mary Perry, who went to work for the Outlet Company in 1921. The oldest of eight children, her father dead, she lied to get a job at the store. Being very young, she invented previous work experience. She gave as a reference Shepard’s Department Store. She reasoned that since Shepard’s had had a fire, their records might have been burned, and no one could check on her. When it was discovered that she had lied, she was to be fired; but when her desperate home situation was discovered, she was kept on. Miss Perry who has remained in the dress pattern department for over half a century, speaks very highly of Joseph Samuels. “The Colonel had a lot of finesse. Leon was kind of cocky. The brothers were very close, but very different.

They did a lot of good. They were quiet about their giving. If they knew someone was having it tough, they'd help out." She referred to their distribution of coal. Miss Perry continues: "A co-worker of mine had a toothache, and when the Colonel found out, he saw that she got dental care. He said that he had been poor and knew what it was like not to have enough money for dental care. He was always concerned about his employees and did a lot of good for them." She recalls with pleasure the good times Joseph Samuels provided for his employees, such as the outings at Rocky Point, for which the store closed at noon. To Mary Perry, Samuels was a man who was interested in people and became involved with them. He was good-hearted and always wanted to help children. He inquired of his employees as to how he could help them.

Kenneth Logowitz, now president of the Outlet Company, had little personal contact with the brothers. To him they were both "hard-headed aggressive business men who knew all their employees by their first names. Logowitz remarked that Joseph Samuels "was a good shot at the spittoon". Smiling as he reminisced about the two brothers, Logowitz recalled that they expressed their differences of opinion in very loud voices. Burbank, whose office was located between their two offices, often would do the communicating between them when they were angry at each other. Joseph Samuels's grandson, Joseph S. Sinclair (known as "Dody"), corroborated the story of the two brothers shouting to each other from their respective offices. He added that a secretary would also relay messages when they were not on speaking terms. In comparing the two men, Logowitz considered Joseph Samuels to be "slightly more polished". He too emphasized their personal approach to employees, whom they knew by first name.

Sarah Leichter Musler, who worked Saturdays at the Outlet Company while attending high school, found retailing very exciting. It appealed to her so much that she became a full-time salesperson. She commented that the Samuels brothers "ran things right; they were strict and very official; all instructions came from their office". Mrs. Musler worked in one of the very few departments in the Outlet Company which was leased out, the picture frame department owned by David Leon. It was not generally known that the practice of leasing existed in the store. However, even though this department was leased, Leon had to live up to the rules and regulations of the Outlet. Sarah Musler advanced to buyer. Leon retired in 1945; she took over the department. She comments about the owners: "Leon (Samuels) was quite a character, a nice good man, but quite a character. He did not bother

with the employees the way Joseph did. One had the greatest respect for Leon and Joseph”.

There are others still employed at the Outlet Company who personally knew the brothers. Helen Rose, who manages the first floor office accommodating desk, has worked there for 43 years. She recalls how Joseph Samuels would walk through the store, cigar in hand, and flower in his lapel. She remarks on how much he had done for the poor and less fortunate. Two sisters, Bertha and Bessie Boslowitz, have been employees of the Outlet Company for 46 and 43 years respectively. Bertha Boslowitz, connected with the shoe repair department for all but three months of that time, thinks of Joseph Samuels as a “wonderful man”. She remembers the annual outings with nostalgia. Her sister, Bessie, started as a salesgirl, was promoted to the position of assistant buyer in the handkerchief department, and is at present the buyer of budget sportswear. She too recalls Joseph Samuels’s wearing a white carnation in his buttonhole, greeting the employees as they would file in to work. He would tell them that the “prettiest girls worked at the Outlet Company.” She described him as “warmhearted”, “a great guy”, and “lovable”.

The Samuels brothers sponsored outings and costume parties for the employees. These affairs not only encouraged the “one big happy family” concept, but also were a source of publicity for the Outlet Company. In *The Evening Bulletin* of December 13, 1937 the following news item appeared: “Not Hallowe’en — Outlet Lets Out. Pedestrians on upper Washington Street rubbed their eyes last night and wondered if their calendars were playing tricks. They weren’t, it wasn’t Hallowe’en. It was the Outlet Company Beneficial Association Masquerade Party. Over 1,000 attended.” Accompanying the story was a picture of Joseph Samuels and Mary Newcomb, personnel director, who led the grand march at the costume party held in the Elk’s Auditorium. They were costumed as a colonial gentleman and lady. On another occasion the annual Christmas Masquerade Party was held at the Arcadia Ballroom on Washington Street. The illustration again showed Joseph Samuels (holding his inevitable cigar, but not in costume this year), and also Mortimer L. Burbank, William Payton, Mildred Manning, Mary Malley, and Jacob Edelstein.

FAMOUS OUTLET OUTINGS

In 1906 a news item appeared in the *Evening Tribune* of August 25 referring to the Outlet Company’s 10th annual outing. This would indicate that the Samuels brothers must have initiated this custom

soon after their establishment was large enough to have employees. The article described how the employees, together with their families, left the Outlet Company building at noon and marched along the streets to South Water Street, where they boarded a steamer called the "Favorite" for Boyden Heights.* A band preceded them. Everything was free. A ballgame between the floormen and the managers was held with suitable prizes awarded to the successful team. Dancing was held in the evening.

Every summer a headline would appear in the newspapers announcing the outing with pictures of the participants. In later years Rocky Point was the site of these activities. On file in the advertising department of the Outlet Company are copies of the brochures that were distributed to the employees announcing the Outlet outings. That of 1928 used the theme, "You'll have a whale of a good time on the great free for all Outlet Employees Summer Outing at Rocky Point". It also noted that the president would be with them as usual, but the illness of the vice president made it impossible for him to attend. The 1926 notice reflected the wit of the period: "Anybody that can't have a good time on an Outlet Outing must be a dumb-bell (and so's his old man)." In 1930 these lines were sung to the tune of "The Stein Song, University of Maine":

"Folks now we are proud to say
 We're from the Outlet Store
 Stand and let us give a great cheer
 You bet we're glad to shout Hooray
 Then thanks to our great President,
 For this holiday,
 Cheer to him our Colonel Samuels
 The man who gives us all our pay
 To his health, to his wealth,
 To the store and its glorious prosperity,
 And we know that the store
 Is safe with him ruling its destiny;
 To the man who is known for all of his generosity;
 And we hope, and we pray
 He'll be spared to us many a day."

According to Cyril Ryding, who worked in the Outlet Company from 1922 until 1970, the outings were a great deal of fun. He described the feeling as one of "one big happy family". A picture comes to mind of

*A former amusement park in East Providence, Rhode Island.

how these over one thousand people must have appeared as they marched en masse from the store to board the electric trolley cars down to Rocky Point, a band accompanying them. After the 1938 hurricane the site was changed to Crescent Park. Ryding started working under the original advertising manager, Joseph Gettler. For Ryding, Leon was a "stunt man, publicist and a promoter", while Joseph was "more conservative and a business man". He felt that their personalities complemented each other. He spoke of their kindness to him. He had had an appendectomy and had to stay out of work for six weeks. During his illness they sent him gifts and treated his absenteeism as a paid vacation. Their business acumen was stressed by Ryding. He explained that they would buy manufacturers' surplus or over-manufactured goods. Joseph Samuels was always aware of what was going on in other cities from a business point of view. The Samuels brothers conducted a discounting type of business long before it became popular in such enterprises as the Chase family's discount store, Ann & Hope. He knew of instances in which they would price merchandise below cost for advertising purposes. All of their sales promotion ideas did not work. For example, circulation of the Sunday newspaper was small, and there was no appreciable advertising in it. Therefore Monday was always a slow day for shoppers downtown. They tried a big advertising campaign to attract Monday shoppers, but it did not work. There was also a time when they stayed open on Saturday nights. They originated the idea of "the girl on the aisle", who sold the bargain items. Ryding recalled that the Outlet Company went "on the curb"* in 1921, a share of common stock selling for \$36.00. Stock shares were given to employees.

The current traffic manager of the Outlet Company, Edward (Eddie) Jennings, first met Joseph Samuels when he, Jennings, was a caddy at the Metacomet Country Club. Samuels made him his own private caddy. Jennings recalled that in 1919 the Ledgemont Country Club was established in Warwick by Jews who were feeling the pressure of antisemitism at the Metacomet, or who could not get membership in that club. Joseph Samuels joined the Ledgemont, but continued to play at both courses. He was described as a "good average golfer who was even tempered on the course."

A story recalled by Jennings was one which Joseph Samuels had recounted of the days when he could not advertise in the *Providence Journal*. He would advertise on the sides of horse-drawn wagons, which

*Now the American Stock Exchange.

would "break down". The nuts on the wheels had been loosened so that they would come off. This would attract a crowd of people who could not help seeing the bargains advertised on the sides of the wagons. According to Jennings sales were really sales in the days of the Samuels brothers. People would line up around the block to await the opening of the store.

Working as a sort of bodyguard for Joseph Samuels, Jennings eventually took on the job of assistant to a Mr. Brown, the traffic manager. That was in 1935, fourteen years after he had met Joseph Samuels. Having such close contact with Samuels, Jennings could describe him as "always wondering what he could do for the unfortunate. He would find out about a family who were in distress or who came to him for help. Then I would be sent to verify the circumstances. He gave only when actual need was proven and never let on he was the one who picked up the bills, such as hospital bills. He would give me a blank check to fill in the amount of money needed. In my book he was a great man. He had a good heart. He was not religious, but was tolerant of all religions and colors. He was a great kidder, but stern when needed and in conducting his business. He loved all sports. He would go to New York for the fights and often took me. I remember seeing the Joe Louis and Max Baer fights at Madison Square Garden. He also took me to Saratoga Springs." Jennings spoke of Samuels's love of gambling and how he would have a weekly "Tuesday night" game at the Narragansett Hotel, which game included the owner, Charles Brown. The adjective "humble" was also used by Jennings to describe Samuels. "Every morning his chauffeur, Billy Good, and the Colonel would start out from his home either in Narragansett or in Providence, but most of the time he would drive. His first stop was always the Narragansett Hotel for a shave." "A lot of men resented the Samuels's their success", but this devoted man left the impression that they deserved it all. "Joseph Samuels was concerned with his fellow man and made no distinction between color, religion, or race."

Mrs. Madeline Trowbridge, now retired, worked in the Outlet Company as a secretary from 1922 to 1926 and from 1936 until 1969. She was one of 125 persons working in the office. She was secretary to Mortimer Burbank, the controller at that time, who in turn served directly under Joseph Samuels. About Leon Samuels, she commented, he "hollered a lot and was not as close to the employees". She concurred with the other employees interviewed in considering Joseph Samuels as the more friendly and better dressed. She described him as "dressed beyond his time, that is, wearing a golf cap in his open tour-

ing car and sporting a tweed jacket when most men wore suits. He was suntanned from his golf. As one who had worked in the business office, Mrs. Trowbridge said that the "Samuels brothers had good business principles and were business men before their time. Even when they were in the 'packing box stage' they were always ready to accept returned merchandise. They never borrowed large amounts of money for purchasing merchandise or for expansion and never carried big mortgages." Ryding agreed with Mrs. Trowbridge in observing that they did not build up inventory by buying on credit as is done in merchandising today.

RADIO STATION WJAR

Mrs. Trowbridge further recalled Leon Samuels's role in the broadcasting aspect of the Outlet Company history. He was fascinated by it, she said, and left the merchandising and retail business functions to his brother. In his home at Narragansett Pier Leon Samuels had set up a ham radio station although the actual commercial facility was installed on the top floor of the Outlet Company building (where it is in operation to this day). In 1923, she remembers, she, another secretary, an advertising man, and some other persons drove to Leon Samuels's home. He would dictate to the girls, they would take down the dictation in shorthand, and transmit it by telephone for broadcasting. They felt like pioneers and were all excited about this advanced scientific breakthrough.

Ralph J. Begleiter in a detailed study of the Outlet Company's role in commercial broadcasting wrote as follows: "Leon became interested in wireless broadcasting in 1919 and 1920. At home, he fiddled with the latest versions of then very primitive wireless receivers . . . he saw the value to the store of having an Outlet Company broadcasting station. It would be a public 'first' which would attract attention and prestige to the Outlet Store. The store could benefit from increased sales that would result." "The Samuels brothers . . . belonged to a political 'club' in which former Governor James Higgins, who had served a one year term in 1907, was also a member. [Theater owner] Edward Fay, and a young electronics experimenter, Thomas P. Giblin, were also present at some meetings of the group. Here the Samuels brothers became intrigued by the radio feats of Giblin, who had already broadcast recorded music over his experimental radio station on an upper floor of his home since 1919 . . . in course of his experimentation Giblin received financial help from Leon. By 1922 Leon convinced Joseph to allow him to go ahead with Giblin's proposal to install a

radio station at the Outlet store as a public relations gimmick. In April 1922 word was out in Providence that the Outlet would be setting up a powerful radio station. Radio, by then, had become a national craze and the *Providence Journal* gave the news much attention. But WEAN went on the air first in June, 1922."

Giblin had another reason for the setting up of an Outlet radio station. He had begun to turn out radio receivers, called "RadioBar" sets, which the Outlet sold. Begleiter elaborated further on the origins of the station: "WJAR, the Outlet Company station, went on the air September 6, 1922. The first voice was that of Blanchard (who had set up and operated the store's radio set department), who introduced Governor Emery J. San Souci. . . . Also Providence Mayor Joseph Gainer, the Samuels brothers, and former Governor Higgins spoke". The station opened purely as a publicity gimmick for the store . . . the fact that the Outlet Company was proud of its radio station as a mark of prestige is indicated by the fact that a picture of the store, with WJAR's antenna perched conspicuously atop the roof, was used on Outlet Company stationery until well into the 1940s and 1950s, even though the antenna was removed from the roof in 1935."

Programming in the early days was unstructured. Lillian Rubinstein recalls playing the piano on the radio in the late 1920s while she was a student at Pembroke College. She was on the air with Celia Moreau, the team being called "The Girl Friends". She considered it a lark to give of her talents and time and to receive fan mail with requests for selections. A lark was all she realized for she performed without pay. She also accompanied singers on the programs, one of whom was Peter Bardach's mother. Sources for piano and vocal talent were suggested by Blanchard, the Samuels brothers, and Ed Fay.*

In the early days all expenses incurred by the radio station were allocated to the radio department of the store or to its advertising budget.

As innovators and promoters who turned all of their enterprises into advertising for their store, the Samuels brothers on October 9, 1923 placed an advertisement in the *Providence Journal* announcing that WJAR would broadcast live from New York the World Series between baseball's Yankees and Giants. "Colonel Samuels had followed the series annually, on occasion taking time off from work in Providence to travel to New York for the games. On October 10th he chartered a private railroad car to transport specially purchased equipment from

*Two early announcers were James A. Reilly and James Boyle ("JAR" and "JB"), the first of whom gave his initials to the station's call letters.

RCA to Providence which would make the games audible on the streets outside the Outlet Company store. A crew of Outlet delivery men unloaded heavy loud speakers and amplifiers . . . on the day of the second game, speakers were moved to the front of the store on Weybosset Street to accommodate the crowd . . . World Series broadcasts were accomplished using the tie-line between Radio Stations WEAJ [of New York] and WJAR. . . . For Colonel Samuels the link was a boon to Outlet Store business. The Providence community was impressed with WJAR's ability to broadcast the World Series live from New York."¹²

Joseph Gettler, who became the station's manager in 1924, succeeded in turning WJAR into a money-making appendage to the store over the next ten years. "In October of 1933 Joseph Gettler had his last promotion fling; for \$1250 he secured a demonstration of a new broadcast medium TV for the Outlet Store. In a ground floor window, radio announcer 'Sud' Abbott stood in front of a camera, which consisted of a rapidly rotating disc, and his image was transmitted to a receiver in the 5th floor auditorium. His friends said he looked terrible, because he had refused to paint his face with the dark purple makeup required for early TV pickups."¹²

MORE EMPLOYEE HISTORY

Another ex-employee, Eleanor Saunders Schuman, who sold handbags, recalls the friendly atmosphere in the store. Joseph Samuels was often on the floor just observing how sales were progressing. The vision of the owner of such a large business acting like a small store owner is unfamiliar to a later generation, and yet this image is one which Joseph Samuels never outgrew. Mrs. Schuman recalls how he would go to the cashier's office in the back of the store and request money, which he would then give to someone needy whom he saw coming into his store. This handing out of money was characteristic; for example, he would give change every morning to the person sweeping the sidewalk in front of the Narragansett Hotel when he entered it for his morning shave.

The late attorney Arthur J. Levy wrote in 1970 to Logowitz that he had found among some old family papers letters from Leon Samuels to his father. These were written on stationery with the heading, "Manufacturers Outlet Company, Trade Mark Registered, Telephone 420". Under the owners' names, J. Samuels and L. Samuels, was the blurb, "Spot Cash Buyers and Sellers of Manufacturers Stock Apparel for Men, Women & Children". One such letter, dated September 23, 1901, contained the following information: "Mr. J. M. Levy, 230 E.

117th Street, New York City. Dear Sir: You can come on and report ready for work Monday morning September 30th at the wages agreed upon. If this is satisfactory, wire me upon receipt of this letter. Would like to have you come on a couple of days earlier if possible, so that you could have all arrangements made. . . . Yours truly, L. Samuels." Levy recalled that his father was to start at \$35.

Enclosed with a memorandum from Arthur Levy were some statement forms. He sent these to Logowitz, for he assumed that his father had once worked for the Outlet Company. The statements, headed "PROVIDENCE, R.I. . . . 190- to Manufacturers' Outlet Company, Dr.", contain the interesting information that "we have no charge accounts" but do have a "telephone connection".

THE BUYERS

The numbers of persons who got their start at the Outlet Company and became successful merchants of Providence is sizeable. Benjamin Trinkle, who died on March 28, 1963 in Miami, was a director. In 1931 he assumed the position of men's furnishings buyer, having been the buyer for the umbrellas, luggage, handbags, and leather goods departments. He was connected with the store from 1913 to 1960. His name lives on in that of his son, Murray Trinkle, of Trinkle's Floor Covering business.

Nannie R. (Mrs. Theodore) Loebenberg's entire married life was involved with the Outlet Company, for her husband was hired by the Samuels brothers in 1909, and she married him one year later. Theodore Loebenberg came from Baltimore, Maryland to take on the position of buyer of yard goods at the Outlet Company. Eventually he assumed the buying of all domestic items, which included sheets, woolen blankets, and related merchandise. Loebenberg was typical of the buyers whom the Samuels brothers "imported". The buyers rarely rose from the ranks of sales help, which fact, according to Mrs. Loebenberg, is largely responsible for the store's success. An expert in his field, a buyer would be brought to Providence to be given complete charge of his department. Incentives for high sales records were many. Nannie Loebenberg cited the bonuses at the end of the month as well as at the year's end commensurate with the total volume of sales.

There was much socializing among the buyers as well as closeness in their business relations. One evidence of this was the Buyers' and Managers' Club with over forty members. Many of the buyers, including Theodore Loebenberg, belonged to the original Ledgemont Country

Club along with Joseph Samuels. A number of the buyers' families in fact lived on the same street in Providence, Elton Street. The Loebenbergs lived at 104. Mrs. Loebenberg mentioned particularly the Daniel Donig family, who were their neighbors.

To Nannie Loebenberg, who shared her husband with his position at the Outlet Company (he would have to be in New York about three days out of every week for buying of merchandise), the atmosphere at the store was of "one big family". Memories of the outings and the dances held by the Outlet Company are pleasant ones for Theodore Loebenberg's widow.

Her impression of Joseph Samuels was of a generous man, and she spoke of how sad it was that he died of "Bright's Disease", which today might not have been fatal. She also referred to Alice Samuels's long crippling illness, which kept her from accompanying her husband to social events.

In Nannie Loebenberg's possession is a Resolution given to her by the Board of Directors of the Outlet Company after her husband's death on June 28, 1941. She believes it to be the first memorial presented by the company to a buyer's family.

In part it reads: "Theodore Loebenberg, our esteemed business associate and a member of our Board of Directors, who in the service of our company for 32 years had endeared himself to the entire Outlet organization. His ability in the work he carried on so successfully is the best evidence of his long and faithful service.

"Every Outlet employee was his friend, and his genial nature, his sincere interest in the welfare of others, was characteristic of his fine make-up as a man in the business world, as a devoted husband and father, and in all, a friend of man."

Among those who survived him on the Board of Directors were: Jacob E. Edelstein, Benjamin H. Trinkle, and Benjamin Markowitz.

Helene Donig Bernardt, the daughter of Daniel Donig, remembers frequent visits to the Outlet Company. Her father was in charge of men's furnishings and women's handkerchiefs. She spoke of the very substantial bonuses the buyers received. Doctor Maurice Adelman, Providence pediatrician, commented that the Samuels brothers "made wealthy men of their buyers".

Harry Meyers, father of the present owner of T. W. Rounds Co. (luggage), worked as a buyer of luggage at the Outlet Company, and then went on to open his own establishment.

Ryding had commented that these buyers took care of their own merchandising, handled their own situations, and even their own advertising. In this respect they were autonomous. He referred to the buyer of housewares and china in the period from 1929-1946, who reputedly earned as much as \$46,000 annually.

Jacob E. Edelstein, starting as buyer of boys' clothing in 1906, rose to the office of Vice President of the Outlet Company before his death in December 1953. He had also been publicity director in charge of both newspaper advertising and publicity for broadcasting. Edelstein served as the first president of the Ledgemont Country Club, organized in 1924.

The Buyers' and Managers' Club was established in 1906. Their annual dinners were always newsworthy. The *Pawtucket Times* of October 2, 1906 reported: "Buyers', Managers' Club Prospers. This novel and practical organization established by the Outlet Company . . . the most enterprising department store. . . . The aim is to improve and better the store's service."

A letter was read at the club meeting of October 1906: "Gentlemen: it is the most unusual pleasure to address your club complimenting you on your good work. Mr. Joseph Samuels, having attended your last meeting, not only enjoyed the good fellowship and harmony existing among you, and which it is hoped will continue, but he was deeply impressed with the interest and business like manner in which your meetings are conducted. The interchange of ideas . . . while of great benefit to the store in general, is in no small measure a great help in broadening new business ideas making better managers of your respective departments. . . ."

In the *Providence Journal* of July 4, 1916 it was announced that the Outlet employees were given company stock. Department heads and others would share in a plan "for faithful and efficient services". Among the 47 who benefited from the Samuels brothers generosity, were: Samuel Steiner; Jacob M. Hamburger; Jacob E. Edelstein; Theodore R. Eisner; Daniel Donig; Theodore Loebenberg; Mildred, Rebecca, and Gertrude Frank; Philip Nathans; Mortimer Burbank; and William Steiner. Store stock was given not only to men and women in responsible positions, but to several in minor capacities as well. The article pointed out that these shares were not in lieu of any earnings, but to recognize length of service and loyal endeavor.

This rapport among the managers and buyers and the owners could only result in profit for all. Given the incentives, with considerable

leeway to be creative and enterprising, it is not remarkable that there was such long tenure of service among the key personnel at the Outlet Company.

THEY KNEW THE SAMUELS BROTHERS

Doctor Maurice Adelman first knew the Samuels brothers in 1923. He spent summers at Narragansett Pier as did Leon and Joseph Samuels. They all commuted to Providence in the morning. Joseph Samuels's car was easily recognized by his license plate No. 333. Doctor Adelman described how Joseph Samuels would take the driver's seat (his chauffeur sitting next to him) and some days take as little as 35 minutes to get into Providence. This was on roads which bore no resemblance to our freeways. At that time he drove a Simplex runabout, a very costly automobile.

A spectacular accident involving Joseph Samuels attracted considerable attention. He and his wife Alice had been in Saratoga, New York to attend the races. There were conflicting stories about exactly what had happened and who was driving. At any rate on August 15, 1906, while ascending a steep hill, the emergency brakes failed to hold, causing the car to descend backwards precipitously. It crashed into a watery ditch with some doleful effects. The party was drenched and several of the occupants were injured. A *New York Times* reporter who had reached Leon Samuels was referred to Mrs. Samuels. According to her story: "Mr. Samuels had one rib fractured and was recuperating in his room at the U. S. Hotel . . . the auto was put out of commission . . . the accident brought to an end what was to have been a very enjoyable trip of two weeks duration." They returned in their 35 horsepower Locomobile touring car.¹¹

In July of that year another newspaper account referred to Leon Samuels's arrest for violating the speed laws. This was at Sterling Place in Brooklyn where, the police claimed, he was driving his automobile at 30 miles per hour!¹¹

On another note Doctor Adelman spoke of Joseph Samuels's philanthropy. Samuels had discussed with him the setting up of the Dental Clinic for poor children. Adelman called him "a soft touch. He did not advertise his philanthropic deeds." He recalled all the poor families who had received turkeys at Christmas and Thanksgiving and about Samuels's distributing of coal and clothing among the needy. He believed that Joseph Samuels was unhappy that he did not have a son, and took his daughter Bertha (Babe) with him to many sports events. He even took her to New York for the prize fights. One of these fights



Joseph Samuels at the wheel of a Stevens-Duryea, circa 1910. Taken in front of the Roundtop (Beneficent Congregational) Church on Weybosset Street. This very expensive automobile was manufactured in Springfield, Massachusetts until 1914. (Courtesy of *The Outlet Co.*)



Start of automobile race sponsored by The Outlet Co. in 1906. View of Weybosset Street shows Crown Hotel, Jacob Wirth's Café, and the Narragansett Hotel. Joseph Samuels is believed to be the driver of the central car. (Courtesy of the *Rhode Island Historical Society*)

lasted only through one punch. Adelman chuckled over the effort involved in going to New York for a fight which lasted only a few minutes.

Edward (Eddie) Higgins, administrative aide to Senator Theodore Francis Green, first knew Joseph Samuels when Green became governor in 1933. "The Colonel was tops in my book". He often spoke to Higgins about his hopes for his only grandson, "Dody" Sinclair. "He didn't want that boy to go to Annapolis. He wanted him to run the business, not to be an admiral! But you know what? He went into the Navy and into the business. He ended up coming up on top of both worlds."

Higgins related an interesting story about Joseph Samuels in regard to the airport which was to be built at Hillsgrove. Governor Theodore Francis Green had received five million dollars from Washington, D. C. (that was at the time of Roosevelt's WPA money) to build an airport. He formed a committee on which Joseph Samuels served. At the dedication Samuels thought it would be a good idea to have some noted flyer land at the airport during the ceremony. Roswell Turner was a famous aviator, and he agreed to come. "All went well — he did it to perfection". The Outlet Company took care of all the expenses, and after the ceremony Joseph Samuels spread a lavish party in his house for all the dignitaries.

Higgins reminisced about little personal habits of Joseph Samuels, how he would have the Narragansett Hotel barber, Tony, who shaved him every day at the hotel, go to his home on Sundays to shave him. He claimed that his chauffeur was so devoted to him that "He would kill someone for Samuels", and "He knew how to handle the Colonel under all sorts of circumstances."

It was R. Livingston Beeckman, Rhode Island Governor and socialite, who made Joseph Samuels a Colonel on his staff. A news report in the *Providence Journal* of November 20, 1917 described this event: "Colonel Samuels receives gold-trimmed sabre. Outlet buyers managers club honors employer at dinner . . . this was in honor of his recent appointment to the staff of Governor [R. Livingston] Beeckman with the rank of colonel. The presentation address was made by his brother Leon. The dining hall was decorated with American flags and nautical colors. Fay's orchestra entertained." As far as Higgins knew, the Samuels brothers never had anything to do with the political scene in Rhode Island. They always had good connections with whomever was in office, but they "never butted in anywhere." He was always known thereafter as Colonel Samuels.

"Governor Green liked to do his shopping at the Outlet Company. He would go by himself to buy shirts and things like that," said Higgins. "The Colonel would say to me 'Why the Hell didn't he call me? I'd show him the good ones.' I'd answer the Colonel that the governor liked to do his own shopping."

Doctor Earle F. Cohen, Providence pediatrician, remembers when Joseph Samuels would come as a patient to the office of his father, Doctor Leo Cohen. The Samuels limousine with chauffeur must have made quite an impression on the neighborhood surrounding Doctor Cohen's humble Prairie Avenue office. The fee for an office visit in those days was 2 dollars, but Samuels, resentful of waiting in the crowded waiting room, offered Doctor Cohen twenty-five dollars if he could be taken right away. Cohen answered no, that he would still charge only two dollars, for to him Joseph Samuels was the same as all his other patients.

An entirely different facet of Joseph Samuels's personality was gleaned from Rabbi William G. Braude of Congregation of the Sons of Israel and David (Temple Beth El). Both Leon and Joseph were members of the congregation. The late Rabbi Samuel M. Gup had officiated at Leon's funeral service. Rabbi Braude knew only Joseph Samuels. To the question, Had Joseph Samuels ever used the facilities of the temple? the Rabbi replied, "He was brought in there when he died."

In Rabbi Braude's view Joseph Samuels was not the philanthropist which he was judged to be by others interviewed by the author, since he had never extended the same degree of generosity in giving to Jewish as to non-Jewish causes. Rabbi Braude summarized the situation thus: "I must say that Joseph Samuels, in my opinion, whatever he may have been in business, I am no judge of that, was a disaster in the Jewish community. You see, he was very, very wealthy, by far the wealthiest man in town. The people with whom he surrounded himself in the store naturally had to be in the main people like himself, especially some of the buyers. Here was the wealthiest group of the Jewish community, and it never gave anything of consequence to charity. So that, let us say, when a man like Archibald (Archie) Silverman began giving, he would measure himself by what Samuels gave. But Samuels did not give very generously. When Alvin Sopkin came to town, he created a new standard no longer based on Samuels's giving." The Rabbi cited other examples in which he was personally involved, such as requesting Joseph Samuels's signature on affidavits needed to bring Jews out of Germany in the 1930s. In none of these instances did Samuels cooperate to any degree.

The only member of the Samuels family interviewed was Joseph Samuels's grandson, Joseph S. Sinclair. There are few direct descendants of James and Caroline (Katzenberg) Samuels of Philadelphia. Originally there were three children: Leon, Joseph, and Sophie Samuels. Joseph married Alice March Murr in Boston on January 7, 1900. She was the daughter of Louis and Bertha (Silverberg) Murr. The Samuels couple had one daughter, Bertha (known as "Babe"), who married James Sinclair. Their son Joseph (Dody) is the present Chairman of the Board of the Outlet Company. There is also a daughter, Mrs. Samuel Baugh. Bertha, who died in 1959, had divorced James Sinclair and married Captain Louis Campbell, whom she also divorced. Leon married Mildred Eidelberg (daughter of Morris and Clara Whitehill Eidelberg) in 1899. They also had only one child, a daughter, Claire. They lived at 151 Arnold Avenue in Edgewood. Before Claire Samuels died in 1966 she had married three times and at the time of her death was married to E. B. Quinn. Her one child, Lela Lopes, survives her. Mildred Samuels, who still survives, lives in Florida. Nothing was learned about Sophie Samuels Nathan's progeny.

Joseph S. Sinclair (Dody) recounted how he had worked in the store part-time as a young boy, but it was not until he was out of the Navy that he entered the store as a full-time employee in 1947. He was sixteen years old at the time of his grandfather's death and so never really worked with him. However, under the terms of his grandfather's will, it was apparent that Joseph Samuels visualized Dody as his heir who would continue the large enterprise he had created. Dody was not to receive control until he reached 40. There was a famous legal battle in 1958 and 1959 involving the Industrial National Bank, in which the Outlet Company was to be sold to a New York firm. But in a spectacular legal maneuver, in which Sinclair's lawyers, Bruce G. Sundlun and John H. Chafee, showed conflict of interest, the court ruled in favor of the Outlet Company interests remaining in the hands of the Samuels's heir. After Dody's mother's death, nothing stood between Dody and his control but the three years until he became 40.

His information about his grandfather was sketchy, but he did emphasize his love of all sports. He had sponsored the boxer, "Young Montreal". In 1914 he promised that if the Providence Grays* won the pennant, he would give them \$500 in gold. They did win, and he gave them the gold. He enjoyed all forms of betting and gambling.

*Baseball team of the International League, then a farm club of the Boston Red Sox. On the team was a youngster named "Babe" Ruth, then a pitcher.

His vacations often were centered about spas, such as French Lick, Indiana, or at race tracks such as that in Saratoga.

Originally Dody's grandparents lived at 1811 Broad Street in Edgewood near Washington Park. When they moved out of that home about 1928 it became the Scandinavian Old People's Home. They moved to the large brick mansion at 249 Blackstone Boulevard, which currently houses the Dr. John E. Donley Rehabilitation Centre. He also owned a home at Narragansett Pier. Sinclair described his grandfather as "dapper".

LEON SAMUELS DIES

Leon Samuels's death on September 25, 1929 was page one news in the *Providence Journal*: "Ill for three years, in bed only one week, his body lies in state at Claircliff today. Funeral tomorrow at Beth El. Mindful of the interest he showed in the progress of Providence and the welfare of its citizens, persons prominent in civic and business affairs and representatives of every walk of life will unite tomorrow morning in paying a final tribute at the funeral rites for Leon Samuels, widely known merchant and philanthropist." Rabbi Samuel M. Gup officiated and burial was in the Reservoir Avenue cemetery. Among the pallbearers were: Mayor James E. Dunne, Frank Tillinghast, former Mayor Gainer, Edward M. Fay, Max L. Grant, Archibald Silverman, Daniel Donig, Benjamin Trinkle, and Theodore Loebenberg. On learning of his death, the Chamber of Commerce ordered the flag on their building in Market Square placed at half-mast. The Outlet Company store was closed on the day of the funeral.

The report not only described his contribution toward building the Outlet Company to its high level of success (net assets as of that date exceeding seven million dollars) but also enumerated his positions in many charitable and civic movements. As recently as April of 1928 he had been chairman of a successful statewide drive to reduce a \$74,000 indebtedness of The Miriam Hospital. In 1922 he had been chairman of a successful drive for \$100,000 for erection of a new home for The Jewish Orphanage of Rhode Island. There was an interesting allusion to Leon Samuels's humble beginning in Providence describing how he had ". . . placed a number of empty packing cases to act as counters for their store. They then advertised a 'special clothing sale'. The trade name was the Manufacturers Outlet Company. Here with a cash capital of less than \$1,000 they established the business that has expanded into the Outlet Company of today. The brothers proudly said no new money had been introduced into the business since 1894 except

as it had accrued from actual earnings. Yet when the business reorganized in July 1925, they had net assets in excess of \$7,000,000."

The reorganization of 1925 involved a listing of their stock on the New York Stock Exchange. In July of that year they announced the formation of the corporation known as the Outlet Company and offered for public sale preferred and common stock representing an approximate 50 per cent interest in the business owned up to that time by Joseph Samuels and Brother, Inc. The new corporation, which assumed all assets of Joseph Samuels and Brother, Inc., issued \$3,500,000 of 7 per cent cumulative preferred stock, \$500,000 of 6 per cent second cumulative preferred stock, and 100,000 shares of no par common stock. The brothers had also become interested in theatrical enterprises with theaters in Rochester, Philadelphia, Providence, and other cities. Leon Samuels had been a member of many clubs: Elks, Edgewood Casino and Yacht Club, Ledgemont, and Turks Head. He had also been a director of the Arcadia Amusement Company and lived at 151 Arnold Avenue, Edgewood.

The Board of Directors of the Outlet Company lauded him in these words: "As associates of many years we pay our tribute — a keen business man, no dishonesty — in instincts and performances always fair, honest and charitable. Strong and intelligent." His estate on October 1, 1929 was set at \$4,500,000.

Another tribute was paid by Mayor Gainer: "The city has lost one of its most devoted and enthusiastic citizens and the stricken and afflicted of our community a most helpful friend. His business life, together with that of his brother, Colonel Joseph Samuels, is one of the finest proofs of what our country offers to men of brains, integrity and industry. Starting life here in our city under the most unfavorable auspices, they have established without assistance, except for the public good will which they have earned, one of the largest and soundest business concerns in our municipality and have never hesitated to give liberally of their profits to every worthwhile charity known."

JOSEPH SAMUELS DIES

Joseph was left to carry on as head of the establishment he and his brother had built to such impressive proportions, and this he did for ten very active years. He had the reputation of being interested in every detail of the management of the store even after the business had expanded to such a degree that it required the services of hundreds of sales clerks and buyers.

Again a Samuels made front page news in the *Providence Journal* of February 14, 1939: "Samuels, Founder of Outlet Company is dead. Leading Rhode Island merchant, 73, rose from humble stock and errand boy, died of pneumonia. Department store to be closed all day Thursday, day of funeral service. Died in Beth Israel Hospital, Boston. In recognition of his community service, business men of the Board of Retailers voted to have all stores observe 2 minutes of silence at 2:30 P.M." He was to be buried with private funeral services from his home at 279 Blackstone Boulevard following a Temple Beth El ceremony, Rabbi Braude officiating. The store was to be closed all day Thursday, and officials and employees could view his body from 9:00 to 11:00 A.M. At the time of his death Joseph Samuels was also president of Samuels Realty Company and a director of the Industrial Trust and Union Trust banks.

Among his interests was flower raising. The *Providence Journal* of August 19, 1926, describing events at the Narragansett Gardeners Florists Association's 5th Annual Exhibition at Narragansett Pier, noted that of the eight cups awarded Joseph Samuels won four. He was also awarded eighteen blue and twelve red ribbons for first and second prizes.

Joseph Samuels, known as an "ardent golfer", held membership in the Kernwood Country Club of Kernwood, Massachusetts, and in the Metacomet and Ledgemont Country Clubs of Rhode Island. He was also a member of the Edgewood Casino Club and held membership in St. John's Lodge A.F. and A.M. of Philadelphia, the Turks Head Club, the Elks, the Lyceum Club of Boston, the Providence Chamber of Commerce, the Town Criers, and the Friars' Club of New York.

Begleiter in his "Biography of a License" described Joseph Samuels as one "who was loved by many and hated by a few but provided the Outlet Store with its aura of a family operation". In commenting on personal incidents involving those who worked for Samuels, the author wrote: "These incidents involve material gifts and they are indicative of the kind of person Colonel Samuels was, and of the manner in which his Outlet Store was run. When he died, the Outlet Company and thereby also WJAR lost the kind of ultimate management which only Samuels could provide. With his passing, there slipped away a spirit of family ownership and personal care and attention to the store and station which pervaded these institutions only because the man who nurtured them through spectacular growth could take risks and make decisions on his own. That spirit never returned to WJAR or the Outlet".

Regarding his religion, it was recorded that Joseph Samuels adhered to the ancient Hebrew faith of his fathers and was a member of Temple Beth El of Providence.¹³

In 1931 Joseph Samuels wrote an article appearing in the June issue of the *Dry Goods Economist* which sheds some light on his views about merchandising:

NEEDED! HARD-HEADED MERCHANDISE SENSE

Isn't it a fact that in most department stores in the United States the merchandise management job has been revolutionized in the past decade or so and in most cases to the detriment of the stores' prestige? And haven't the results of such changes extended to the profit showing of the stores?

It would seem the hard-headed merchandise sense that was the possession of most store managements in the years ago has been relegated to the background in favor of the newer ideas of a rising generation that has been taught its merchandising in the schools of higher education without having lived with its problems over a period of years.

Under the newer methods the official family in the department stores has grown to such a size that three and four officials are engaged in the duties formerly assumed by one official. Is this efficiency?

Haven't many of us grown soft from lack of work to engage our time, or is it that we have been satisfied with a lesser ability in our buying staffs, and have sought to remedy the deficiency by further adding to the official family? Perhaps this wasn't the right thing to do.

I believe the fortunate store is the one that sees to it that it has the merchandise required by its clientele, that keeps its merchandise management force at a minimum number consistent with efficient operation, and that makes sure its buyers know their markets thoroughly, understand how to operate under merchandise budgeting and, above all, are good department managers and promoters.

Joseph Samuels, who had to go to work at eleven years of age, received an honorary degree from Bryant and Stratton College on August 2, 1935. In part his award read as follows:

. . . left school at an early age to become the architect of his own fate and fortune. His education was obtained in the college

of experience, where his native ability, keen observation, progressive energy and intrepid vision helped him to achieve remarkable results in his chosen field of merchandising. From humble beginnings he has developed his organization to the largest department store in Rhode Island and one of the most progressive in the United States. . . .

THE OUTLET COMPANY TODAY

To those who grew up in Rhode Island the Outlet Department Store was as familiar and as dominant in the downtown area as were such familiar establishments as the Albee Theater, Gibson's, the Boston Store, Gladding's, Shepard's, and Tilden-Thurber.* It is ironic that today in downtown Providence the only stores which have survived and continued to flourish are Tilden-Thurber and the Outlet Company. Those merchants on Westminster Street who looked down their collective noses at the out-of-state itinerant merchants, the Samuels brothers, have left no survivors. Their establishments are but names in the past now, their edifices vacant or housing other businesses.

It must be very satisfying to those who worked with the Samuels brothers and those who succeeded them in running and expanding the business to take stock of the present Outlet holdings. As of the 1974 Annual Report the year 1973 recorded gross sales and revenue of \$91,522,034. Their net earnings were \$3,371,472, and they paid \$2.18 per share of common stock. This was a record high, exceeding record highs of the previous year. At year end the company operated five Outlet Department Stores, fourteen Cherry and Webb Stores, and Seventeen Touraine Stores, with three new stores contemplated for 1974 and 1975. The Outlet Broadcasting properties, including AM and FM radio stations and TV, are located in Providence; Orlando, Florida; San Antonio, Texas; and Syracuse, New York.

There may not be the same personal flavor permeating the store which prevailed when its founders would wander among the various departments, but Joseph S. Sinclair, Chairman of the Board, and Kenneth Logowitz, President and Chief Executive Officer, who occupy the former Samuels brothers corporate offices on the fifth floor of the Outlet building, still have an "open door" policy to all who wish to meet them.

*Albee Theater — vaudeville, cinema, and summer stock. Gibson's — ice cream, lunches, and candies. Boston Store — department store. Gladding's — specialty shop. Shepard's — department store. Tilden-Thurber — quality jewelry and home accessories (the only establishment in this list still extant at this writing).

NOTES

¹*The History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*, New York The American History Society, 1920. Volume 5, Part 2, Page 489 by Thomas Williams Bicknell.

²*Rhode Island: Three Centuries of Democracy*. Volume IV by Charles Carroll. Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc. New York 1932. Page 507.

³RESOLUTION Adopted by the Directors of the Retail Board. February 14, 1939.

⁴*The Board of Trade Journal*. Providence, R. I., October 1903.

⁵Pamphlet: *Outlet 25th Silver Jubilee* (Pictorial Review of Important Events 1894-1919).

⁶*Romance of Rhode Island Industry* (A radio presentation by The Phenix National Bank of Providence) November 22, 1945.

⁷*The Board of Trade Journal*. Providence, R. I., December 1914.

⁸*Providence Journal*, March 19, 1931.

⁹*Jewish Herald*, Providence, R. I., March 30, 1931.

¹⁰*Providence Journal*, March 17, 1933.

¹¹Diary of 1906 kept by Mortimer L. Burbank of The Outlet advertising department.

¹²*Biography of a License* (The 50 Year History of a Commercial Broadcast Station) by Ralph J. Begleiter, May 15, 1972.

¹³*Rhode Island and Providence Plantations Tercentenary Commission, Inc.* (Commemorating 300 years).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Edward "Eddie" Higgins, former administrative aide to Senator Theodore Francis Green, interviewed on May 28, 1974.

Warren Walden, Director of Public Relations, Outlet Company, interviewed on May 28, 1974.

Lillian Berger Rubinstein, telephone interview of July 6, 1974.

Mary Perry, salesperson of the Outlet Company, interviewed on March 7, 1974.

Kenneth Logowitz, President and Chief Executive Officer of the Outlet Company, interviewed on March 7, 1974.

Sarah Leichter Musler, former employee of the Outlet Company, telephone interview of July 6, 1974.

Helen Rose, cashier of the Outlet Company, interviewed on May 9, 1974.

Bertha Boslowitz, employee of the Outlet Company, interviewed on May 10, 1974.

Bessie Boslowitz, buyer at the Outlet Company, interviewed on May 10, 1974.

Cyril Ryding, former Advertising Manager of the Outlet Company, interviewed on March 19, 1974.

Edward ("Eddie") Jennings, Traffic Manager of the Outlet Company, interviewed on March 19, 1974.

Madeline Trowbridge, former secretary of the Outlet Company, telephone interview of May 10, 1974.

Eleanor Saunders Schuman, former salesperson of the Outlet Company, interviewed on August 8, 1974.

Helene Donig Bernhardt, daughter of former buyer of the Outlet Company, telephone interview on March 19, 1974.

Dr. Maurice Adelman, pediatrician, interviewed on March 14, 1974.

Dr. Earle F. Cohen, pediatrician, telephone interview on September 12, 1974.

Joseph S. Sinclair, Chairman of the Board of the Outlet Company, interviewed on March 7, 1974.

Rabbi William G. Braude, Rabbi Emeritus, Temple Beth El (Congregation of the Sons of Israel and David), interviewed on July 1, 1974.

Mrs. Theodore Loebenberg, interviewed on September 20, 1974.

THE BREAK IN

by JUDGE JOHN C. BURKE

Sometime in the spring of 1902 I was consulted by Fischel David, who told me the story of the Jewish Synagogue on Touro Street, which he said had been closed up for a number of years. He told me that he had talked to a number of the leading attorneys of this city to see if the Jews of Newport could get some redress, but all the attorneys said there was nothing that could be done.

I was entirely unfamiliar with the question of any controversy about the ownership and the right to possession of the Synagogue at that time, as I had been in Newport only about three years practicing law. However, I told him to let me consider the matter for a week or two and I would see if I could devise some method to get the relief desired.

I looked up the law and found that there is a statute in this state which provides that anybody who interferes with a religious gathering commits a misdemeanor.

I determined that there was no method by which they could go to court and get any relief, and the only way to handle the matter would be just forcibly to enter the Synagogue, have a religious gathering and a Rabbi on the altar, and carry on their religious rites.

Mr. David came to see me, and I told him then of the plan. I told him that it would require caution and secrecy in carrying out the plan but that on the eve of some Jewish holiday we would put the plan in action. He then told me that the Feast of Passover would start on a certain day in April. I then determined we would put the scheme into effect on the eve of Passover.

I told him that the only way to get into the Synagogue was to break in; for him and one or two other trusted men to go there just before sunset on the eve of Passover and to have a chisel and a hammer and break the locks and enter the Synagogue; to notify the other Jews in the city of Newport that the Synagogue was going to be open on the eve of Passover; to be in the vicinity, but not to congregate in the immediate vicinity of the Synagogue; to be there just at sundown to light the candles; and to have a Rabbi immediately take the altar and start the Passover services.

Reprinted from *Touro Monthly*, publication of Congregation Jeshuat Israel of Newport, R. I., vol. X, nos. 5-10, Jan.-June 1974, with the permission of the Congregation.

We waited until Monday, April 21, 1902, which was the eve of Passover, and Fischel David and one or two others appeared there just at sundown and broke into the Syngagogue. Shortly thereafter a Rabbi or reader took the altar and started the Passover services. To be sure of my grounds I talked to the Chief of Police Benjamin Richards. I told him something important was going to happen on a certain evening that was nothing that would involve him in a political nature, but I wanted him at the Police Station in case anything was done by the police that was unauthorized. He told me he would be at the station on that evening, but he disappointed me and was not there.

I also talked to Charles H. Stearns, who at that time was the Assistant Attorney General. I told him my plan. I told him that the Synagogue was closed; that the City of Newport was a trustee for one fund; that the State of Rhode Island was a trustee for another fund; that the Synagogue had been closed for a number of years; that there was no way of getting in there except by this method. I told him that I had advised my client to break in, to start the proceedings, to start their services and that, if they conducted the services in a normal religious manner, I felt that the police would have no right to interfere with them. I asked him if I advised my clients to break in to the Synagogue and if no breach of the peace occurred would he stand at the back of the people who went in there to see that there was no police action against them. He told me that if there would be no breach of the peace he would defend the action of breaking in to the Synagogue. Mr. Stearns, as is well known, became afterwards a Justice and eventually a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of this State and served in that capacity for many years.

We broke into the Synagogue as was agreed upon, and the services were started and many of the Jews went in there. I went home to my dinner and while home I felt or heard a terrific turmoil in this city. All the fire alarm bells rang and all church bells rang. I did not know what it was all about. I asked my wife, who is a native Newporter, and she said she had heard something like that when she was a little girl. It was a riot call.

I jumped on my bicycle and rode down the hill to the Synagogue and found the police were forcibly taking the Jews out of the Synagogue. I went down to the police station. I protested to the officer in charge who was Captain Garnett. I told him that the matter had

been planned and that Mr. Stearns, the Assistant Attorney General, had told me that he would defend this matter if there was no breach of the peace. I asked him if his officers saw any breach of the peace. He asked the officers, and they said "no". They saw no breach of the peace, but they were told by Eugene Schreier, the Custodian of the Synagogue, to take the men out of the Synagogue, because they had no right to go in. I told him that he did not have capacity enough in the jail to keep all the Jews that were going to go into the Synagogue and that, as they took one out, two others would go in their stead. They had arrested Fischel David who under my instructions was told to resist any eviction from the Synagogue, but a policeman took hold of him and tried forcibly to carry him out and he bit the policeman's thumb.

A lot of talk was had, and finally I got Mr. Stearns on the telephone. I told him what had happened with the police and asked him if he would speak to the Captain of the police and tell him that he had no authority to do what he had done. He spoke to the Captain of the police and asked him if he saw any breach of the peace or if his officers saw any breach of the peace. The answer was "no". Then he said "you had no authority to interfere with those men in their performance of a religious gathering. I will not defend you, and if you persist in your attitude you are going to be subject to prosecution for civil arrest".

As I recall, the police then issued some complaints against some of the men who had broken in, and one complaint was issued against Fischel David for assault on a police officer; but they were released and they went back to the Synagogue, and the services continued on. I felt that if we had a continuous service in the Synagogue the police could not interfere with us in the possession.

We kept the Services going day and night till finally the trustees of the Synagogue determined that they would start some legal action, and they started an action of Forcible Entry and Detainer, which was presented in the Superior Court for the County of Newport. It is entitled Equity 623 recorded No. 6915. It is entitled L. Napoleon Levy, et al. vs. Fischel David et al.

The plaintiffs in the Forcible Entry and Detainer case were: L. Napoleon Levy, David DeMeza, Edgar J. Nathan, Henry Belais, Alfred Lyon, Albert J. Elias, Samuel Hyman, and N. Taylor Phillips, all of the City, County, and State of New York, and the defendants were: Fischel David, Hugo Riddell, Max Wasserman, Israel David, Charles Wagner, Myer Kravetz, Sigmund Schwartz, Moses David Ball, David

Frant, Moses Wagner, Nathan David, Joseph Dannin, Israel Josephson, and Daniel Rosen. It alleged that on the 21st day and the 22nd day of April 1902 the Synagogue was forcibly broken into by the respondents and asked that the court come to Newport and hear the case of the Forcible Entry and Detainer.

At that time we had Supreme Court in two divisions. The Appellate Division and the Trial Division, and Mr. Justice Douglas was sitting in the Trial Division. I determined that we should resort to any method we could devise to prevent eviction by the summary Forcible Entry and Detainer.

Sometime later, Mr. David and one or two others came to me and said that Mr. Max Levy was the only Jewish attorney in the City of Newport and they would like to have him in the case if I would take him in. I said that I had no objection to his coming in, but that I must assume control of the case as I planned it out and knew what should be done. They afterwards asked me to take in Clark Burdick, who at that time was quite prominent in politics. They thought it would have some political influence if he got in the case. I said "yes, I would be glad to take Mr. Burdick in under the same conditions as I took Mr. Levy in." But they took no active part in the proceedings at all.

I conceived the idea of drawing a Bill in Equity to restrain the prosecution of the forcible and detainer action and drew up a bill to this effect. This Bill of Complaint was filed in the Superior Court, County of Newport. It is numbered Equity 622 (Record No. 6952) and is entitled Fischel David et al. vs. L. Napoleon Levy et al. I was requested to go to Providence to present the motion for a restraining order. I went to Providence, and the only Judge sitting was Mr. Justice Douglas. I told him that I filed this bill, acquainted him with the facts on the Synagogue and the equities I thought my clients had in their efforts to reopen and carry on the peaceful worship in the Synagogue.

Mr. Justice Douglas, as is well known, afterwards became a Justice of the Supreme Court and a Chief Justice of that Court. I told him that I wished to have him enjoined from sitting in Newport in the action of forcible entry and detainer. He said that under the circumstances he was the only one that could act on the matter, but he felt that he ought not act inasmuch as he was directly involved; that he would have to restrain himself from coming to Newport and sitting on the forcible entry and retainer action.

He said to me, and showed what a great judge he was and how fair he was, "the three judges of the Appellate Division are sitting in the other room in conference. I'll tell you what I'll do young man, I'll go in there and let you argue your case before them and I'll say nothing. If they tell me that in their opinion I should restrain myself then, I'll restrain myself from sitting in that action; if they say that I shall not, then I will not restrain myself. Is that fair enough?" I said "certainly, it is eminently fair your Honor." We went in the other room, and the three judges of the Appellate Division were in conference. I explained the purpose of the Bill of Equity and what was back of it and asked them to advise Judge Douglas that he should enjoin himself from sitting in this forcible entry and retainer action until the Bill in Equity was heard. They conferred on the matter some time and finally said that in their opinion, if they were Judge Douglas, they would not issue a restraining order, because they felt that the forcible entry and detainer was a summary matter designed by the law to protect people who alleged that they had been forcibly evicted from their property, and that if the allegation were true that we had forcibly evicted them, then, we did not come into Equity with clean hands and he should not enjoin himself from acting.

Accordingly, he declined to issue the order to enjoin himself from acting, and in due time the case came on for hearing in Newport.

As lawyers know, the case for forcible entry and detainer is a very simple proceeding. All the complainants have to show is that they were in lawful possession and that the defendants forcibly evicted them. If they proved that, then the Court will order the restoration of the property to the persons who were unlawfully and forcibly evicted. The case was heard before a jury, and the judge was about to instruct the jury that they should return a verdict for the plaintiffs. I then rose and asked the judge to allow me to make a motion, and, as I recall it, the three lawyers who were defending the case, L. Napoleon Levy of New York (who was also a trustee of the Synagogue), James Tillinghast of Providence, and William P. Sheffield of Newport objected and stated that no motion could be allowed in the action of forcible detainer, it being a summary process to determine only one salient point. Judge Douglas said that there could be no harm in hearing what motion is proposed by Mr. Burke and I'm going to listen to him and see what his motion is. I then requested the Court, that if he directed the jury to return a verdict in favor of the plaintiffs, he withhold the execution for five days to give me time to file a petition in the Supreme Court for Certiorari, on the ground that the action

of forcible entry and detainer had not been legally brought, in that it had not been signed by the trustees of the Synagogue.

He considered the matter and listened to the opposite side, who opposed his staying the issuance of the execution, and finally he said, "I will direct this jury to return a verdict in favor of the complainants, but I will withhold the issuance of an execution for five days to allow Mr. Burke to file a petition in the Supreme Court for Certiorari to certify these proceedings up."

Within the five days I drew up the petition for the writ of Certiorari, filed it in the Supreme Court; and after some days briefs were filed, and it was argued in the Supreme Court; and after some weeks the Supreme Court announced its decision in our favor and dismissed the forcible entry and detainer proceedings because they were improperly brought. The case is entitled L. Napoleon Levy et al. vs. Fischei David et al. It was decided on June 11, 1902 and was reported in the Rhode Island Reports in Vol. 24 on P. 249.

All this time the Synagogue was kept open, day and night, and the Services were continued in an orderly manner. We kept possession during all the period of time.

When the Supreme Court decided that the forcible entry and detainer action was improperly brought and that the complainants and the trustees were back in the same position as when they started, and, if they wished to do anything, would have to start all over again with perhaps several months more delay, Mr. Sheffield I think it was, came to me and said that his clients want to know if some settlement of this controversy could be arrived at. I said to him "Yes, this case could be settled without difficulty if the owners of the Synagogue would be reasonable." In the meantime the trustees moved to have the Bill in Equity transferred to the United States Circuit Court for the District of Rhode Island, on the grounds of diversity of citizenship, because L. Napoleon Levy was a citizen of New York. At sometime in the proceedings the case was heard on a demurrer. The respondents filed a demurrer that complainants did not come into equity with clean hands, because it was shown that complainants forcibly evicted defendants. After a hearing by Mr. Justice Brown, who was then the Justice presiding in the Federal Court for the District of Rhode Island, sustained the demurrer on the grounds that we did not come into equity with clean hands. The matter in the United States District Court was never heard, and further it is still pending there.

Efforts to see if a compromise could be arrived at were continued, and after some conferences back and forth it was agreed that the trustees of the Synagogue would lease the Synagogue to the Congregation Jeshuat Israel, on a year to year lease indefinitely at \$1.00 a year, and that the ritual would be mutually agreed on, and that the Rabbi would be mutually agreed on.

This is as I recall it at this late date, about fifty-two years after the story of the opening of the Synagogue in 1902. I will supplement this by getting the names of the persons who joined in with Mr. Fischel David and who were my clients in an effort to reopen the Synagogue. They were also the complainants in the Bill of Equity and the defendants in the forcible entry and detainer action.

APPENDIX A

The events described in this account by Judge Burke were first related in a charming essay by the late David C. Adelman titled "They Broke In — To Pray", published in the *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes* 2:226-237, April 1958. The following are excerpts from that account:

"Worship in the synagogue had ceased in the last decade of the eighteenth century. There were very few Jews living in Newport after the Revolutionary War, the last of whom left in 1822, leaving behind an empty synagogue, the preserve of 'bats and moles' and playground for boys who entered through the porches and windows and made sport with its furnishings. Abraham Touro died in 1822 and left \$10,000 to the State of Rhode Island, the income to be expended with the approval of the Town Council of Newport, for the support of the synagogue and in 1854 his brother Judah died and left \$10,000 to pay the salary of the reader or minister.

"About 1880, Jews from Eastern Europe began to settle permanently in Newport. . . . Their number was augmented in the summer by visitors who enjoyed the climate and seashore for which Newport was noted and who wished to prolong their stay over the Jewish High Holy Days in September and October. The combined group was too small to support a synagogue and rabbi, but from year to year permanent settlers kept increasing in number and influence. The closed and unused synagogue and the Touro Funds administered by the State and Town Council of Newport represented a monstrous waste to the newcomers.

"Just before the Jewish holidays in 1881, inquiries were made regarding the use of the synagogue for worship with the result that the Town Council of Newport agreed that applications of parties desiring

such use would be referred to the Trustees of the Congregation Shearith Israel in New York. Such an application was made and granted in part, that is, the use of the synagogue was permitted, but the use of the Ministerial Fund was denied by the Trustees of the Congregation in New York until such time as there would be a sufficient number of residents to maintain daily religious services during the year. The following year, upon the recommendation of the New York Congregation, the Town Council of Newport voted to pay the salary of the Rev. Abraham P. Mendes and in May of 1883, the synagogue was reopened and re-consecrated.

“Rev. Mendes died ten years later and on June 13, 1894, Eugene Schreier, [et al.] . . . were granted a corporate charter under the name of ‘Congregation Jeshuat Israel’ for the purpose ‘of religious worship in the City of Newport according to the Sephardic Ritual and strict rules and laws of the Orthodox Jewish Faith’. . . The Rev. Baruch was nominated as successor to Rev. Mendes. The number of settlers continued to grow both in number and influence. The heirs of Rivera and Lopez, most of them members of the New York congregation, joined in a deed of conveyance of the Touro Synagogue and the land on which it stood to the Trustees of the New York congregation purporting to make that congregation the sole owner, entitled to possession. A condition of these deeds of conveyance was that worship should be according to Sephardic Rites as practiced in the Congregation Shearith Israel in New York. Differences of a personal and religious nature arose between the members of the young congregation Jeshuat Israel.

“The Rev. Baruch died on March 30, 1899. The Congregation split into two groups, one led by Eugene Scheier and the other by Julius Engel and Israel J. Josephson, who five years before were incorporators of the congregation. On April 10, 1899, ten days after the burial of Rev. Baruch, a corporate charter was granted to Israel J. Josephson, [et al.] . . . under the name ‘Touro Congregation of Newport, Rhode Island for the purpose of religious worship, according to the rites of the Jewish religion.’ They elected Rev. E. M. Meyer and the older congregation Jeshuat Israel (1894) elected Rev. Moses Guedalia as their respective ministers. The Town Council of Newport, aware of the fact that the ‘rebel’ ‘Touro Congregation’ group represented the greater and more influential number of voters, turned its back on the Congregations Jeshuat Israel of Newport and Shearith Israel of New York. They recognized the Rev. E. M. Meyer elected by the Touro Congregation, voted to pay his salary out of the Judah Touro Ministerial Fund, and thus began a contest for possession of the synagogue,

accompanied by force and violence, which did not terminate until three and half years later.”

APPENDIX B

The following explanation accompanied the first instalment of Judge Burke's account in the *Touro Monthly* of January 1974 (vol. x, no. 5):

“JUDGE JOHN C. BURKE”

In this month's edition of the *Touro Monthly* we are publishing the first part of an account of an historic incident that took place at the turn of the century. It concerns the opening of Touro Synagogue by a group of determined Jews. Touro Synagogue had been closed for a number of years by the owners, Congregation Shearith Israel of New York. The local Jewish community felt that this was an injustice and so they consulted John C. Burke who was then a young lawyer in Newport.

“What we are publishing is the verbatim report of that incident dictated to [Newport attorney] Julius Schaffer's secretary by Judge John C. Burke, a few years before he died in Honolulu, Hawaii, at the age of 100. Judge Burke was an unusual man who possessed a keen and perceptive mind. He studied law at Georgetown University. In the course of an active career he founded the R. I. Association of Town Solicitors in 1943. He served twice as Probate Judge and as City Solicitor in Newport. In the obituary notice which appeared in the *Daily News* it is stated that 'he presented a dignified appearance, being very straight, tall, rather redfaced and with wavy hair and light blue eyes. He liked to swim and he continued a year long practice of long walks, moving along with military precision'.”

David C. Adelman in his 1958 story described Judge Burke in these words:

“John C. Burke, was born in Preston, Connecticut on December 6, 1865.* He received the degree of L.L.B. in 1896 and that of L.L.M. in 1897 from Georgetown Law School. He has travelled extensively over the United States, Europe and Central and South America. At 92 years of age, he is in active legal practice in full possession of all of his faculties. The keenness of his mind was very evident in the close Rhode Island gubernatorial contest in 1956 which resulted in the re-

*According to his obituary published in the *Newport Daily News*, Judge Burke was born in *New Milford*, Conn. on December 6, 1866, and died on January 20, 1966. He practiced law from 1897 to 1957 and served as judge of probate court in 1901 and from 1907 to 1912.

election of the incumbent after a State Supreme Court decision rejecting 'shut in and absentee ballots' cast before election day. At this writing, he is defending a retail distributor from State prosecution at the instance of a state Censorship Commission."

APPENDIX C

The following interesting account of the renovation of Touro Synagogue in 1894 appeared in the *Newport Daily News* of April 21, 1894 (courtesy of *Touro Monthly*):

"The repairs to the Synagogue, reopened yesterday have been upon elaborate plan and the Jewish Congregation are highly pleased with their ancient House of Worship and speak in great praise of the contractor and his men and indeed the Synagogue now is a most attractive place within, the decoration being most delicate and the entire coloring harmonious and effective. The walls are of a cream color, blending delightfully with the white of the great high pillars, the gallery rail and the mouldings, traced with gold leaf and the azure blue of the ceiling surmounts all effectively. There has been added a portable pulpit to be used at one end of the Synagogue when lectures are in order. It is white and gold in conformity with the general interior decoration."

ORININ, MY SHTETL
IN THE UKRAINE

ROOTS AND REMEMBRANCES

by BERYL SEGAL

THE SHTETL

My generation is perhaps the last to have been born, raised, and educated in the *Shtetl**. We were fortunate to have escaped annihilation at the hands of the Nazis and their collaborators in the Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, and elsewhere in Eastern Europe. It is therefore our duty, each in his own way, to tell about that special way of life.

The *Shtetl* was neither a city nor a village. It could have been a community where two or three thousand souls lived, or a little settlement such as my *Shtetl*, Orinin, of five or six hundred Jews, living completely apart and in isolation, an isolation decreed by law and fortified by tradition. But within this isolation there was a wealth of folkways and folk living that are gone forever. Yiddish was the tongue of the *Shtetl*. Yiddish song, Yiddish anecdotes, Yiddish wisdom, they nourish us to the present day and will continue to be a source of inspiration and wonder for generations to come.

We are the remnants of those who still remember the *Shtetl* with its beauty and also its ugliness, its spiritual greatness, and its grinding poverty. We also remember — it is engraved upon our hearts and minds — the tragic end of the *Shtetl* and all who lived in it at the unclean hands of the enemy.

Yet the *Shtetl* refuses to die. It is immortalized in hundreds of studies. It lives in the works of great writers who knew it well and told the world about it. It inspired poets and singers who were once touched by the afterglow of the *Shtetl* and who stand in awe of it, as one stands before a towering crag.

We never exhaust the stores of tales, and listeners never tire of hearing these reminiscences, just as people never tire of listening to the strains of a beautiful melody.

The reasons are many.

To the immigrant, such as myself, the *Shtetl* brings back memories of childhood and of youth, of days when we were dreaming dreams

Footnote: Much of this material has appeared in somewhat different form in the *Rhode Island Herald*.

*Small town or village, diminutive of the German *Stadt*, meaning "city" or "town".

and strove to attain peaks that stretched as far and as high as our fertile imagination could reach.

To the sons and daughters of immigrants tales of the *Shtetl* help them in understanding of their parents. It is the natural thirst for knowledge about ancestors that are gone, and a life that has passed away. Stories told to them when they were young come back to them, and as they read about the *Shtetl* they exclaim: "This is exactly what my mother told me about her *Shtetl*". Or, "My father told me about the poverty he had endured in the *Shtetl*, and I could not believe it." Or, "The pictures of my grandfather and grandmother on the mantle-piece of our house fit in exactly with the stories of the *Shtetl*."

And for the reader of the third and fourth generation, as well as for the non-Jews who have no romantic ties with it, the *Shtetl* presents at once a puzzle, a mystery, a wonder. To them the *Shtetl* is an absorbing object of inquiry and study.

I shall, therefore, add my own recollections and experiences and describe the *Shtetl* of my birth, where I lived until the age of twenty.

ORININ, MY SHTETL

Orinin was a small town of about five hundred inhabitants, almost surrounded by a riverbend in a fertile valley that was part of the breadbasket of the Ukraine. Located in the district of Podolia, hard by the Austrian border*, it was far away from a railroad, had no telephones, no electric lights or gas, and no newspapers. News was carried by word of mouth, greatly delayed and very often exaggerated, when someone came back from the big city. Plumbing and sanitary facilities were unheard of. In winter the houses were heated by burning wood and straw. A wood and straw fire was also used for cooking and baking, chores that were done by the housewife every day. The foods one could buy in the stores were few, and fewer still were the housewives who could afford to buy them.

Most of the houses were made of clay. On a spring or summer day one might come upon a house being newly built or having a room added. Such an event attracted spectators as it does universally. On a large area in front of the construction men and women could be seen treading with their bare feet a mass of clay mixed with the droppings

*Galicia, was the easternmost portion of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. East Galicia is now within the U.S.S.R. Podolia is the west central region of the Ukraine. Kamenets-Podolsk on the River Dnieper, former capital of Podolia, before World War II had 40 per cent Jews.

of cattle, the whole reinforced with straw. When the three ingredients were well and uniformly homogenized, the mass was broken up into bricks and placed between the wooden framework of the new house. A house made of this material was cool in the summer and held the warmth in the winter. The roofs were usually made of straw. Such roofs were fire hazards to be sure, but they were also effective protection against rain, frost, and winds. The houses of the rich had shingle roofs or were covered with sheet metal of a red and green color, appearing very colorful at a distance.

The straw of wheat and barley had many uses. In addition to its use in the construction and heating of houses, it was used in the feeding of domestic animals. When used for food the straw was cut into small bits in a very primitive mill and fed to the horses and cows mixed with oats and other feeds. Most of the households kept a cow or a goat to supply the dairy needs of the family, and the merchants had horses to transport them about the villages. For the animals each house had an attached lean-to or a large barn, where the animals were cared for as if they were members of the family.

Every household had a barrel or two of water. The children had the task of bringing water from the wells that dotted the *Shtetl* within walking distance. Although there were water carriers who supplied water for a few kopecs a week, most households used these carriers only in the slippery winter season. Going to the well was a favorite pastime for youngsters.

New houses were seldom built. A house was handed down from one generation to another. As the families grew, so did the houses. Extra rooms were added onto this side or that of the old house as needed, and family dishes and furniture were shared by the new family.

The greater part of the kitchen was taken up by an oven, large enough for two or three children to sleep on, warm enough for them to do without covering at night. Near these ovens the mothers spent their time cooking meals and baking bread, and preparing delicacies for every festival and season.

The oven had two compartments. The *pripetchok*, the fore part of the oven where the cooking was done, and the oven proper used for baking bread and *halë*,* the Sabbath bread.

A stranger traveling toward Orinin would stop at the top of the hill and gaze down at the sight revealed to him. In the valley below stood

*A braided loaf of white bread (Hebrew).

houses stacked upon houses, roofs topping roofs, patches of color vying with one another, and a river like a silver ribbon embracing all of this on three sides.

But as the stranger came down from the hill into the valley he would discover a little town divided into streets and alleys, squares and market places, each throbbing with a life of its own.

The stranger has arrived at Orinin.

There are two churches, one at either end of Orinin, the larger, the Russian church with its green cupola, and the smaller Polish church with its modest cross protruding above the tall stone walls around it. They stood guard over the *Shtetl*, as if to say:

“You are not to expand beyond the Russian church. There is the territory of the *Krestianin*, the Christians, the *Pravoslavny*. And you cannot go beyond the Polish church, because the river laps the grounds of the stone wall, and you have no business to live across the river.”

Was it by accident or by design that the two churches stood at either end of the Main Street, or Post Road, of the *Shtetl*? The fact was that no one dared to step out of the boundaries set up by the Polish and Russian churches. When a new house was built in the *Shtetl*, it was built in the empty spaces within the town, and not in the wide open spaces of the village.

The stranger strolling at a modest pace down the Post Road between the Russian and the Polish churches could walk the distance in about fifteen or twenty minutes. He would have walked the entire length of the *Shtetl*. But there was also a width to the town. The bulk of the population lived in the streets and alleys that began suddenly and ended just as suddenly within the limits of Orinin. The Post Road was straight and was paved with cobblestones, but the others were not as favored. There was the *Yatke Gass*,* the butcher’s alley, where all of the slaughter houses were located, characterized by the stench of slaughtered animals and dogs underfoot. The street began at the large animal slaughter house and came to an end by the fence of the policeman’s garden. There was the *Variatsky Gass*, where the merchants of dry goods lived. Bolts of cotton, alpaca, cretonne, and linen were stacked on the shelves of their establishments, which were simply the front rooms of their houses.

Leather goods were also sold on the *Variatsky Gass*. The aroma of freshly tanned soft calf skins, karakul, and beaver always hung in the air as one approached the stores.

*From the German *Gasse*, meaning “alley”.

A narrow street called "between stores", hardly a street at all, was busiest on market days. Two customers going in opposite directions rubbed elbows while stopping to buy ribbons and trinkets there. It was a short street, which ran the length of the *Variatsky Gass*. It was crowded, stores almost touched one another. Beyond these named streets began a jumble of alleys and crooked passageways known under the general designation of Lower Streets. The *arirzans*, the horse dealers, and the poor inhabited that part of Orinin.

But the Lower Street had the distinction of having the Old or Big *Shul*,* and four Houses of Worship along its way. The Old *Shul* was at the very shore of the river as it curved to embrace the *Shtetl*. The *shul* and the *mikveh*, the public ritual bath house, stood side by side. Farther removed from the shore were the Old and the New *Beth Midrash*,** the *Zinkover* and the *Tchortkover Klois*.† The latter were known by the names of the towns where the Hasidic *rebbe*‡ resided, and in them their followers worshipped.

One could draw a triangle with a line running from the Russian church to the Polish church for the base and the Old *Shul* at the apex of the triangle at the mid-point of town. The Old *Shul* was not very impressive to look at from the outside. The structure was low in profile, and appeared even lower because it was built in the lowest part of town, so as not to distract from the two churches. Old-timers explained that this was done at the insistence of the two Christian churches, so that the Jewish synagogue could not be seen as a landmark of Orinin. Others said that the synagogue was intentionally built in a low-lying area so as to conform to the words of the Psalmist: "Out of the Depths I call Unto You, O Lord."

But the interior of the Old *Shul* was awe-inspiring. The small windows high up near the ceiling allowed little light to penetrate the interior. There was a hushed quiet as one entered the sanctuary, sheltered from the hustle and bustle of the street. Illuminated by the flame

**Shul* is Yiddish for "synagogue", from the German *schule*, "school".

***Beth Midrash* is Hebrew for "House of Study".

†*Klois*, from the German *Klaus* (enclosure), was term often used by the Hasidic Jews for their synagogue, where the adults studied *Talmud*.

‡*Rebbe* (rabbi) was the term used by the Hasidic Jews for their spiritual leader. *Rav* or *Rov* was used by the non-Hasidic community. Rabbi is Hebrew for "my master", *rav* means "great". *Rebbe* is a corruption of the Hebrew *rabi* (pronounced rah-bee), anglicized to rabbi. The Hasidic *rebbe*, though well-grounded in Jewish learning, did not necessarily have formal ordination from an academy or *yeshivah*. The *rebbe* was the rabbi's wife. *Reb* was also used as a title — a shortened form of *rebbe*. The subtle differences and apparent interchangeability of these terms is confusing, but probably not too important.

of the Eternal Light the large chandeliers could be seen hanging from the ceiling. The intricate carvings of the *Aron Kodesh*, the Holy Ark, the work of an unknown artist, reaching the full height from floor to ceiling, held the eye of the visitor. And the *balemer*, the readers desk, standing in the center, lured one to ascend the three steps to the platform and to look around in silence.

Yet the *Shtetl* was inhabited by people who needed sustenance and the essentials for survival. How did they manage to eke out a living?

IN MY FATHER'S HOUSE

My father was a *klei kodesh*, literally a Holy Vessel, one whose function is essential to the Jewish community. A *Shtetl* could get along without a rabbi if necessary, but no Jewish community could function without a *shohet*, a slaughterer of fowl and cattle according to Jewish law. My father was not only a *shohet*, but was also a *mohel*, one who performs the rites of circumcision. He was also the *sofer*, the scribe of the Holy Scripture. He wrote *mezuzas** and *tefillin*** as well. In addition he was the *hazan* and *Torah* chanter† in one of the houses of worship. There were other functions in the community where his learning or skill was required, such as the printing of marriage contracts, or *troyim*, and performing marriage ceremonies, as well as writing divorce procedures.

I mention all these skills or trades or duties of my father so as to understand the spiritual needs of a *Shtetl*. There were such *klei kodesh* in every little community. Despite all of these occupations my father was far from being a rich man. We lived austere, and when an emergency arose we had to borrow from one of the money lenders. We were always making weekly payments to one lender or another. As the boys grew up they were put to work to help with the expenses of raising a family of nine. My older brother and I were sent away to teach the sons and daughters of Jews living in isolation in the villages. There were such Jews who were owners of flour mills, or supervisors of wood cutting in the forests, or proprietors of roadside hostleries, and therefore privileged to live outside of the *Shtetl*. They rented these facilities

*Hebrew for "doorpost". Small parchments on which are inscribed the first two paragraphs of the *Shema* (Deut. 6:4-9; 11:13-21). Rolled tightly, it is placed in a small case or capsule and attached to the doorpost. *Shema* means "Hear", from "Hear, O Israel".

**The prescribed prayers.

†The *hazan* was the cantor. He sings long passages of the liturgy. *Torah* is the Pentateuch.

in perpetuity, and were usually rich Jews. But they were at the mercy of the *Poritz*, the owner of the land and all that was on it.

But even before we became teachers to village Jews, we helped in the many enterprises of my father. On days before the Sabbath and in preparation for the holidays we stood at the entrance of the slaughter house and collected tickets or money from those who brought chickens or geese or pigeons to be slaughtered. The tickets were of different colors for each category of fowl. We sorted them by color and counted them so that father could collect the money due him from the man in charge of taxation. Each family was taxed to raise funds to pay the *shohet*.

Our largest chore was preparation of the *Sefer Torah*.* The *Torah* is written by hand on separate *yerios*, or sheets of parchment. These *yerios* had to be sewn together to form a scroll. When father finished a *yerio*, we would proof-read it. One of us had a printed book of the *Torah*, while the other read from the hand-printed *yerio*, word for word and letter for letter, making sure that the dots and ornaments on the letters were in place. We would then prepare the *giddin*, the sinews of young calves by which the various *yerios* were held together. The sinews were dried and beaten until individual strands were separated. The strands were joined together, end to end, and wound on spools. This was the only means of sewing together a *Sefer Torah*, *yerio* to *yerio*.

In fact, we made such an abundance of *giddin* that the dealer in parchment would come once or twice a year to sell parchment to our father and buy *giddin* from us.

My father also taught young men *Hilchos Shehita*** the laws of ritual slaughter. There was always a young man in our house, a student from another town.

In the midst of all of these activities my father always studied. I cannot remember a single meal without a *sefer*, a book of instructions, morals, or words of wisdom at father's side. He would look into the book between dishes and mother would have to remind him that the meal was getting cold.

There were other *klei kodesh* in the *Shtetl*, servants of the community, essential to the spiritual life of a town such as Orinin.

The *rov*, the rabbi, was of course the most respected of the *klei kodesh*. The *melamdim*, the teachers of little children, were most essential,

*The scroll containing the five books of Moses that is kept in the Ark in front of the synagogue.

***Shehita* is "ritual slaughter". *Shohet* the "ritual slaughterer". (Hebrew)

though their lot was not always an enviable one. The cantor of the Old *Shul* as well as the *shamos*, the attendant of the *Shul*,* were invited to every wedding and *brith* (circumcision). To a lesser degree the *kabron*, or the funeral man who was in charge of the *Beth Olom*, the cemetery, and the manager of the *mikveh*, the ritual bath house, were also counted among the *klei kodesh*.

All of these men were at the mercy of the rise and fall of the fortunes of the *Shtetl*. In times of prosperity the *klei kodesh* had enough to eat. When times were bad they could barely keep body and soul together.

In such cases my father would see the money lender, and we boys would carry *vochen gelt*,** weekly payments, to their houses.

But good or bad times, the boys always attended *heder*, the Jewish school for children, and when we grew older we were sent to the *yeshivah* in the big city, Kamenetz Podolsk.

WHAT COULD I DO IN THE SHTETL?

The universal dream of every child is to become either a policeman or a fireman. These were out of the question for a Jewish boy growing up in the *Shtetl*.

He could not aspire to be a policeman because that exalted office was out of reach of a Jewish boy by decree of the Czar. Oh, to be a policeman with a uniform, and brass buttons, and a sword at his side! He could not be a fireman because there were no firemen in the *Shtetl*. When a fire broke out the entire population would come out with pails of water to form a chain of fire fighters. They would keep it up until the conflagration was out. By the time the "fire brigade" arrived from the nearest town there was nothing for them to do except to disperse the crowd.

There was one man in the *Shtetl* who was dressed in a uniform and treated everybody as if he was doing a great favor in acknowledging their existence. He was the postal clerk who stood behind a grilled window and received and distributed mail. But that office was forbidden to a Jewish boy. Jews were excluded from all government offices, including the Post Office. Jews were forbidden to be in federal, state, or local civil service. The Jew could never become a judge or district attorney or hold a notary public seal. He certainly could not be a teacher in the public schools or an instructor in a university.

*i.e. the sexton.

**From the German *Wochengelt*, "weekly money".

The army and navy were distasteful to Jews. When a boy was drafted, the unhappiness at home was very great. He would not be able to observe the sabbaths and holidays, and would not have kosher food. The government would never think of providing these for Jews. A Jewish officer in the army and navy was rare, and he was usually in the medical corps. When a Jewish boy rose to officer rank you could be sure that he had tampered with his faith. Renouncing the faith and becoming a member in the *Pravoslavny* church, "a True Believer," was the key to a good position and to proper marriage in Russia. Some Jews did this, and received the keys to the kingdom. They never returned to the *Shtetl*.

Attendance at government schools, equivalent to public school here, was fraught with difficulties. The ten per cent norm for Jewish children was strictly observed. Within my memory only two boys ever went up "to the hill", as the government school was called in Orinin. Parents were not very anxious to subject their children to all kinds of humiliation on the part of teachers and pupils. The schools were under the supervision of the Russian (*Pravoslavny*) church, and religious instruction and prayers were a dominant part of the curriculum. The same was true of the middle school, the *gymnasium*, a school which was not available in Orinin. One had to go to the city to attend that type of school. But not having an elementary education, how could one aspire to the *gymnasia*?

A Jew could not own a farm, or cultivate his own field, or gather the fruit of his own orchard. Ownership of land was forbidden to Jews. In a country where agriculture was the main occupation of the people, the Jew was excluded from participation in it except for buying and selling the fruits of other people's labor.

Buying and selling were the only occupations open to Jews, provided they had the inclination or aptitude for such pursuits or the means to establish themselves.

What could I grow up to be or what could boys of my generation do in the *Shtetl*? We could become merchants in grain and cattle, provided our fathers set us up in such business. Children always followed in the footsteps of their fathers in Orinin. Children of merchants became merchants. You were born into it. You were trained in the business, and you found it easier to slip into it as you grew up.

We could become *arendars*, that is people who rented a water mill and ground wheat and corn for the peasants. We could rent a section

of forest and work its wood for its fuel, its lumber for furniture, building, or export. We could rent an orchard and gather the fruit when it ripened, or lose everything we invested if the crop failed. Again, we could gamble on the abundance of the *Graf's** or *Poritz's* fields. When the wheat or corn or barley crops were plentiful, we became rich. When the rains did not come in time, or the sun was scorching, or the grains for some reason were shriveled on the sheaves, we became impoverished overnight. The *Poritz* had no responsibilities for the crop. We would buy it up as soon as the grain was planted.

Or we could, and many of us did, open a store, one more store, to sell dry goods, food stuffs, or agricultural supplies to the peasants. Such stores enslaved the owners to the business day and night, all through their lives. And it required money, which was in short supply in Orinin.

The profession open to everybody because it required little money and no skill and no specific qualifications was to be a *luftmensch*,** a *shtekele dreier*, a twirler of the cane, an agent for one thing or another. These *luftmenschen*, or agents, would attach themselves to a money bag and do all kinds of services for him. They would make deals for him, collect his debts from impoverished debtors, go to far-away places in all kinds of weather to do his bidding, take all kinds of insults from him, and for him from people whom he displeased. Such persons were known as *meklars*, and their livelihood was precarious. They lived out of thin air — they were truly *luftmenschen*.

Orinin had more than its share of *meklars*.

We could become artisans. Most of the population of Orinin were artisans of one kind or another. There were tailors, carpenters, shoemakers, sheet metal workers, rope twisters, barrel joiners or coopers, wagon makers, or silversmiths. But these were trades that were handed down from father to son, and unless one had some family connection, there was no way he could learn the trade. There was no trade school in Orinin.

Then again because of *yihus*,† the complicated relations between

**Graf* is German for "Count".

***Luftmensch*, Yiddish, from the German *Luft* ("air") and *Mensch* ("man"), described by Leo Rosten as "1. Someone with his head in the clouds, 2. An impractical fellow, but optimistic, 3. A dreamy, sensitive, poetic type, (or) 4. One without an occupation who lives or works *ad libitum*". *Shtekele dreier* is Yiddish.

†Hebrew, meaning "distinguished connections or genealogy". Originally the distinction of belonging to the family of a priest or scholar.

the various sects and groups in the *Shtetl*, no son of a *balebos** who resided in the Upper *Gass* would ever think of learning a trade. "*Es shtet nit on*" — it is not becoming to a nice *balebatish* boy. Whenever one of such *balebatishe* children went down to an alley in the Lower *Gass* and apprenticed himself to a master tailor or carpenter, respectable dwellers of the Upper *Gass* would turn up their noses.

Children were expected to walk in the footpaths of their fathers, and any deviation from the established rule provoked the disapproval of clannish Orinin.

But we, the sons of *klei kodesh*, those who worked in holiness, were in a class by ourselves. The son of the *rov* was expected to become a *rov*, and the son of a *shohet* had to be a *shohet* when he grew up. We were covered, and limited, by the law of *Hazokah*. By this law a *klei kodesh* had the right to bequeath his position to his sons. If he had no sons he could bequeath it to his son-in-law. Accordingly, my elder brother studied *Hilhos Shehitah* and was awarded the *semihah*, the authorization to become a *shohet*. I was the next in line, and I, too, was sent to a *yeshivah* to study and be a slaughterer of fowl and cattle.

But then came the revolution, and everything was uprooted. All of the laws, ukases, and edicts of the Czar were abolished. All limits, all restrictions, all do's and dont's were as if they had never existed. The *Krome Yevreyev*, "Except Jews", of the Czarist laws were declared null and void at one stroke and forgotten. All restrictions on living quarters or professions and divisions into sects and classes were removed. The *Shtetl* dwellers broke out of the yoke they had lived under all these years. They traveled over the length and breadth of Russia unrestrained. All professions were opened to them, and the sons and daughters of the *Shtetl* filled the trade schools and the universities of the land.

Is there any wonder that so many of us were infected with the fever of the Revolution and in those days became the most ardent followers of the new order?

The *Shtetl* as my generation remembers it was swept away in the storm of the Revolution. But as so often happens, everything was swept away, the good and the evil, the beautiful and the ugly, the spiritual together with the vulgar.

**Balebos*, from the Hebrew, refers to the owner of a store, shop, or establishment; a manager or superintendent; one who assumes authority; and ultimately the head of a household. *Balebatish*, the adjective, means "of some consequence," "responsible," and ultimately "quiet," "respectable," or "well-mannered."

THE HEDER

The *heder* was the Jewish answer to government schools. There was no compulsory attendance in school; hence the *Shtetl* took care of its own education system.

The *heder* was the most remarkable phenomenon in the life of the *Shtetl*. It was private and yet under the supervision of the parents. Since the parents were themselves products of the *heder*, they could follow the progress of their children in all stages. It was voluntary, yet with a degree of compulsion imposed by public opinion. Every Jewish child in the *Shtetl* had to attend a *heder*, any *heder*, and those who could not afford to pay tuition were assisted by community funds collected for such purposes. In larger towns the community supported a *Talmud Torah*, a place of study for the poor children. The rich and the poor children sat side by side, the *rebbe*, the teacher, usually favoring the poor child, because it is said in the *Talmud*:

“Be careful of the children of the poor,
because from them will come forth Torah”.

Heder means a room, a schoolroom, a form, but typically the *heder* was a room in the house of the *rebbe*. Children came to *heder* early in the morning and left for home late in the evening. We sat around a long rectangular table, on long hard benches, and learned from books placed in front of every student. We studied in a sing-song manner, the *rebbe* setting the tune and we repeating after him. Every once in a while the *rebbe* would stop in his recital and point to one or another of the pupils, asking him to read alone.

Woe to the pupil who did not know the place and just pretended to sing along with the class, moving his lips. No one could fool the *rebbe*. Not for long, at any rate.

A child came to *heder* at the age of three. By that time he knew quite a few things required of a Jewish boy. Some knew more, some less, depending on the home they came from. Before a child came to *heder* he knew the blessings over bread and water, and milk and wine, and fruits and vegetables. He knew the *modeh ani*, the morning prayer in which we give thanks to the Creator for giving us back our souls, in his great mercy. He also knew the *Shema Yisroel*, the admonition to every Jew to remember that God our Lord is One. And much more. Some children learned the entire *Aleph Beth*,* before coming to *heder*.

The first *heder* was at the house of the *dardeki melamed*, the teacher

*The Hebrew cognates of *alpha beta*, i.e. the “alphabet”.

of little children. *Dardak* means a "child", a youngster. Passing by the *dardeki heder* one could hear the sing-song of *Kometz Aleph — O, Kometz Beth — Bo*, and so on through the entire *Aleph Beth*, until all the letters were paired together, each consonant with each vowel, and each vowel with each consonant.

What was the method of teaching in the *heder*? Before explaining such things as methods, I must point out that the *dardeki melamed*, the teacher of beginners, was not at all versed in the psychology of children, or in methodology of teaching. The subject matter as well as the method were both handed down from generation to generation. The *rebbe* was not at all innovative or original in his method, which consisted of endless repetition. Day in, day out, we repeated the reading of the *rebbe* in the *siddur*,* the prayer book, which was the textbook par excellence, until we knew the entire text mostly by heart. The sing-song of teaching was a great aid to memory. The *rebbe* sang, and we emulated him. The text was remembered together with the melody.

Repetition, emulation, and singing were the old and proven methods of teaching in *heder*, especially so in the *heder* of the *dardeki melamed*.

The *kantchik*, the leather tongued whip, was the chief aid in teaching. The *dardeki melamed* and the *kantchik* were inseparable. The *melamed* would make the rounds of the table and listen to the sing-song of the children. With the *kantchik* poised in mid-air, he would bend an ear to the reading of each child. If something displeased him, it would come down on the shoulders of the pupil. The child would whimper a little and go on with the sing-song.

The *dardeki heder* had another institution, the *behelfer*** He was the assistant to the *rebbe*, an apprentice who was in training to become a *dardeki melamed* in his own right. His job was to bring the children in in the morning and take them back at sunset. He would walk with his flock ahead of him, carrying the weaker ones on his shoulders, holding on to the hands of the frightened ones, and singing with them the *Aleph Beth* or other songs of the *heder*. He would dress and undress the children in cold weather, and he was in charge of the lunches they brought with them. The *behelfer* would have his meals at the house of a different child every week.

*Hebrew for the daily and Sabbath prayer book. Contains three daily services, the Sabbath prayers, in some editions the festival prayers, ethics of the Fathers, and special readings.

**Yiddish for "assistant" or "helper". From German *helfen*, "to help".

The *dardeki melamed* was the first step in the education of a child. After that came other *melamedim*, teachers of other *hederim*. There was the teacher of *Humosh* and *Rashi*.^{*} There was the teacher of the Prophets, and the *gemoro*^{**} *melamed*. Each one would take the pupil one step further toward the completion of the standard course of study. After that, some went on to a *yeshivah*, a rabbinical school, but most helped their fathers in making a livelihood. Their education was over.

In presenting the *heder* and its system of instruction we should mention one more step in the learning process. It was called "*farheren*",[†] listening. Every Sabbath afternoon the *rebbe* came to the house of the pupil and had the parents or some other person "listen" to the progress of the child. Some children would bring their books to the *rov* in *Beth Midrash* to show him what they had learned during that week. In this way the parents checked on the *rebbe* and his teachings. In this way also the uniformity of teaching was assured, so that the children of Orinin and the children of hundreds of other places, hundreds of miles away, knew the same prayers, the same *sidras* and *midrashim*, and were imbued with the same Jewish ideas. In a world without newspapers, journals, conventions, or schools for teachers, such uniformity was miraculous.

The year of the *heder* ended during the High Holidays. On these days, called *Bein Hazmanim*, in-between seasons, the *melamedim* of the various schools were seen around the *Shtetl*, visiting parents of children who would be prospective pupils in their *heders*.

Usually when one child of the family went to one *heder*, all of the others in their turn would attend the same *heder*. Calling on such a family was a mere formality. In the meantime the *rebbe* talked of various subjects to the man of the family, while the woman brought tea and cookies for the guest.

The relations between parents and teachers were very personal, very close, a relationship we miss in our schools today. We also miss the ceremony of the first day of a child in *heder*, when he was initiated into the study of *Torah*. There is hardly a person of my generation who does not remember that first day, with the father carrying the child to the *heder*, the mother bringing cooked chick-peas and raisins

^{*}*Humosh*, the five books of Moses, or the Pentateuch, synonymous with *Torah*. *Rashi*, abbreviation of Rabbi Shelomoh Yitzhak (Hebrew for Solomon ben Isaac) of Troyes, French Bible and Talmud scholar of the eleventh century.

^{**}*Gemoro* is one of the two basic parts of the *Talmud*.

[†]Yiddish, from the German *hören*, "to hear" or "listen".

and candy to distribute among the children, and sweet cakes baked for the occasion and dropped from above the head of the pupil onto the pages of the *siddur* as he read each letter. That too was a means of bringing *rebbe* and pupil and parents together.

THE SHREIBER, A HEDER FOR GIRLS

Girls never attended the same *heder* as the boys in Orinin. The *Shtetl* rigidly observed the separation of sexes in education. The girls went to a different *heder*, they were taught different subjects, and their teacher was not dignified with the name of *rebbe*. He was called a *shreiber*,* a writer. While there were many *rebbe*s in the *Shtetl*, there were only two *shreibers*, which means that parents did not feel obligated to send their daughters to school. To send a girl to a *shreiber* was considered a luxury.

The *shreiber* used a method which is, alas, used even today—copying. The first thing a *shreiber* did in his school was to write down the letters of the *Aleph Beth* on a sheet of paper with a pencil. The pupils were required to go over the letters with pen and ink. They would write the letters and repeat the names of the letters aloud.

Having learned the entire *Aleph Beth*, the girls were ready for a *Shurah Grisl*,** that is a Greeting Line. The girls would use their pencils and ruler and mark lines on the paper. The *shreiber* would write on the first line, and the girls would copy the same line on the rest of the paper. They would go from the simple to the complex, from the familiar to the novel, from the easy to the difficult. They would learn to write their names, their father's and mother's names, the name of Orinin. Later they would learn to copy sayings, moral and ethical concepts, and proverbs. Why it was called *Shurah Grisl* no one really knew. But from copying these single lines, the girls gained fundamental knowledge and folk wisdom.

After copying a *Shurah Grisl*, the girls were given textbooks which were called *brivenshteler*,† letter writing handbooks. They were soft covered booklets, sold by the traveling booksellers when they came to Orinin. The *brivenshteler*s did not have the same standing as the *siddur*, the prayer books. From the *brivenshteler* the girls learned how to write a letter, an art that is still taught in the secretarial schools.

*Yiddish, from the German, *Schreiber*, "writer".

**Yiddish. From the German, *Gruss*, "greeting". *Grisl* is a diminutive.

†Yiddish. From the German: *Brief* means "letter" (*briefen* is plural). In German, *Briefsteller* is a "letter-writer".

There were business letters, of course. But mainly these letters related to episodes in the life of a Jewish girl. A letter of invitation to a wedding, and a letter accepting such an invitation. A letter of introduction to the future mother-in-law and a letter telling of accomplishments to the future father-in-law. A letter to a friend telling of yearnings for the bride-groom and a letter from a friend who was married and moved away to a strange town and, alas, not so happy in marriage. Romantic letters and letters expressing sorrow at the loss of someone dear or close.

The letters in the *brivenshteler* were printed in Yiddish, and the girls had to copy them in Yiddish script. The letter handbooks were kept at home and copied many times even when one was not a pupil at the *shreiber*. They were used as models for writing letters. The books are a rarity now, and are kept in libraries and museums. The Yiddish of these handbooks is mixed with Germanic expressions, for this was the style of the day. The spelling of Yiddish words was also in the style of those days and followed the Germanic orthography.

But with all its shortcomings the girls had a secular education, something the boys never received.

Strange as it may seem the *shreiber* also taught the girls arithmetic and elements of geography. One *shreiber* also taught the girls Russian, a tongue the boys were expected to pick up from the streets of the *Shtetl*.

A few parents taught their daughters *Humosh* and *Rashi*. A *rebbe* would come to the house to teach the daughters what the boys learned in *heder*, and he also taught them to write in Yiddish. But boys and girls never learned together in the same *heder*. Sex education was considered anathema.

A new refreshing wind began to blow in Orinin. During the first decade of the new century modern Hebrew Schools were opened in many towns in the vicinity, Orinin among them. The modern features of the Hebrew Schools consisted of the following:

1. A house, a special house, for this purpose was hired. The house was furnished with desks and blackboards, and the pupils were seated in alphabetical order. They even wore a uniform and were called by their given names.
2. Teachers, actual teachers, were hired. They were mostly young and graduates of teachers courses offered somewhere in Odessa or Kiev. These teachers wore modern clothing, shaved their beards, and spoke Hebrew.

3. Hebrew speaking was a novelty in Orinin. While everyone knew Hebrew, nobody spoke it in everyday affairs. It was considered a Holy Tongue and not to be profaned by mundane usage. The teachers in the modern Hebrew School spoke Hebrew and taught history and even geography and arithmetic in Hebrew. And singing. Nobody ever heard of a school in which time, precious time, was given to singing. They sang songs of Zion and of nature and even of love.

No boys were going to waste time singing and reading stories and poems written by the new writers. And so the modern Hebrew Schools were for all practical purposes during the first years of their existence mostly schools for girls. Here again the girls had the advantage over boys.

In time the Hebrew Schools became co-educational. The *heder*, the *rebbe*, and with them the *kantchik*, were on their way out in Orinin, as indeed in all other towns.

And yet, the *heder*, as an institution, with its emphasis on traditions, with its home-like atmosphere and its close *rebbe*-pupil-parent relationship, and above all in its voluntary yet obligatory nature, has never been duplicated in modern education.

WHAT DID THE CHILDREN DO IN THE SHTETL?

Orinin had little to offer in the way of entertainment, so we entertained ourselves. We were the actors. We were the audience. We had no movies, no radio, no TV, no playground, no band, nor orchestra or concert singers. Not even funny books, all of the things that take up so much of the time of children in America. We had no organized games or sports. But do not make the mistake of thinking that Orinin lacked excitement, that life was always bleak and that children were forever depressed. Nothing is further from the truth.

The *heder* took up most of the day, but the *heder* was a warm place, both literally and figuratively. When the wind and snow raged outside in winter, we were kept warm and secure. At such times the *rebbe* told us tales of long ago. Tales of heroes and epics of great men and women. In *heder* we heard about the exploits of Deborah and Barak, about Samson and Delilah, about the Maccabees and Bar Kochba, about the Rambam* and Abarbanel, about lost tribes and the restless River Sambatian. Stories of kings and queens, of judges and prophets, of great joy and deep tragedy. And all of these things happened in distant lands, across the Great Ocean, under different skies. And these skies

*Hebrew, abbreviation for Rabbi Moses ben Maimon, Maimonides.

became as familiar to us in our imagination as the crooked streets and narrow alleys of Orinin.

But also games and diversions occupied our time, games suited to various seasons and climates.

The snowdrifts in Orinin were as high as the houses themselves. The snow lay undisturbed except on the Main Street, where people and animals had trodden a path for themselves. It lay unsoiled in the back of the houses and in between the houses until the spring thaw. We dug tunnels underneath the snowdrifts, and built castles and ramparts around them. None had ever seen a castle or been in a tunnel, but we built them from stories we had heard and above all from our own imagination.

The river around Orinin was frozen most of the winter months. We made "skates" for ourselves, which were no more than pieces of wood tied to the shoes with strings or wire—plus a little imagination.

We made sleds to slide down the hill. The sleds, like everything else, were homemade. All one needed were two side boards, some narrow pieces of wood, and plenty of nails. The two boards were made smooth by rubbing them with a stone until they would slide over snow or ice, and the shorter pieces of wood served to hold the two boards together and also to hold the rider. The sleds were carried up to the top of the highest hill in Orinin, called "Mount Sinai", and we would come down triumphantly into the valley below. There were many mishaps — the sled would collapse, the rider would spill, sleds would collide — but these were the hazards of sledding. We expected them. We welcomed them.

But most of the games were invented during spring and summer evenings. There were swimming places on either side of Orinin, two for boys and two for girls. As soon as supper was over we would rush to the river, unbuttoning our shirts and trousers as we ran, and jump into the water in the nude. Nudity was not a crime in the *Shtetl*. We didn't know one could swim otherwise.

On summer evenings we would go fishing. We fished for anything the fishing pole brought up. The poles of course were homemade. They were simply long rods, soft and elastic, freshly cut from the willows that grew in abundance at the river bank, with a long string tied at the end, and a crooked pin attached to the string. There were plenty of earthworms near the river, or we would attach a piece of dry bread for bait. The worms wiggled out of our pins, and the

bread was eaten up by the fish, but we stood in the stillness of the summer evening and watched little fish splash in the water, make a pass at our hooks, and disappear.

A very popular game was called "Sticks and Stones". It was our football and golf and hockey combined, with some elements of each of these games. We chose sides on the big square of the horse market, and stood facing each other in two rows. Each player had a heavy stick, preferably with a knob at its head. At a signal from the head player each side hit its stone, a round, smooth rock that was kept hidden in a corner of the square. Both sides tried to keep the opponent's rock out of its territory. It was our task to hit the stone as it approached our side. There were rules and regulations, usually made up on the spur of the moment. But the one rule that everyone had to observe was never to use hands, either to throw a stone or to chase away a player from the opposite side. We could use our bodies to push away the players, but could never touch them with our hands.

Needless to say girls were excluded from these games. The girls had games of their own, chief among which was *cheichen*. They picked up seven smooth little stones, hardly more than pebbles found on the shore of the water and would sit down in a circle on one of the lawns. Each had a larger pebble of her own in addition to the seven smaller ones required in the game. This was considered the lucky stone. The trick was to hold the lucky stone in the palm of the hand and to pick up as many of the smaller pebbles as one could with that hand. The adept girls, and there were famous champions in Orinin, could pick up as many as five or six at a time. But before anyone won the game, there would be arguments, and sometimes they came to blows. One could hear the noise and commotion blocks away.

On rainy days we played at being musicians. The fiddles were made of thin pliable boards shaped into violins. Strings for the violins and bows were obtained from the tails of horses. We made wind instruments from hollow reeds that grew along the shore of the river, cutting little vents in the reeds, and fashioning a slanting mouthpiece at one end. Some of the boys were lucky enough to have clay birds and trumpets that were sold during the fair held in Orinin by an itinerant artisan. For cymbals and drums we borrowed kettles, sieves, pots, and pans from the kitchen, and hoped that no one would find out about it. We gathered in the attic of the house of one of the boys and played to our hearts' content.

The girls played ball against a wall. They would bounce a ball to

and from the wall, and all the others would count: Not one. Not two. Not three. When the player failed to catch the ball on the rebound, another girl would take her place. It wasn't simple, and no game was over without quarrels. But the girls played and chanted for hours — nonsensical songs that no one understood.

The girls also played with hoops around the square, and "covering the bride", each one dressed in her mother's old clothes and talking mother talk.

All in all boys and girls were inventive and filled their free time without interference from their elders. What is more, these games, there were dozens of them, were accompanied by songs and ditties that were a mixture of Yiddish and Ukrainian, some with nonsense words that were incomprehensible to us. They were probably handed down from time immemorial, from parents to children, and were a part of the games.

HOUSES OF WORSHIP IN ORININ

There were five houses of worship in Orinin. Three of them stood side by side, so that the singing and the chanting in one could be heard in the others. The other two were a little farther removed down by the river bank. The five houses of worship were designated as the Old *Beth Midrash*, the New *Beth Midrash*, the *Zinkover Klois*, the *Tchortkover Klois*, and the Old *Shul*.

The worshippers in these houses of worship represented the various shades of difference in the population of the *Shtetl*. The Old and the New *Beth Midrash* attracted the solid *balebatim* of Orinin. They were the well-to-do, the merchants, and all dwelled on the Main Street and on the *Variatsky Gass*. The *Zinkover Klois* was so-called because its worshippers followed an Hasidic *rebbe* of the town of Zinkov, who was a descendant of the *Apter Rov*. The *Tchortkover Klois*, sometimes also called the *Sadigurer Klois*, were followers of the Hasidic *rebbe*s who held court in those Galician towns. But the largest and the most impressive house of worship was the Old *Shul*. It was so-called because no one among the living knew when and by whom the *shul* was built. While the other four houses of worship were nothing more than simple two-room houses, one room for men and the other for women, the Old *Shul* was architecturally distinct. The *Shul* was a conglomerate of several buildings added to the main structure. Its windows were small and were tucked away at the top of the high walls, near the roof. It had no heat, and in the fall and winter worshippers did not take off their overcoats. It was therefore also known as the Cold *Shul*.

The *mizrah*, or the eastern wall, was taken up almost entirely by the intricately carved Holy Ark and the *hazan's* stand. A few steps led up to the Holy Ark, which contained several *Sefer Torahs* of ancient origin. Copper candelabras hung from the beams of the roof. They were lit only on holidays and Sabbath Eves. Attached to the main *Shul* was the women's gallery, way up near the roof. One of the buildings, really a lean-to attached to the *Shul*, was the repository of *shemos*, a general name for all torn prayer books, *Humoshim*, and dog-eared Psalms and *Tehinos*, prayers for women. They were not to be thrown away, but kept forever because they contained the name of God.

Another lean-to was used as the chapel during weekdays, and for "dissenters", those who preferred for some reason to worship by themselves on Sabbaths and festivals.

The Old *Shul* was built as already described in the lowest part of Orinin. Besides, the worshippers had to go down a few steps before entering the *Shul* proper.

Now, we are told, the Old *Shul* has been torn down, after it was used as a stable for the Cossack horses. The *shemos* were probably unceremoniously disposed of either by fire or by scattering to the winds. Nobody will ever know how many generations brought their old torn books for safe-keeping in the *Shul*. Lost with the *shemos* is also the secret of the first builders of the first house of worship in Orinin. The only witness to the *shul* are the waters of the river that lapped the foundation of the structure, and probably still laps the same foundation, but without the *shul* or worshippers of over three hundred years.

Every wedding in the *Shtetl* took place on the little square before the Old *Shul*. Under the starry skies the *huppa*, the wedding canopy, was put up, and the entire population crowded to see the ceremony.

Traditionally every house of worship had a distinct function. The Old *Beth Midrash* provided the platform for every *magid*, itinerant speaker, who came to Orinin. On a Saturday afternoon the house would be crowded with listeners who came to hear him. Some *magidim* were amusing, some were eloquent, some would exhort. Others could tell tales of woe and awaken sympathy for their predicament. On the next day the *magid* and the *shamos* would go from house to house to collect fees for his talk.

The *Zinkover Klois* congregation sang and danced much more than others in the *Shtetl*. Once a year the Rebbe from Zinkov would come to Orinin for a Sabbath. The *Shtetl Hasidim* would go out on the high-

way to meet the *rebbe*. About a mile from Orinin, near the forest, the *rebbe* and his entourage would stop, and the young *Hasidim* would unhitch the horses and pull the phaeton into town by themselves. On the Post Road the older *Hasidim* would crowd around the *rebbe* and shake his hands, while the younger ones would dance and sing around him. A weekend of singing in the *Zinkover Klois* would follow, and dinners and suppers and dancing till all hours of the night. The *rebbe* has come to Orinin!

The *Tchortkover Hasidim* had not had such a Sabbath. The *rebbe* had never come to town from his residence in Galicia, a district of Austria only a few miles from Orinin. Instead they made a pilgrimage to the court of Tchortkov, or Sadigura, once a year. In their house of worship one could always find a group of people who were bent over volumes of *Talmud* absorbed in study. The *Tchortkover* were the scholars of Orinin. The western wall of the *klois* was covered with shelves filled with volumes of the *Talmud*, the *Midrash*, and commentaries on the Scriptures.

But it had fallen to the New *Beth Midrash*, the least pretentious of the houses of worship in Orinin, to provide living quarters for the *rov*. The house was divided into two halves with a corridor between them. On rainy Sabbaths, and more lately when the *rov* had been sickly, the doors of the *Beth Midrash* were left open and also the door to the room of the *rov* so that the old man could sit draped in his *tallis** and listen to the worship. When the weather was pleasant and the *rov* was in good health, he would leave his house early in the morning and go to the *Tchortkover Klois*, where he had a seat next to the Holy Ark.

I knew every corner of these houses of worship as well as I knew our own house. They are gone forever.

THE ROV OF ORININ

The *rov* was the final authority on what was *kosher** and what was *tref*** what was clean and what was unclean, what was permitted, and what was forbidden to a Jew. He derived this authority by virtue of years of study in the *yeshivah*, the rabbinical school, and by ordination before he accepted the call to be a *rov* to Jews. His verdict was final, and no one dared contradict him.

*Hebrew, "prayer shawl".

***Kosher*, Hebrew, "fit to eat," ritually clean according to the dietary laws. *Tref*, Hebrew, animal not slain according to ritual law; any food which is not Kosher.

The *rov* belonged to the entire community, but no one ever met him on the streets or in public places. He sat constantly at a long table strewn with open books of varying sizes and thickness and seldom spoke to anyone. His main duty was to *pasken a shaaloh*, to rule upon an inquiry. These inquiries were on a variety of subjects:

What was the housewife to do when a dairy dish was mingled with meat dishes?

A chicken was seemingly slaughtered by the *shohet*, but on the way home it came alive, ran away, and expired a little while later. Is the chicken *kosher* or *tref*?

The innards of the goose were exposed, and a rusty nail was found in the gizzard. Should the entire goose be discarded?

There were also questions relating to puberty, menstruation, and infidelity.

In such cases, whenever a woman came into the house, the *rov* would cover his face with his hand and call his wife from the kitchen. She served as the interlocutor. The woman making the inquiry asked the question of the *rebbetzen*, the *rov's* wife, who would transmit the question to the *rov*, who then consulted some books if the *shaaloh* was a difficult one. He next pronounced his decision to the *rebbetzen*, who transmitted it to the inquiring woman.

Thus, the *rov* would be spared the sin of being alone in the same room with a woman not his wife, speaking to a woman not his wife, or coming in contact with a strange woman when there was a need of examining a chicken or goose or any object brought in as evidence.

Jews seldom went to courts of law. In the first place there were no courts to settle litigations in Orin. In the second place the proceedings in the courts in the big city nearby were extremely slow and cumbersome. When two Jews had a case of contention between them, they resorted to arbitration. Each picked an arbitrator, and they came before the *rov* and presented their arguments. The *rov* listened and gave his decision after consulting rabbinical precedents. The two sides abided by that decision. It was not the decision of the *rov*; it was the opinion of the rabbis of old.

Twice a year the *rov* spoke at one of the houses of worship. On *Shabbat Hagadol*, the Great Sabbath before Passover, he spoke in the Old *Shul*. On *Shabbat Bereshis*, the Sabbath when the *Torah* is rolled back to the *Sidrah Bereshis*, to be read again for the coming

year, an event that takes place after *Succot*, he spoke again. And that was the extent of his public utterances.

The *rov* had no contract with the *Shtetl* and no fixed wages. His subsistence was derived from two sources: from donations and from yeast.

Whenever a man was given an *aliyah*, the honor of going up to the reader's desk where the seven weekly portions of the *Torah* are read every Sabbath and on holidays, he would donate toward the livelihood of the *rov*. Each gave according to his means. From these donations the *rov* received his wages. The *shammos*, the sexton of each house of worship, would collect the sum given by the donor and bring it to the *rov*. The second source of income was from the sale of yeast for the Sabbath bread, the *halē*, which Jewish housewives baked every Friday. A penny's worth of yeast was sufficient for a family. The *rov* had a monopoly on the sale of yeast, and the storekeeper who sold yeast to housewives was guilty of *masig gvul*, infringement on the rights of another person, in this case the *rov's* livelihood. *Hasogas gvul*, infringement on someone's territory or means of livelihood, was a great offense.

Another source of income for the *rov* was the sale on Passover Eve by Jews to non-Jews of non-Passover foods and grains. This was called *mechiras hometz*, selling of the leaven. The *rov* was the seller of the *hometz* for the entire community. It was a token sale, of course, and the sales contract was null and void the day after Passover.

The *rov* was highly respected in Orinin, as well as in other towns, because of his piety, scholarship, and impartiality.

As time went on, the town was left without a *rov*. He had passed away, and none of his heirs was suited to take his place. In such cases the *hazokoh*, the right of perpetuation of the office in the family, returned to the community.

But Orinin could not decide upon a single *rov*. Two factions arose in the community, and each brought in a *rov* of its own. The *Shtetl* was divided, and friends of yesterday became enemies of today. They were at loggerheads, one against the other.

Unfortunately, the days of the *Shtetl* were numbered, and both factions, each with its own *rov*, were doomed to extinction. Came the Russian Revolution. Came the Second World War and the Nazis. The *Shtetl* disappeared.

The old *rov* was spared all this.

A YARID IN THE SHTETL

The livelihood of the *Shtetl* depended on the *yarid*, which was held once or twice a week. In Orinin the *yarid*, the market day, was held on Tuesday and Sunday. Merchants, peasants, horse dealers, and artisans of all kinds mingled on this day. People watched the skies days before the *yarid* to foretell the weather for the market days.

Yarid, by the way, is a Hebrew word, meaning a place where people get together for selling and buying or exchanging merchandise. In Yiddish the word *yarid* took on the meaning, in addition to that of a market place, of confusion, noise, disorder. Sholem Aleichem, the Jewish humorist, compared life itself to a *yarid*. You come full of hope and expectation, run around, hustle and bustle, take a lick of this, a smell of that, and at the end of the *yarid*, when the evening of life approaches, you feel empty, disillusioned, and are very tired. Such was the *yarid* in the *Shtetl*.

Orinin had four market places for the *yarid*. The largest of the four was the horse market. Horse dealers came from far and wide and parked their horses and wagons around the stone fence of the *Pravoslavny* church. With the break of dawn, peasants from the surrounding villages congregated in the square, each leading a few horses nicely combed, their harnesses attractively decorated, glistening in the sun, impatiently neighing and stamping. Buyers approached sellers and the drama of the *yarid* began.

The horse dealer would hold out the palm of the peasant's hand and ask: "How much for this undernourished horse?"

The peasant would grab the outstretched hand of the dealer and reply: "You call this an undernourished horse? Why, look at his calves! See how impatient he is! He wants to be harnessed to a wagon!"

The peasant would quote an impossible sum of money.

The horse dealer would begin to laugh. He called to his partner. After telling him the sum of money asked for the horse, they would both laugh aloud. While all the time the dealer held onto the peasant's palm. The other partner would in the meantime look the horse over from all sides. He would look at his mouth, kick his shins, pull him by the tail, drive him through the square. The dealer would raise the price while the peasant would lower it, to the accompaniment of slaps on the palms. The quotations would fly back and forth, and the slaps would grow in frequency and intensity, until finally they arrived at some price much lower than the peasant asked for, and much higher

than the dealer wanted to pay at the start. At the end buyer and seller departed to the nearby saloon and drank "*Na Zdorovia*", To Health! and everything ended happily.

The second market place was for general merchandise. Itinerant merchants would put up tents the night before and sleep in them. When morning came, they opened the tents and displayed a dazzling array of manufactured goods. There were ornaments and jewelry, ribbons and kerchiefs, scissors and knives, ikons and candles, crucifixes and beads. And the colors of the merchandise, the flattery of the merchants, the bargaining of the buyers, these were all part of the *yarid*. The merchants in the tents came from Great Russia. They were called *katzapes*, and they were recognized by their dress: high boots, wide trousers tucked in the boots, and billowing white shirts tied together with wide colorful belts. On their heads they wore small caps with leather visors. They always held long pliable whips in their hands to scare away intruders such as cats, dogs, and pigs and to crack over the hands of would-be pilferers. The children would fear them and at the same time were attracted by them and their wares.

We were fascinated by the toys which they displayed. They had trumpets made of tin, singing birds made of clay, drums and drumsticks beautifully carved and colored. And they had wooden soldiers painted with colorful costumes. But what could we buy for the kopek we were allowed for the *yarid*? We stood open-mouthed and watched.

The third square was used for the grain market. The merchants had storage bins for corn and barley, for sunflower and caraway seeds, for wheat and buckwheat. The merchants held scales in their hands and weighed out the bundles brought by the peasants' wives. It was less colorful than the horse market but more business-like.

Down by the river, where the slaughterhouse stood on the hill, was the market place for lambs, goats, calves, and sheep. The noise in that market place was not that of buyers and sellers, but the baaing and mooing of the animals as they were being separated from their herds.

But the *yarid* spilled over into the side streets and alley-ways of Orinin as well. There was hardly a house that was not involved in the *yarid*. At one place women bought chickens and geese and eggs from the peasants. In front of houses people put up little tents and displayed pots and pans, sieves and funnels. Artisans of all kinds sold their wares and implements. Coopers made barrels right on the spot,

and the rope maker walked back and forth with wads of flax around his loins as he twisted lengths of rope for the waiting peasant.

A most exciting place was the farm tool and implement market. Peasants would pick up a scythe, a sickle, or plow. They would listen to the sound the implements made as they hit them against a stone, and from the sound they would decide whether to buy.

There were smaller merchants who bought a bunch of rareripes or garlic, pumpkin seed, or dried beans. Everybody was busy on the days of the *yarid*. But when evening came and the peasants departed, the out-of-town merchants drove off with their spirited horses and wagons, the tents and stands were folded, and the horse dealers gathered the horses they had bought and sent them off to the nearby Galician border, peace descended upon the *Shtetl*, and people began to prepare for the next *yarid*.

Not bad, the *Shtetl* people would say to one another. But it could be better. Maybe next *yarid*. Next week.

The *Shtetl* would return to normal. Normal worries. Normal anxieties. Normal petty squabbles.

LOVE IN THE SHTETL

Boys and girls of Orinin, as of any *Shtetl*, were paired off at an early age. The mother of a girl who had her eye on a boy of a friend would send a *shadchen*, a matchmaker, to the parents of the boy, and the *shiduch*, the engagement was arranged. The boy and the girl both attended *heder* and played hoops nearby yet never spoke to one another. But for all practical purposes they were engaged to be married.

Two *Hasidim* met at the court of their *rebbe*. It turned out that one had a son and the other a daughter; so they arranged an engagement. They then drank to the *hoson-kaloh*, the bridegroom and bride-to-be, and the *rebbe* wished them health and good fortune. The two shook hands and made a *thias kaf*, a hand-shake in the presence of other *Hasidim*. A *thias kaf* had the power of an official agreement. It could not be broken.

The boys and girls were left out of the agreement entirely. The boy received the traditional gold watch and chain and was known as the *hoson bohur*. The girl received a beautiful kerchief, and became known as *kaloh moid*. Both of them continued whatever they were doing in their parents' homes. Nothing was changed, although the *Shtetl* knew that they were engaged to be married.

Most boys and girls became engaged through a *shadchen* or a *shadchente*. Both men and women were proficient in the profession. The *shadchen*, the male matchmaker, usually brought together out-of-town couples, while the *shadchente*, the female matchmaker, had a local clientele.

A successful matchmaker had an abundance of patience. He (or she) would come to a prospective client on a Saturday afternoon for a visit and a glass of tea. They would be dressed in their Saturday best, and would talk about everything under the sun, until the *hoson* or *kaloh* were mentioned in a round-about way. The parents knew what the matchmaker wanted, but no one mentioned it.

When the *shadchen* was encouraged in his conversation, he would proceed further, lavishing praise upon the bride or bridegroom. But when he sensed a reluctance on the part of the parents to continue the matter, the *shadchen* would bring the conversation around to another prospect for marriage. The *shadchen* knew everyone in the *Shtetl* and knew the foibles of each family. He must be careful of the sensitivities of parents. But when the match was made, the two young people were not consulted. The match was between the two families and not between the young people.

There were certain basic principles that every *shadchen* or *shadchente* had to observe in bringing a prospective match to a family:

1. *Yihus*, lineage, or caste, if you please. Lines were drawn between rich and poor, *balebos* and laborer, dwellers of the upper and lower streets. These lines were seldom crossed. The son of a tailor was not good enough for the daughter of a *balebos*. But it was different if the son of a poor water carrier happened to be a scholar, a *Ben Torah*. In such cases the *shadchen* would be sent to the *yeshivah* in the town where the boy was studying, and the brilliant boy would be selected for the rich daughter of the merchant in the *Shtetl*. A scholar, a *sharfer kop*,* a *masmid* in the *yeshivah*, a diligent student transcended *yihus*. Such was the value the *Shtetl* put upon learning and scholarship. Every poor mother dreamed of her son becoming a scholar and being chosen by a rich man as his son-in-law.

2. Names, first names, had to be gone into before a match could be brought up. The name of the mother of the *hoson* and that of the *kaloh* could never be the same. In some families it was considered bad luck for the father of the bride and the *hoson* to have the same first name.

*"Sharp head". Yiddish.

3. Priesthood could not be violated. A widow or a divorced woman were forbidden to a Cohen, a man of the priestly family. Every man with the last name of Cohen, Kahn, Katz, Kaganowitz, Kaplan, or Kagan was most certainly a descendant of priests. But even when the last name did not suggest priesthood, there were family traditions, handed down from time immemorial, from father to son, about their genealogy. A *shadchen* had to make sure about his prospects.

4. "Blemishes" on either side could not be overlooked. Apostasy in the family, no matter how distant a relative involved, was considered a blemish. *Farflecken di mishpocho*, to soil the family, was an unforgettable offense.

In all of this the feeling of the *hoson* and the *kaloh* were not taken into account. Tradition and family considerations came first. Love was not a prerequisite to marriage.

The task of the matchmakers was not over with the bringing together of *hoson-kaloh*. There were many obstacles to overcome. There was the delicate deliberation about the *nadan*, the dowry, and the promise of board and room to the *hoson*. The parents of the bridegroom always held out for a greater dowry and insisted on a longer term of board and room from the parents of the bride. At any moment the *shiduch*, the engagement, was in danger of being dissolved. *Oploson a shiduch*, to let an engagement dissolve, was even worse than a divorce. The shame to the bride and her family was more than they could bear. The matchmakers shuttled between the two sides until a compromise satisfactory to both sides was reached.

Then and only then did the *shadchen* and the *shadchente* receive their commissions. There was no set fee. The greater the *nadan* and the promise of support, the larger the commission.

Matchmaking came into disuse by the time my generation was ready for marriage. A quiet revolution had taken place in Orinin and in the towns all around. Boys and girls met on their own in various places. We met in the *Beth Am*, which was at once a community center, (People's House), a library, and a lecture hall. We met on the *Doroshka*, the pathway which divided the two streams of the Big River, one continuing its course around the town of Orinin and the other diverted to turn the stone of its grist mill. The *Doroshka* ran for about half a mile between the two streams and was a shaded place, very quiet, very romantic. We would walk back and forth on the *Doroshka* and would observe the moon rise, and the willows by the river grow pensive, and the cicadas chirp away through the long evening.

The matchmaker continued to practice his skill for many years, but for most of us it was considered "old-fashioned," a relic of days gone by. We were emancipated. Little did we know that matchmaking was still going on — in America! Loneliness is not limited to the *Shtetl*. One can be lonely in the big cities as well.

WELFARE IN THE SHTETL

No one went hungry in the *Shtetl*. Poverty there was, but hunger did not exist. The poor did not know where tomorrow's meals would come from, but for today their needs were provided for by neighbors.

Widows and orphans were first on the list. Every *balaboste*, the wife of a merchant or store keeper, as she baked her weekly supply of bread would bake an extra loaf for a widow. Every Friday when the same *balaboste* baked her *halë*, the white twisted bread for the Sabbath, she would also braid an extra *halë* for the poor. And so it was for the Holidays. The poor did not have delicacies, but they did not lack bread. The portions of bread and meat and other necessities were sent to the home of the widow or sick in secret. The woman of the house would send one of her children with a covered basket. The child was told to leave it on the kitchen table and tell the widow that mother had sent what she owes her.

The poor, the sick, the orphaned, and the widowed were cared for by the *noshim tzidkonieth*, the good-hearted women of the *Shtetl*. The men contributed to a general fund that was maintained by the *gabbai*, the elected head of each house of worship.

There was a fund for *hachnosath orhim*, the sheltering of the strangers. When a poor stranger came to town he immediately repaired to a house of worship. There he was sure to find a place where he could rest his feet from the long walk from the last *Shtetl*. In the evening worshippers would come, would greet him with *Sholom Alechem*, and inquire where he came from and when he was leaving. The *shammos* took him to an inn and then to a *balebos* for supper. On Sabbath Eve strangers were particularly numerous. I hardly remember a meal without an *orah*, as the strangers were called. A guest for Sabbath was the norm rather than the exception.

Hachnosath kaloh literally means "bringing the bride under the canopy". There was a fund for the purpose of providing a full wardrobe for the bride of the poor. This included *nadan*, a dowry, no matter how small; a bed, chairs, and table; and kitchen utensils. Very often a stranger would come to the *Shtetl* bearing a letter from his *rov*

(rabbi) stating that the bearer was the father of a grown daughter in need of a dowry. The *gabbai* saw to it that the stranger did not leave the town empty-handed.

A *nisraf*, a man who was impoverished by a fire, was a common visitor to the *Shtetl*. He, too, brought with him a letter from the *rov* of his town testifying that a fire had consumed everything the man possessed, and that he was worthy of receiving aid from the town. He was not only given assistance from the common fund, but was recommended to a select few who helped him rebuild his house and restore his livelihood.

Moes hittim, money for wheat, was an annual charity that was scrupulously observed. This institution, which was brought to America and is still observed, is very ancient. Jews could not conceive of the idea that a person would sit at his Seder table loaded with all of the Passover foods, while another sat at an empty table. So much was this tradition observed, that it was said of *Moes Hittim*: either one gives, or one takes. More gave than took.

Bikur Holim, visiting the sick, was the duty of the entire *Shtetl*. It involved sitting at the bedside of the patient all night so that the family would be able to sleep. Men or women were hired for this purpose and paid from the community fund. The men sat all night chanting psalms, while the women read *techinos*, supplications for women.

Hevrah Kadisha, the Holy Society, was another of the Jewish institutions brought to this country from overseas. When someone died, the *Hevrah Kadisha* took over the arrangements for the funeral. The body of the deceased was washed, purified, and dressed in the *tachrichim* (the shrouds), and wrapped in the *tallis* (the prayer shawl), which every male had used while he was among the living. The body was carried on the shoulders of the members of the *Hevrah Kadisha* by a route mapped out by the society: From the house to the house of worship where the deceased had prayed, to the Old *Shul*, and then to the cemetery. All of the time, the *shammos* would precede the funeral procession with a metal box and cry: *Tzedaka Tatzil Mi'moves*, "Charity saves from Death". The money collected would be used for funerals of the poor.

Every once in a while an appeal would come to the *rov* or the *gabbai* for *Pidyon Shvuyim*, "Ransom of the Captives". This goes back to the days when Jews would be captured and brought to a Jewish community for redemption money. This was practiced quite commonly during the Dark Ages. The *Shtetl* was called upon to aid in the defense of a

Jew who was falsely accused of some offense which he did not commit. Aid for this purpose was also called *Pidyon Shvuyim*, "redemption of the innocent", and immediately dispatched wherever it was needed.

Eretz Yisroel, the Land of Israel, always sent out emissaries, *meshulachim*, for various purposes. It might be a *yeshivah* they could not support by themselves, or a hospital that needed help. Sometimes the emissary himself was stranded and would ask for a return ticket. Emissaries from *Eretz Yisroel* were in a class by themselves and were aided generously.

There were a dozen funds to which the *balabos* contributed annually. On the eve of *Yom Kippur*, the Day of Atonement, the entrance hall to the house of worship provided some idea of the extent of charitable funds to which every Jew had to contribute. Dozens of plates were arranged on a long table. Each plate had a card near it telling the name of the charity, and every Jew entering the house of worship left something in the plate.

The town was small, and the needs were many, but the Jews gave as much as their means would allow. The donations were voluntary. The *Shtetl* had no power of coercion. But the funds were always well subscribed.

SABBATH IN ORININ

All who have written of the *Shtetl* have marveled at the miraculous change that came over it as soon as the Sabbath arrived.

The inhabitants threw off their workday yokes and became Sabbath princes. The men and their women and children all took on an extra *Neshomoh*, a Sabbath soul. The interior of the houses, the clothes of the people, the very streets of the *Shtetl* had another—worldly aspect.

The transformation took place on Friday afternoon, for which Jews have a name, *Erev Shabos*,* the Eve of Sabbath, not just another day of the week. The *Shamos* of the Old *Shul* would make the rounds of the *Shtetl* streets, stopping at every second or third house, and in a hoarse voice chanting: "*In Shul Arein! In Shul Arein! In Shul Arein!*" "To the synagogue! To the synagogue! To the synagogue!"

Immediately the stores would be shut down, transportation would stop, and all business dealings would come to a standstill. Soon the *balegoles*** would roll down the hill, bringing passengers home, and

*Yiddish. *Erev Shabbat* in Hebrew.

**Drivers of wagons or phaetons for hire.

merchants in their one-horse coaches would quicken their steeds to get to the stables with all dispatch.

Out of the houses came fathers and sons, hurrying to the public bath with towels and underwear under their arms. With water dripping from beards and heads, they would rush back to their houses to dress for the Sabbath. The women, mothers and daughters, would set the table for the Sabbath meal and put finishing touches on the houses. Black clothes for the men. White linen cloths on the tables. The women dressed in their Sabbath best. The whole house would take on a Sabbath mood.

Mother would bless the candles while the whole family stood around her. She would cover her eyes with both hands, her lips moving in prayer, and then she would greet everyone with: "*Good Shabos. Good Shabos*" ("Good Sabbath, Good Sabbath.")

The same procedure would be repeated in hundreds of homes in the *Shtetl*. Tables set with *halē* and wine. Candle flames swaying. From now on no work will be done. No fire lit. No hilarity allowed. No music played. No dancing allowed. No frivolity tolerated. The day of rest has arrived.

Father and sons would walk slowly to the houses of worship along quiet streets past cheerfully lit houses, joined by neighbors as they approach the synagogues.

Again greetings of "*Good Shabos*" when father returns and he chants the *Sholom Aleichem* ("Peace to you, Angels of Peace. Come in peace, bless us with peace, and depart in peace, you Angels of Peace"). Father also sings the *Eshes Hayil*, a Woman of Valor. While the family stands, father sings the *Kiddush*, the sanctification of the wine, and everyone sips from the cup.

Supper lasts longer than any other evening meal, and the meals are different, special for the Sabbath. The *Zmiroth* (hymns), the chants between courses, are part of the Sabbath supper. *Zmiroth* of thanksgiving. *Zmiroth* of exultation. *Zmiroth* of prayers for the rebuilding of the Holy Temple and the coming of a day which is wholly Sabbath.

The Sabbath day is devoted entirely to prayer, study, and rest. The Sabbath prayers last a long time and the family remains in the *Beth Midrash*, the House of Study, from early morning till late in the afternoon. After a Sabbath nap father returns to the *Beth Midrash* to study, to hear a *magid*, a preacher who comes from afar, or to chant *Tehillim*, the Psalms.

At home, mother would read from the *Tzeenu Urenu*, a book in Yiddish for women, translating the *Sidra** of each week and adding beautiful legends from the *Talmud* and *Midrash*.* A few neighbors would gather to listen to her reading in a sing-song, shaking their heads and wiping a tear for the sin of Adam and Eve, for Noah and his Ark bobbing in the waters of the flood, for Abraham binding his only son Isaac, for Joseph being sold to the Ismaelites, and for the destruction of the Temple in Zion.

The young people of the *Shtetl* are out on the *Shosee*, the paved highway out of Orinin on the way to Kamenetz, or on the *Doroshka*, the pathway near the Polish church by the river. They promenade back and forth until evening falls on the *Shtetl* and it is time for the evening meal.

In the half dim house mother wishpers the "God of Abraham:"
 God of Abraham, of Isaac and Jacob.
 The queen Sabbath is departing,
 The week of toil is coming back.
 Send us sustenance,
 Guard us from evil,
 And grant us peace.

And soon father comes home, chants the *Havdalah*, the prayer of separation of the Holy Day from the weekdays, and says *Kiddush* over a cup of wine and lights the twisted candle.

As if someone had waved a magic wand, the splendor of the Sabbath is over, the wine cup is put away in the cupboard, the festive Sabbath clothes are changed to weekday drab garments, and the house is back to its worries, its problems, and its humdrum existence.

But there will be other Sabbaths, days of delight and refreshment of soul.

A DAY IN THE SHTETL

The *Shtetl* was astir with the break of day. The first *minyan*** was already at worship in the Old *Shul* as the first rays of the sun appeared in the east. The streets were blueish and eerily quiet, so that the scraping of doors and the unlocking of gates were heard all over town.

**Sidra* (Hebrew) is the weekly portion of the Pentateuch read publicly in the Synagogues on Sabbath. *Midrash* (Hebrew) are commentaries and interpretations of the Bible. Leo Rosten states: "The very highly developed analysis, exposition, and exegesis of the Holy Scriptures".

Whether Yiddish or Russian, it certainly derives from the French *chaussee*, meaning "highway".

**The quorum of ten men, necessary for worship.

The *balegoles*, the drivers of wagons and phaetons who take passengers to and from the big city, were the first to line up on the market square. Some had steady customers. As soon as they saw them coming they would run to meet them and to help them with their satchels. They left as soon as all of the seats in their vehicles were taken. Other *balegoles* were not so fortunate. They had to wait for fares, to bargain for prices, and to set new fees for each of the customers.

The merchants would drive out of their alleys in neat wagons or in sulkies drawn by one horse, trotting smartly on the cobbled Post Road. They were off to the other *yaridn* (markets) in the neighboring towns, or to supervise their interests in the villages around Orinin.

The market women, the poorest of the poor, put up their fruit stands in the square. Summer and winter they stood at these stands and tried to eke out a living with fruit and vegetables displayed on a space no larger than an ordinary kitchen table. Their stands were placed next to one another, and the jealousy among venders added to their miseries. When a housewife appeared in the square, they all proclaimed the virtues of their wares, and followed the would-be buyer until she stopped at a stand.

The storekeepers opened their shops and brought out bulk merchandise to the sidewalks in front of their business houses. Sacks of salt and squares of salt for cattle to lick. Barrels of black sticky tar to lubricate the wheels of vehicles. Bundles of dried, salty herring hung on nails over the doors of the stores. Casks of nails in all sizes for various purposes. All of these were waiting for the peasants as they came into the *Shtetl* for their supplies.

From the butcher street came the cry of lambs as they were taken out of the pens and led away to be slaughtered. The coopers rolled out their wares from their storage places, barrels of various widths and heights, and the hollow beat of their hammers could be heard in the distance.

Old men returned from their *klois* or *Beth Midrash* where they had been praying and studying on empty stomachs since early morning. They would return to study and prayer soon after they had eaten something.

The *meklars*, the cane twirlers, the *luftmenschen*, persons without an identifiable profession, stood in circles in front of stores and exchanged the latest news.

Children were taken to the *dardeki melamed*, the teacher of young children, by the *behelfers*, the assistants to the *rebbe*, while older children, with their books under their arms, were rushing to their various *hedorim*, rooms of the teachers, for a day of study.

The daily routine of the *Shtetl*, established so many years ago, was repeated with minor seasonal variations from day to day.

Smoke rises from the chimneys of the houses. Housewives stand at their kitchen *pripetchoks*, the fore-ovens, preparing the meals for their families. It was a laborious time-consuming chore. The housewives, in fact, spent most of the day cooking and baking. Washing and ironing, cleaning and scrubbing — in addition to baking, cooking and canning — were the daily routine of the housewife.

With the setting of the sun the *Shtetl* had a rhythm of its own. Children returned from the *heder*. The travelers came back from the big city and from their dealings in the villages. Children waited at the bridge for their fathers' return and were picked up for the short ride to their homes. Old men rose up from their studies and began the evening prayers. Lights appeared in the windows and people sat down to a long evening meal.

With the coming of the night the *Warta* showed up on the streets of Orinin. The *Warta* consisted of young men who guarded the *Shtetl* at night. They took turns every month traveling in twos, walking the streets and alleys of the *Shtetl*. They carried no arms. When something suspicious occurred, they would raise an alarm and drive off the would-be thieves or other disturbers of the peace. But the nights were quiet, and in the summer months the aroma of growing things, of flowering things, and of ripening things, and the murmur of whispering things filled the air of the *Shtetl*.

At midnight a candlelight would flicker in some houses. Grand-fathers and fathers would arise for *hatzoth*, the lamentations at midnight. They would lament for the "Presence" of the Holy One who was exiled, for the Holy Temple that was destroyed, and for the Land of Israel that was taken away from us. And they would study in their sing-song, swaying over the large folios of the *Gemoro*.

The *Shtetl* had its charms day and night, and we who knew them can never recapture them.

KING DAVID'S LODGE, A. F. & A. M., No. 1
OF NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND

by BENTON H. ROSEN

It was toward the end of the American Revolutionary War in 1780 that Moses Michael Hays transferred from New York and established in Newport with the assistance of some of his Jewish brethren and members of the predominantly Christian community King David's Lodge, No. 1,¹ Ancient Free and Accepted Masons. St. John's Lodge of Newport, also designated No. 1, had been constituted on December 20, 1749, but was in a moribund state at this time. The least that can be said about the Hays group was that it nurtured and further developed Freemasonry in Rhode Island during the decade of the 1780s. From records supplied by Mr. Norris G. Abbott, Jr. we learn of many acts of Masonic charity and obtain an impression of growth and vitality.

In "Scottish Rite Freemasonry"² by Samuel Harrison Baynard, Jr. (1938) there is a section referring to the Masonic activity of certain members of the 18th century Newport Jewish community. Baynard states: "On February 23, 1769, Provincial Grand Master George Harrison issued a Warrant for a Lodge in the City of New York, to be known as King David's Lodge, in which he named Moses Michael Hays, 'A Hebrew of Masonic distinction', as Master, Myer Myers as Senior Warden and Isaac Moses as Junior Warden, and for several years the Lodge continued on the even tenor of its way, until the time of the British occupancy of New York City, a great number of the wealthy Jews left the city, with their families and possessions, and took up their abode elsewhere, some in Philadelphia, some in Rhode Island, and some in Connecticut.

"Moses Michael Hays, together with his family and many of his close associates, emigrated to Newport, Rhode Island, he taking with him the Warrant of King David's Lodge, and there he took up again his Masonic labors by organizing a new 'King David's Lodge' under the authority of the Harrison Warrant, occupying the oriental chair,³ with Moses Seixas as Senior Warden and David Lopez as Junior Warden."

From another source (Rugg)⁴ it is learned that Moses M. Hays, under a warrant of Brother George Harrison, Esquire, Grand Master (of New York), is empowered to form and establish a Lodge by the name of King David's Lodge, No. 1 and "whereas we having found several true and lawful Brethren⁵ here desirous of becoming members thereof

have accordingly convened for the purpose at a room convenient for holding a Lodge this evening, June 7th, 1780 and in Masonry 5780,⁶ and after having appointed the following Brethren to the Office for this night affixed to their respective names, viz, Moses M. Hays, Master; Moses Seixas, Sen. Warden; David Lopez, Jun. Warden; Jeremiah Clarke, Treasurer; Henry Dayton, Secretary; Solo. A. Myers, Deacon."

The account continues: "The regularity of King David's Lodge was open to serious questioning, but it lived and flourished for some ten years, when, prior to the formation of the Grand Lodge of Rhode Island, its membership was merged in the revived St. John's Lodge of Newport. King David's Lodge included a goodly number of active and zealous Craftsmen, among whom mention may well be made of its founder and first Worshipful Master, Moses M. Hays, afterwards Grand Master of Masons in Massachusetts, and Moses Seixas and Peleg Clarke, who were conspicuously active in Masonic interests for many years, each of them attaining the highest office, that of Grand Master, in the Grand Lodge of Rhode Island."

In 1790 George Washington came to Newport. On this occasion Washington, himself a member of the Masonic fraternity, was invited to call upon and address King David's Lodge. The writer has not been able to determine conclusively whether a visit to the Lodge was made in person. However, there is on record the Washington message to the group wherein he stated:⁷

To the Master, Wardens and Brethren of King David's Lodge in Newport, Rhode Island:

Gentlemen:

I received the welcome which you give me to Rhode Island with pleasure and I acknowledge my obligations for the flattering expressions of regard contained in your address⁸ with grateful sincerity. Being persuaded that a just application of the principles on which the Masonic Fraternity is founded must be productive of the private virtue and public prosperity, I shall always be happy to advance the interest of the society, and to be considered by them as a deserving Brother,

My best wishes, gentlemen, are offered for your individual happiness.

George Washington

The concluding event in the rather short history of the Lodge has been summed up by Donald E. Spears, 33° in his paper⁹ titled "The Jews and Masonry in the United States Before 1810." This Masonic historian wrote in his 1949 commentary: "Under the date of September 20, 1790, the record of King David's Lodge shows that a committee was appointed to confer with the members of the First Lodge in Newport and request them to revive their Lodge, when this Lodge will cease their existence and become members thereof. Eleven members of St. John's Lodge participated in the revival and one hundred and thirty members of King David's were absorbed in the reorganized Lodge."

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The writer and the Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association are deeply indebted to Norris G. Abbott, Jr. for his kindness and cooperation. His help in the preparation of this account was most valuable and was freely given. We are especially grateful for his gift of five King David's Lodge documents, dated between 1781 and 1784. This material is the oldest now in possession of the Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association, and is shown at the end of the article as exhibits.

Long active in Rhode Island Masonic circles, Mr. Abbott is the son of a man who had an equally imposing record in Freemasonry. His laurels are summed up under the following accolades:

Past Master, Mt. Vernon Lodge, No. 4, A.F. & A.M.

Past High Priest, Providence Royal Arch Chapter No. 1

Past Thrice Illustrious Master, Providence Council No. 1, Royal and Select Masters

Past Most Illustrious Grand Master, Grand Council of Rhode Island, Royal and Select Masters

Past Most Wise Master, Rhode Island Chapter of Rose Croix

Emeritus Member, Supreme Council 33°, Northern Masonic Jurisdiction

Past Potentate—Palestine Temple, A.A.O., N. M. S. (Shrine)

APPENDIX A

DR. KING DAVID'S LODGE WITH JOHN TOPHAM

Lawful Money¹⁰

1781		
To cash, Pd. Edmund Townsend ¹¹ for two Coffins ¹²		£ 6 . — . —
To ditto, Pd. a reckoning per order		1 . 5 . —
To ditto, Pd. for a quire paper for Lodge use		— . 2 . —
To ditto, Pd. for one cord Wood ¹³ for Mrs. Myer's House		1 . 2 . 6
To ditto, Pd. Mr. Chas. Handy for Spermaceti Candles per order		2 . 8 . —
1782		
To ditto, Pd. Mr. Heffernan per order		1 . 16 . —
To ditto, Pd. for paper		— . 2 . 0
To ditto, Pd. Bro. Tew for a reckoning		1 . 2 . 6
To ditto, Pd. Bro. Handy for a Book for Lodge use, per order		1 . 10 . —
To ditto, Pd. Daniel Dunham per order		— . 4 . —
To ditto, Pd. Bro. Isaac Isaacs per order		— . 15 . —
To ditto, Pd. for paper for Lodge per order		— . 2 . 8
To ditto, Pd. Bro. Tew for a reckoning, per order		2 . 12 . 6
To ditto, Pd. ditto, St. John's		3 . 9 . —
To ditto, Pd. Bro. Handy per order for a table		— . 12 . —
To ditto, Pd. Henry Barber for advertising		— . 6 . —
To ditto, Pd. Isaac Isaacs		— . 3 . —
To ditto, Pd. for one quire paper		— . 2 . 8
To ditto, Pd. a donation to Bro. Cartwright per order		3 . — . —
		<hr/>
		£26 . 14 . 10
Cash remaining in hand		2 . 12 . 2
		<hr/>
		£29 . 7 . —
Outstanding Debts, Viz.		
Bro. John Channing	£ 2 . 14 . —	
James Miller	— . 6 . —	
Eleaser Elizer	— . 3 . —	
Henry Tew	— . 3 . —	
George Whitney	— . 3 . —	
Oliver Reed	— . 3 . —	

KING DAVID'S LODGE WITH JOHN TOPHAM

CR.

Lawful Money

1781		
By Treas from the following Bretheren, Viz.		
Gideon Sisson		£ 3 . — . —
Mons. Fliory ¹⁴		3 . — . —
William Cornell		3 . — . —
Caleb Trapp		3 . — . —
John Babcock		6 . — . —
John Vial by the hand (of) Wm. Dayton		2 . 8 . —
John L. Boss		2 . 19 . —
Joseph Allen		3 . — . —
James Remington		3 . — . —
		<hr/>
		£29 . 7 . —

Errors excepted. Newport June 24,
1782 5782

John Topham, Treasury

APPENDIX B

DR. KING DAVID'S LODGE No. 1 in ACCT with John Topham, Treas.
1782

July 6	To Cash Pd. W. Allen for 12 Long Books	£ 0 . 14 . 5
	To Cash Pd. Bro. Paul Cartwright	3 . 0 . 0
	To Cash Pd. Bro. Isaacs per order of Lodge	— . 3 . 0
Aug 6	To Cash Do. Do Do	— . 3 . 0
7	To Cash Pd. Bro. Tew per Do	— . 8 . 0
Sept 4	To Do Pd. Bro. Isaacs per Do	— . 3 . 0
Oct 2	To Do Pd. Bro. Handy's acct. for paper etc.	— . 5 . 4
Nov 15	To the order of Lodge for wood Dd. (delivered to) Mrs. Elliott & Mrs. Heffernan	3 . 7 . 6
	To Pd. Henry Barber bill for printing	— . 6 . —
Dec 24	To Pd. Bro. Handy's bill for candles	2 . 8 . 0
	To Pd. Bro. Jacobs for clothing for Tyler per the Lodges order	6 . 0 . 0
	To Cash Pd. for 1 Cord Wood for Mrs. Crowell	1 . 2 . 6
	To Cash Pd. 1 Do. for Bro. Cartwright, no order	1 . 2 . 6
	To Cash Pd. Bro. Isaacs per order	— . 7 . 4
	To Bro. Jacobs Acct for Glasses for the use of the Lodge	— . 7 . 2
	To Cash Pd. Mrs. Crowell no order	1 . 10 . 0
	To Do. Pd. Bro. Tew no order	— . 7 . 6
	No order To Do. Pd. Ditto for Gideon Sissons dinner	— . 13 . 7
	Do. To Do. Pd. Bro. Handy for Paper	— . 2 . 8
	To Do. Pd. Bro. Tews Bill for Lodge Expenses	— . 14 . 6
	Dp. to Do. Pd. Bro. Isaacs	— . 3 . 0
	Dp. to Do. Pd. Bro. Tew for Lodge expenses	— . 6 . 0
	To Do. Pd. Bro. Isaacs	— . 6 . 0
		£24 . 1 . 0
	To Do. Pd. Bro. S. L. Boss per Account	— . 10 . 6
		£24 . 11 . 6
	Balance due the Lodge	5 . 9 . 3
		£30 . 1 . 2

Attest: John Cooke. Secy.

KING DAVID'S LODGE No. 1 in ACCT with John Topham, Treas. CR.

	1782	
	By Cash Recd of Bro. Dayton for Chas. Cahoone	£ 2 . 18 . 0
Oct 2	By Do. Pd. by James Sisson	3 . — . 0
	By Do. Pd. By Wm. Lovitt	2 . 17 . —
	By Do. Pd. By Bro. Wheaton	2 . 19 . —
	By Balance of Bro. Hayes Acct Pd. by Bro. Seixas	12 . 15 . 0
	By Do. Recd. of Bro. Boss	3 . — . —
		£27 . 9 . 0
	By Balance due from me to the Lodge on the Last Settlement	2 . 12 . 2
		£30 . 1 . 2

Notes in the Possession of the Treas.

On Bro. John Channing	£ 2 . 14
Bro. James Miller (2)	6 . —
Bro. Geo Whitney	3 . —

£11 . 14

Bro. John Handy	6 . 16
	<hr/>
	£18 . 12
Eleazer Elizer	£ 3 . —
	<hr/>
	£21 . 12 . —

Rec'd Noted & Passed the Lodge
the 16th July 5783

Errors excepted

John Topham Treasury

APPENDIX C

DR. KING DAVID'S LODGE No. 1 in ACCOUNT with John Topham, Treas.

1783

July 9th	To Cash Paid Isaac Isaachs per Bill	£— . 3 . 0
	To ditto Pd. John Michael Hansen a Distressed Brother per order	1 . 10 . 0
17th	To do. Pd. Bro Isaachs	— . 3 . 0
	To do. Pd. for a Cord of Wood for Bro. Tew for the use of the Lodge including wharfage and other expenses	1 . 4 . 4
Dec. 10th	To Cash Pd. Brother Isaachs	— . 6 . —
	To Cash Pd. Mr. William Davis for Wine, etc. at Bro. Champlin's Funeral	— . 12 . 0

1784

Jany 5th	To Cash Pd. Bro. Isaac Isaachs per order	— . 13 . 6
	To Cash Pd. Stephen Hawkins for 26 White Skins for Lodge ¹⁵	1 . 19 . 0
	To Cash Pd. Bro. James Tew for a reckoning for Bro. G.G. Champlin's Funeral, the 1 Jany 1784	3 . 6 . 0
22nd	To Cash Pd. Bro. Isaac Isaachs	— . 3 . —
	To Cash advanced Mrs. Elliott for 1 Quarter Schooling her children per order ¹⁶	1 . 7 . 0
March 18th	To Cash Pd. Bro. Isaachs	— . 3 . —
	To Cash Paid Francis Jackson a Distressed Brother	— . 12 . —
	To do. Paid Wm. Doyale a Donation	— . 18 . —
	To Cash Paid Bro. Cooke for so much gave Mrs. Crowell	— . 6 . —
	To Cash Pd. for Two Shirts for Bro. Isaac Isaachs	— . 18 . 0
May 20th	To Cash Pd. ditto	— . 3 . —

£14 . 7 . 4

To Bro. Seixas Acct for Gloves,
Ribbons, etc. for Lodge for
Bro. G.G. Champlins Funeral

3 . 6 . 6

£17 . 13 . 10

Notes in the Treasury—Jas. Miller 2 notes

£ 6 . 0 . 0

Henry Tew

3 . 0 . 0

John Channing

3 . 0 . 0

John Handy

6 . 18 . 0

Tebbias Whitney

3 . 0 . 0

£21 . 18 . —

Cert. John Cooke, Secry

KING DAVID'S LODGE No. 1 in ACCOUNT with John Topham, Treas. CR.

1783

July 16	By Cash Due the Lodge on Settlement this day	£ 5 . 9 . 8
	By Cash Recd. of Bro. Boss on Acct of Bro. Elizers Note	1 . 10 . 0
	By Cash Recd. by the Hands of Bro. Cooke on Acc. of Bro. Jas. Millers Note	1 . 10 . 0
	By Cash Recd. of Bro. Davol for his Initiation	3 . 0 . 0
	By Cash Recd. of Bro. Dayton in full	— . 13 . 7
		<hr/>
		£12 . 3 . 3
	By Cash Recd of Bro. Miller on Acct of his note	1 . 10 . 0
		<hr/>
	Balance due from the Lodge to the Treasury	£13 . 13 . 3
		4 . 0 . 7
		<hr/>
		£17 . 13 . 10

John Topham, Treasury

APPENDIX D

(From notes written on a scrap of paper)

An extra Lodge at the request of Mr. James Devol at the house of Bro. Tew, Newport, Dec. 10th, 1783.

Prest (Present)

Wor M¹⁷ Moses Seixas
 H Dayton, S W¹⁸
 J. Jacobs, J W¹⁹
 John L. Boss, J. Dec.²⁰
 E. Elizer
 H. Goodwin
 Jas. Tew
 G. Sisson
 John Topham
 P.A. Cartwright
 Jabez Champlin

Mr. James Devol who was balloted for & admitted then appeared & was accordingly initiated and Entered Apprentice. The bill being tendered was paid Bro. John Topham, Treasurer.

Vote for altring (altering) the by Laws that one negative refuse a candidate & that he have liberty to apply three successive regular lodge nights.

Voted that one cord of Walnut Wood be sent Bro. Tew.

Vote for an order in fav. (favor) the Tyler²¹ for 2/—.

(Some additional notes)

Attended the proceedings of 18th December 1782. G. G. Champlin's Funeral.

Vote of G. Sisson for expelling 19th Feb, 1783.

Vote for no defecting Brother for paying expense the first night. 19th Feb, 1783

21st May, to call on Sisson.

Vote for no one to (be) admitted without his fees being first paid. Jan 16th, 1782

20th Nov, 1782. Vote for no Brother to appear without an apron.

APPENDIX E

(Copy of a letter written sometime during the period 1780-1790.)

To the members of King David Lodge:

I most humble thank the Bretheren for the favours I have already Rec'd in the coarse (course) of the last Winter but am extremely sorry to inform you that I am still a crippel, and am jest agoing to keep a small shop in hopes to support myself and if I could have the loan of a little money to begin with I will punctly (punctually) repay.

I Am Gentlemen with
Sincere Regards your
Most Obendient Hmble Sevt (Servant)
(Signed) James Tew

NOTES

¹In addition to the two Newport Lodges, St. John's Lodge of Providence, founded in 1757, was and still is designated "No. 1".

²*History of the Supreme Council, 33°, Ancient Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Northern Masonic Jurisdiction of the United States of America and its Antecedents.* By Samuel Harrison Baynard, Jr. Privately printed for the Supreme Council, Boston, 1938.

³In a typical Masonic lodge room the Worshipful Master's chair is placed in the east.

⁴*History of Freemasonry in Rhode Island*, by Henry W. Rugg. E. I. Freeman & Son, Providence, 1895.

⁵These, no doubt, were men who had received their Masonic degrees from the dormant St. John's Lodge of Newport of Newport, or elsewhere in the Colonies or in England.

⁶The Masonic Calendar shows exactly 4,000 years more than that used to measure the Christian Era.

⁷*Washington, the Man and Mason*, by Charles H. Callahan. Pub. by Washington National Memorial Ass., Washington, D.C., 1913.

⁸There seems to be no record of an address from the Master of the Lodge directly to George Washington. It could have been a written invitation as well as an oral greeting.

⁹From the private collection of Norris G. Abbott, Jr.

¹⁰The British monetary system was still in use.

¹¹*The Cabinet Makers of America*, by Ethel Hall Bjercoe (Doubleday, Garden City, N. Y., 1957) lists Edmund Townsend (1736-1811) among the outstanding craftsmen of the period. It was not uncommon for cabinet makers to produce coffins in that era.

¹²Supplied by the Lodge for the burial of indigent Masons and members of their families.

¹³An act of charity. Many more can be noted in the treasurer's reports accompanying the article.

¹⁴Mrs. Gladys E. Bolhouse, Curator of Manuscripts, Newport Historical Society, supplied the following information: "The only name on the list of French officers that we have that seems to coincide with the entry in King David's Lodge records is the Marquis de Fleury. I would believe that this could well be the same person and the difference in pronunciation could account for the way John Topham spells the name."

"You will find at the Rhode Island Historical Society a copy of Edwin M. Stone's *Our French Allies* (Providence Press Co., 1884) in which you can locate several references to deFleury who was a Major in DeSaintange's Regiment, and according to our list lived at 595 Water Street while the French were quartered here which would be the present Washington Street on the bay front." At this time Rochambeau was in command of the French forces stationed at Newport.

¹⁵Used to fabricate aprons worn by Masons at their meetings.

¹⁶An early example of American scholarship assistance.

¹⁷Worshipful Master.

¹⁸Senior Warden.

¹⁹Junior Warden.

²⁰Junior Deacon.

²¹Doorkeeper of a Masonic lodge.

**HAKHAM RAPHAEL HAIM ISAAC CARIGAL:
SHALIAH OF HEBRON AND RABBI OF NEWPORT, 5533 (1773)**

by MARVIN PITTERMAN† AND BARTHOLOMEW SCHIAVO‡

On March 26, 1771, Mr. Isaac Hart, a Jewish merchant, showed Ezra Stiles, the pastor of the Second Congregational Church of Newport, a letter in Hebrew "he lately received from Macpelah* in the Holy Land."¹ The letter presented a description of the plight of the Jews of Hebron and the other Holy Cities, Safed, Tiberias, and Jerusalem in the year 5523 of the Creation (1763). It told of the tremendous tax burden under which the Jews suffered during the chaotic period when the Bedouin leader Zaher and his ally, Ali Bey of Cairo, contended with the Pasha of Damascus for control of Palestine. The hakhamim of Hebron announced the necessity of sending out emissaries, or shaliahim,² to seek contributions from Jews outside the Holy Land so that this burden could be lifted from the shoulders of the learned rabbis, widows, orphans, and poor inhabitants. The situation was so desperate at the time that representatives of the Jews of Hebron were held for bail for taxes and debts contracted from Gentiles, leading some to argue that those detained came under the category "captives held for ransom", and their claims, therefore, took precedence over all other charitable concerns.³ The letter introducing the emissaries was sent to Isaac Hart of Rhode Island, with a similar copy, no doubt, to *parnasim*** throughout the Western Hemisphere, and was signed by Aaron Alfandari, the author of *Yad Aharon* and *Merkebet ha-Mishneh*, Isaac Zevi and other leading rabbis of the town of Hebron.⁴

Later, almost two years to the day, Ezra Stiles recorded the arrival of "a hebrew Rabbi from Macpelah." The Palestinian was one of the most famous of the Sheluhe Erets Yisrael,⁵ the *Hakham*† Raphael Haim Isaac Carigal, a reproduction of whose portrait recently graced the cover of these NOTES.⁶ Thanks to Carigal's five-and-a-half month stay in Newport and his immediately intimate friendship with Stiles, his name and picture appear in many histories and monographs on colonial American Jewry, a brief biography of him can be found in

†Marvin Pitterman, *Professor of Finance, University of Rhode Island.*

‡Bartholomew Schiavo, *Division Coordinator for Social Studies, Roger Williams College.*

*Macpelah, in Hebron, seventeen miles southwest of Jerusalem, was the site of the "Double Cave" in which Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Jacob, and Leah were buried.

***Parnasim* (plural) — leaders of the communities or congregations.

†*Hakham* — a Sephardic expression meaning "one who knows," or sage; a title given to Rabbis among the Sephardim. *Hakhamim*, plural form.

the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (Vol. III),⁷ and other traces of his journeys have been recorded. Stiles's remarkable word picture of Carigal at the Passover Services in 1773 could not fail to attract the student's curiosity about this apparently incongruous oriental presence in the midst of the American Enlightenment.⁸

Quite naturally Carigal's relationship with Stiles has been the focus of writings about the Hakham, even when the study was done by Jews or for Jewish publications.⁹ The only considerable study of this "mystic oriental visitor" to Rhode Island and colonial America is that done by the late Lee M. Friedman. Friedman finally implied the right question, *i.e.* what made Carigal different from other such visitors, when he stated that,

Probably no pre-Revolutionary visitor to British North America left more vivid impressions upon his hosts than those created by Rabbi Raphael Haim Isaac Carigal during a short five months' round of visits paid by him to Philadelphia, New York and Newport in 1773.¹⁰

Rabbi Carigal's career and the circumstances of his visit merit attention in their own right. The answers to such questions as Who was he? Where did he come from? Why did he come to Newport when he did? Where else did he go? What happened to him after he sailed out of Newport harbor? and What were the effects of his travels and sojourns? make up an interesting and illuminating facet of the history of American colonial Jewry. In his own person he exemplified the strong and extensive connections which tied American, European, and Palestinian Jewry together in the eighteenth century.

Carigal was a *shaliah* of Hebron, *i.e.*, a congregational emissary sent out to collect donations for the support of the widows, orphans, poor, and scholars of the Palestinian Jewish community. Such emissaries should not be confused with *maggidim*, itinerant preachers dependent on the charity of the communities through which they passed, sometimes rather hastily. This confusion is evident in Jastrow's reference to Carigal as "a type of the genuine 'wandering Jew'," "a species of religious 'tramp'."¹¹ On the contrary, to be chosen as an emissary was "an honor bestowed on such men only as were, by their learning, well fitted to represent the Holy Land in Europe, where the people looked upon a Palestinian rabbi as a model of learning and piety."¹² Moreover, even among the three such distinguished visitors to Newport, the community singled out Carigal from among the respectable and well-educated *shaliahim*.

Our diarist, Stiles, was personally acquainted with six of the seven

or eight rabbinic visitors who passed through Newport in the period between 1759 and 1774.¹³ And it is best to take a brief look at the other Palestinian emissaries before turning to Carigal, so that we have some basis for comparison. Moses Malki, born and educated in Safed,¹⁴ another of the Holy Cities, passed through Newport in 1759. Descended from a scholarly family, he was probably an ordained rabbi.¹⁵ This first of the Palestinian emissaries to reach our shores, like Carigal later, also spent some months in New York City before the New York community paid his passage to Rhode Island.¹⁶ His arrival in December of 1759 probably coincided roughly with news of the disastrous earthquake which shook the Holy Land on the 9th of *Heshvan* 5520 (October 31, 1759). He soon returned to Amsterdam, where he died on September 21, 1763.¹⁷

Another of the emissaries referred to in our opening might have been Samuel Ha-Cohen, also from Hebron. Rabbi Samuel arrived on June 30, 1775 at a time when Palestinian Jews were in great difficulty over debts and taxes. Like Carigal, he had traveled extensively in Europe and the West Indies before turning to the mainland of North America, and like Carigal he was a relatively young man, aged 34. In Amsterdam Ha-Cohen was granted permission by the *mahamad* during *Nisan* 5533 (1773) to print a manifesto appealing to the Jews of the New World.¹⁸ He was also armed with letters of introduction signed by the rabbis of the Holy Land, Isaac Ha-Cohen and Joseph David Azulai, known as "Hida" and a *shaliah* in his own right, one of the leading rabbis of the age and the author of *Shem ha-Gedolim* (The Name of the Great Ones) and notes on the *Shulhan Aruk*, titled *Birke Yosef*.¹⁹ After touring the West Indies in 1773 and 1774, while Carigal was on the mainland, Ha-Cohen followed him to Newport in June 1775, where he boarded with Isaac Hart. In September he was hustled off to London to remove him from the path of the American Revolution.²⁰

Rabbi Carigal, from the day he began his wanderings at the age of 20, "functioned . . . as an authentic *shaddar*," but by the time he came to Newport, twenty years later, there was "no indication that . . . he was representing anyone but himself."²¹ He had ceased his wanderings long enough to acquire a wife, a son, and a daughter in Hebron, served two years as a teacher in London, two years as rabbi in Curaçao by the time he arrived at Newport. Therefore, when he turned again to the West Indies after leaving Newport, he no doubt sought a situation which would allow him at last to send for his family. Before this could occur the hakham died in Bridgetown, Barbados on May 19, 1777 after serving more than two years as pastor of Nidhe Yisroel, the oldest

synagogue in the English-speaking world.²² As a sign of the respect which Carigal merited wherever he went, the Jews of Curaçao erected a monument to him in their own cemetery, though he was buried in Bridgetown.²³

By retracing the history of Carigal we can now begin to answer some of our earlier questions more directly. Carigal was the descendant of a notable Palestinian family of Portuguese origin which had found its way to Palestine *via* Salonica early in the seventeenth century. One Abraham "Carregal" and the widow of *Hakham* "Carregal" are recorded as receiving allowances from the Portuguese Jewish community of Amsterdam in 5432 (1671-72). An Isaac "Caregal" was one of the three "ambassadors" sent to Amsterdam to collect funds at about that time. The family apparently had well-to-do relatives in Amsterdam. Haim Isaac was related to Mosseh Frano Drago, who left 6000 florins for the maintenance of a yeshivah of ten *hakhamim* in Jerusalem. His bequest stipulated that up to five of the ten could be his relatives. *Hakham* Mosseh Caregal was one such recipient in 1719 and one of the administrators of the yeshivah thereafter. His son, Haim Isaac, was born in Hebron the 15th of Tishri 5493 (October 4, 1732). As the son of a *hakham* who edited rabbinical works by Abraham Mizrachi and Israel Nagara,²⁴ our subject naturally began his studies at the age of 7 and was ordained at the age of 17 by David Malamed, one of the chief rabbis of Hebron.²⁵ Carigal was sent out at the age of twenty as a fundraiser, or *shaliah*.

Again we can turn to Stiles's Diary for a clear account of Carigal's itinerary:

1754. Aet. 20 1/2 began his Travels. Went first to Egypt, visited Damiata, Alexandria & Cairo 2 or 3 months;—thence by Water to Smyrna, resided there 2 or 3 months;—thence to Constantinople, resided there two years;—thence by Land to Adrianople and Salonica and by Water again to Smyrna, about 3 months;—from Smyrna by Land in a Caravan thro lesser Asia by 'Cogni, and Aleppo to Damascus;—from Damascus to Aleppo again, thence across Euphrates to Ur of Chaldees, Baghdad and Ishpaham, which terminated his oriental Travels: From Ishpaham back to Aleppo.²⁶

By 1757 Carigal was apparently ready to leave the Oriental Jews behind and turn to his western brethren. He spent two more years traveling in Europe *via* Leghorn, Florence, Rome, Bologna, Milan, Padua, Venice, Vienna, Prague, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Frankfort, "Mentz" (Mainz?), Holland, and London. Upon reaching Holland and London he came into contact with the leaders of the mother synagogues and communities which had spawned New World Jewry. As a *shaliah* in

search of contributions he was probably at this point directed to the possibilities of plying the loyal, rich, and unexploited territories of North America and the West Indies. In Europe he had to cover the same ground as the likes of David Azulai, ten years his senior, who had been chosen as *shaliah* in 1755, and who toured Italy, France, Germany, and Holland just a few years before Carigal.²⁷

Carigal's Sephardic heritage, rabbinic learning, "his fine manners, his Jewish cultural baggage, his ingenuous and sensible appearance", and his "modest and reverent" conduct fortified him in his approach to West Indian Jewry.²⁸ The West Indies in general, and congregation Mikve Israel in particular, stood as "a choice plum" for the shaliah. Jews from Holland and the Dutch and French possessions settled in the islands in the mid-seventeenth century. They prospered and became numerous. On the British islands of Nevis and Antigua Jews constituted a large minority within the white population. On Barbados the Jewish community dated from the early 1600s. By 1715 there were 90 Jewish families on the island, divided between Speightstown and Bridgetown. The much larger Jamaica had three Jewish communities which numbered 1000 Jews in all. This was as many as in all of North America in 1750, and the Jews of Curaçao alone numbered 1400, a population of Jews not reached in New York until the mid 1830s.²⁹

Despite special taxation and other disabilities many West Indian Jews became citizens in the Dutch colonies, and in the English colonies after the Plantation Act of 1740, which allowed for naturalization after seven years of residence. They owned land, voted, and practiced their religion without disturbance. Economically the Jews advanced so rapidly that they soon became the targets of their Gentile competitors.³⁰ Jacob Marcus, well qualified to make comparisons, concluded that ". . . well into the eighteenth century the Jewish settlements in the Caribbean area were more important culturally and economically than those of the North American mainland," or "Jewry on this continent lived in the shadow of the South Atlantic Communities for at least 175 years after the first Jewish settlement in New Amsterdam."³¹

Religiously, West Indian Jewry functioned as "a branch of Amsterdam Jewry" until the mid-eighteenth century.³² Amsterdam sent the Scrolls of the Law to Barbados in 1657. Moreover the Jews of Barbados, Curaçao, and Jamaica never had trouble attracting *bona fide* rabbis from Amsterdam (unlike their northern brethren): e.g. Eliahu Lopez, a disciple of Isaac Aboab to Barbados in 1678; Josiau Pardo, son of Amsterdam's David Pardo to Port Royal, Jamaica; and Samuel Mendes de Sola to Curaçao in the eighteenth century.

Carigal arrived at Curaçao in 1761 and served as rabbi and teacher for two years, while David Lopes de Fonseca completed his studies at Ets Haim Academy in Amsterdam. Although Carigal came to the New World in the capacity of *shaliah*, he served in other important capacities both in the West Indies and on the mainland a decade later. A word about the emissarial system itself is in order, so that we can understand the relationship between Carigal's functions.

The Holy Cities, Jerusalem, Safed, Tiberias, and Hebron, had a well organized system of *shaddarim* in the early 1600s, if not before. In fact, even in the early rabbinic period "the academies in the Holy Land were supported mainly by voluntary contributions from congregations elsewhere."³³ On the other hand, the system continues in a more complex form into the present era. Safed, as the home of Joseph Caro, Luria, Cordovero, and other Cabbalists, attracted the support of Spanish Jewry around the world. In the seventeenth century many devices were introduced to attest to the primacy of contributing to the support of Jerusalem's community and to remind all Jews when making wills to make provision for this obligation. We have already mentioned several renowned *meshullahim*, and could add many more.³⁴ Although the main sources of contributions in Carigal's time continued to be London, Amsterdam, Venice, and Leghorn, Carigal was not unwise in shifting his focus to the West Indies and North America.

From 1627 on the Jews of the Dutch Antilles had made contributions to the Holy Cities (on a regular basis from 1671). The birth of a son, the desire to acquire sand from Jerusalem to place on the eyelids of the deceased, and other reasons and occasions summoned forth generous contributions from American Jews.³⁵ These contributions from Recife, Curaçao, and elsewhere in the Caribbean had been flowing towards the Holy Cities *via* Amsterdam and Leghorn for some time when Carigal ventured to go to the source. In fact, Curaçao boasted two brotherhoods which had shown special favor to Hebron (Honen Dalim, established 1726, and Neve Zedek, 1742). Carigal was probably counting on these brotherhoods when he set out for America in 1762.³⁶

But a *shaliah* did not simply make collections in an unregulated manner, nor did he merely travel about from congregation to congregation and land to land without returning some service. Carigal was no exception. Despite the fact that in some cases the *meshullah* barely covered expenses because he was ineffective or inept, or chose his route badly, and despite the fact that there are instances recorded of maladministration and outright fraud, the true and good *shaliah* was

given “preferential treatment” wherever he went.³⁷ A regular legal contract was drawn up between the emissary and the community in whose behalf he traveled: “The community undertook to provide for the *meshullah’s* family during his absence and to advance his initial travelling expenses.”³⁸ This explains how Carigal could set out at the age of twenty with no apparent means of support and how, when he took a wife and brought children into the world, he could continue his mission undeterred.

We have made mention of the services contributed by Carigal in the West Indies and on the mainland. These too were part of the emissarial system: “The *meshullah* on his part undertook to devote his attention and best endeavors to arousing the people by lectures. . . . In an important city he sometimes accepted a rabbinate and held it for some time.³⁹ Thus, although preaching was not characteristic of American synagogues until the mid-1830s, men like Carigal preached to congregations wherever they went. As Carigal informed Stiles, “none but Rabbis preached, and they usually preached on all the Holidays, but not every Sabbath & always without notes.”⁴⁰ The rabbi’s Shavuot sermon in Newport, preached in Ladino and then translated by Abraham Lopez into English, became the first Jewish sermon delivered and published in America.⁴¹

Carigal also acted as rabbi and teacher. He was one of Curaçao’s nine qualified rabbis in its three hundred years down to 1957.⁴² We know that he served as Newport’s rabbi from *Erev Pesach* to *Shavuot* in 1773. A “learned Talmudist whose knowledge and good manners reflected honor upon Jewry and the Holy City he represented,”⁴³ Carigal succeeded Mendes de Sola as teacher in Curaçao. As rabbi and teacher Carigal was awarded a salary of 750 pesos (for serving as rabbi and *dayan*) and 250 pesos (from the *yeshivot*). This princely sum constituted a higher salary than that accorded Rabbi Shlomo Salem, the most distinguished rabbi in Amsterdam and by far exceeded the amount paid a first-rate *hakham*, even in wealthy Curaçao. Although only in Curaçao for two years, Carigal apparently imposed on the *parnasim* to reinstate the *Hascamoth** of 1711 and 1716 which obliged parents to send their sons to school up to the age of 16.⁴⁴ The Palestinian made such an impression on his students and did so much to raise the standards of talmudic instruction that “a generation after his departure his students still spoke of him with admiration, gratitude and reverence.”⁴⁵

**Hascamoth* (plural) were communal agreements entered into among the Sephardim.

Another of Carigal's concerns was the adequacy of *shehita* in the colonies. Although much of the "Jews' meat" used in the West Indies was shipped from New York or Rhode Island through most of the century,⁴⁶ by the time Carigal visited Curaçao in 1762 there was a resident *shohet*. The rabbi apparently found the recently appointed *shohet* unsatisfactory and instructed the *mahamad* to force future appointees to swear to refrain from shaving, from drinking dubious wines, and from eating forbidden foods. The current *shohet* was given one year to marry and then take this oath.⁴⁷ Later, when Carigal visited New York in 1772, he again concerned himself with ritual slaughter and oversaw and approved the procedures and credentials of the *shohetim* there.⁴⁸ Wherever he traveled, Carigal was not above instructing housewives in salting and cleansing meat.

Carigal left Curaçao in May 1764 after serving one year alone and one year with the assistance of David Lopes de Fonseca. The historian of West Indian Jewry concludes that, "Because of his religious tolerance, refinement and vast knowledge, *Hakham* Carigal reflected honor not only on his natal community Hebron, but also on American Jewry, particularly Curaçao, then the largest, wealthiest community in the western world."⁴⁹

Once again *via* Amsterdam Carigal wended his way through Europe to Leghorn, where he embarked for Jaffa, thence to Jerusalem, and finally back to Hebron in August 1764, eleven years after his initial departure.* Since Carigal was able to forward 3700 florins to his account at Daniel Bonfils and Son in Venice before leaving Curaçao,⁵⁰ an examination of the financial arrangements for *shaliahim* is in order. The emissary's commission "was usually fixed at 45 per cent on all contributions coming direct from him or that were due to his influence, and 10 per cent on all income from his territory during the ten years following his return."⁵¹ This explains Carigal's small fortune, which was made up of his commission, the savings from his salary, and the income from investments made in his behalf.⁵² In addition, the *parnasim* paid 100 pesos for the rabbi's fare and baggage expenses.⁵³

After four years in Hebron, Carigal was off again in 1768, this time probably in search of a permanent position. In London Carigal taught at the Beth Midrash for an annual salary of £100 sterling.** From London he departed in 1771 for the British possession, Jamaica, where

*The journeys of *shaliahim* varied from three to ten or eleven years duration.

**He was therefore able to send "substantial sums" to his family (Marcus, II, p. 1046).

he resided for one year. It was at that point that he turned to the mainland colonies.

Although the West Indies were the religious offspring of London and Amsterdam, they of course developed early and constant commercial ties with the mainland colonies. The Jewish merchants in both places almost constituted interlocking companies in many respects. The West Indians were in "constant touch with their North American co-religionists in matters of faith and philanthropy, they continually traded itinerants and sent cantors north to the mainland."⁵⁴ For example, Isaac de Abraham Touro, Newport's *hazzan*, came from Jamaica in 1760, was married by the recent Jamaican resident, Carigal, in 1773 to a Hays daughter, and finally returned to Jamaica.* Others better versed in such matters and with more space at their disposal have documented the debt owed by the North Americans to the West Indians in the matters of sponsoring mainland congregations and buildings, providing wives to the mainland Sephardim, and breaking "ground for North American Jews in the area of rights and citizenship."⁵⁵ In addition, by the 1760s even the Jews in Dutch possessions were "no longer tied to the apron strings of Amsterdam Jewry", and a general reorientation towards Great Britain and the Bevis Marks congregation was well under way.

Following the trend, Carigal touched down in Philadelphia for a month⁵⁶ and New York City for four months before finally arriving at Newport Erev Pesach, 1773.⁵⁷ Though Carigal was not coming as a *shaliah*, Newport Jews were no doubt familiar with his career. They had long demonstrated their support for the rabbinical academies and the needy of the Holy Land.⁵⁸ A small⁵⁹ but thriving Jewish community which had erected its famous synagogue a few years before, Newport boasted a long heritage dating from the 1650s and long and important connections with the West Indies by the time Carigal arrived. The original settlers in the 1650s came directly from Holland, as well as from Speightstown, Barbados. Assured of religious freedom by the declaration of tolerance and liberty embodied in the program for orderly government of the Narragansett region, which provided that "none be accounted a Delinquent for Doctrine: Provided it be not directly repugnant to the Government or Lawes established."⁶⁰ Jews were granted "as good protection here as any strangers being not of our nation."⁶¹ These settlers were reinforced in the 1690s, and in the 1740s and 1750s in particular, by Sephardim from the West Indies and Marranos from Portugal, especially after the Lisbon earthquake in

*He died in Kingston on December 8, 1773.

1755. The leading Jewish merchants of Newport cultivated extensive trade connections with the West Indies in the slave trade, provisions, and privateering.

Carigal was no doubt a welcome visitor. Coming from the West Indies and a former rabbi of Mikve Israel, his visit would call to mind that community's contribution to Newport's building fund. Coming from London, Carigal would be a source of news and opinion as to imperial affairs and the tenor of English attitudes towards the colonies. Finally, as a Palestinian rabbi he introduced a physical presence from the Holy Land during a period when Jews and Christians were discussing the coming of the Millennium, an event in which Palestine would play a crucial role.

This brings us full circle, back to Stiles and Carigal. Ezra Stiles had carefully plied each visiting rabbi for information about the Messianic age in the Jewish tradition. With Moses Bar David, "a learned Jew" of Apta, Poland, Stiles plunged deeply into the study of the Zohar. That "Doctor our Doctor, the great Rabbi," the son of David of Apta, the Apter Rov, told Stiles that, if he could comprehend the Zohar, he "should be a Master of the Jewish Learning & of the greatest philosophy in the World."⁶² With Tobiah Bar Jehudah Loew of Cracow, study also turned to Zohar, as Tobiah was "a great Cabbalist and Philosopher; which two Branches of Knowledge are far more to his Taste than the Talmud."⁶³ Here too the discussion turned on whether pork would be allowed in the Messianic era, or whether circumcision would be necessary, and what the nature of childbirth would be.

Stiles's main interest in Carigal, not discounting a deep affection and an interest in Carigal's command of Hebrew and other languages, was that Palestinian's personal knowledge and opinion about the Holy Land and the coming of the Messiah. As Kohut noted, Stiles,

In his earlier years . . . was somewhat narrow and intolerant in his theological views and not at all predisposed in favor of the Jews, but . . . shortly before he reached his majority he came to not only a larger faith, but a meeker spirit and . . . he began to seek for evidences of their [the Jews'] whereabouts in far-away places to test the truth of prophecy. . .⁶⁴

He assiduously investigated all leads as to the location and identity of the Ten Lost Tribes, in the belief that these would have to be regathered and reestablished in the Holy Land before the Millennium could commence. Hence he studied the Cochin Jews, and customs among the Tartars, Afghans, and Falashas, seeking to verify their connection with the Lost Tribes. He pumped Carigal and other visitors about the

geography of Palestine and pored over Jewish and Christian, mystical and rational explanations of the Book of Daniel and other sources.* Stiles was fascinated by Carigal's interpretation of a passage in the Zohar which Carigal understood to predict the victory of the Russians over the Turks.⁶⁵

Christian Millenarianism included a belief that one of the signs of the era's approach was that Jews and Christians worshipped together; hence Stiles demonstrated an avid fascination with all news of Jewish apostasy. He was interested in the case of Judah Monis, a convert who became the first Professor of Hebrew at Harvard in the 1720s. Stiles's interest in such apostasy was so strong that he could not refrain from interrogating one of the leading Jews of Newport about rumors of his brother's conversion to Christianity in Philadelphia.⁶⁶ Stiles recorded that Carigal expected the Messiah "daily," which was no doubt a mundane rendition of the prayer with which the Rabbi concluded his *Shavuot*** sermon: "*B'yom hahu*" (May it be in our days).⁶⁷

But Stiles was also interested in Carigal from another point of view. The recipient of an honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity, Stiles was embarrassed to be so called while he did not possess a knowledge of Hebrew. Hence, he could be seen walking "about the streets with the Chuzzan of the Jewish Synagogue."⁶⁸ With help from Touro and the visiting rabbis, synagogue attendance, and intense application Stiles was able to progress from a knowledge of ten Hebrew letters in 1767 to "the ability to deliver a Hebrew oration at his inauguration at Yale in 1778."⁶⁹ He also learned Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic. With Carigal he discussed changes in Hebrew over the ages and compared classical and vernacular Arabic (Carigal knew the latter, but not the former) with the different dialects of Chaldee, Syriac, and the language of the Targums.

The relationship between a Congregational minister and a Palestinian rabbi of traditional views is interesting in its human aspect. Stiles manifested the reigning interest, curiosity, and prejudice about Jews. At best he was ambivalent about the Jews, even though some of his best friends were Jewish. Although Stiles had known Jacob Rodrigues Rivera for twenty years, he still referred to him as "a Jew merchant." On viewing a service conducted by Gershom Mendes Seixas in 1770, he was moved to comment: "How melancholy to behold an assembly of worshippers of Jehovah, open and professed enemies to a crucified Jesus!" Though he should have known better, he surmised

*He studied Rashi, Maimonides, Kimchi, and the Zohar. The Zohar also interested him because he read the doctrine of the Trinity into that mystical commentary.

**The Feast of Weeks, or the Pentecost.

there was a secret Jewish cabal in London operating a spy system against the Americans before the Revolution.⁷⁰ When a personal friend, Aaron Lopez, was denied citizenship in Rhode Island in 1762, Stiles speculated as to whether the mortification of the Jews was ordained by God:⁷¹ "Providence seems to make everything work for Mortification of the Jews, and to prevent their incorporating into any Nation; that thus they may continue a distinct people." Stiles concluded that the reaction to the "Jew Bill"⁷² in Britain, tumult against Jews in New York, and opposition in Rhode Island indicated that "the Jews will never become incorporated with the people of America, any more than in Europe, Asia & Africa."⁷³ Stiles was not so far ahead of his times that he could refrain from moaning over the fact that his friend Lopez died without knowing Jesus.⁷⁴

But, in the case of Haim Isaac Carigal, Stiles demonstrated unreserved affection and respect. Carigal proudly and uncompromisingly upheld the validity and truth of the Jewish tradition: he argued the unchanging nature of God's revelation as left to Moses and showed Stiles a passage in Augustine demonstrating the purity of the Masoretic text. Yet Carigal's sympathies were catholic and universal. He told Stiles that "he wished well to others besides his own Nation, he loved all Mankind."⁷⁵ When Carigal left for Surinam on July 21, 1773, Stiles told him he "parted from him with great Reluctance, and should ever retain an affection for him." The Christian pastor looked forward to meeting the rabbi in Eden, where they would walk with Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the Messiah until the Resurrection. Carigal responded that the sentiment was mutual.⁷⁶

The rabbi informed Stiles of his safe arrival in Surinam, and took time during his brief stay to thank Lopez and Rivera for the "great kindness and benefits bestowed" upon him during his stay in Newport.⁷⁷ By January, 1775 Carigal was able to send his installation sermon at Nidhe Israel to Lopez for translation into Spanish and to Stiles, who was to see to its publication in the English-speaking colonies.⁷⁸ Carigal and Stiles apparently continued a lengthy and extensive correspondence during the few years left to the rabbi. The final touching letter expresses Carigal's sympathy on the death of Stiles's wife. He went on to thank Stiles for "news Concerning the Americans affairs" and hoped that the colonists might soon be "acomodated." Unfortunately, just as Carigal was settled as rabbi of "an outstanding Jewish center, a great cosmopolitan clearing-house both commercially and culturally for the Jews of the Americas."⁷⁹ and just as he could finally send for his family, Carigal informed Stiles that

he suffered from an "Inflammatory fever," which he accurately predicted "Reduced [him] to the last Period of Life." Carigal changed his name to Raphael on the "advice of our Sages,"⁸⁰ but the angel was not fooled. Although he probably recovered from that brush with death, he soon succumbed on May 5, 1777, leaving his estate, a considerable library, and beautiful clothes to his wife, Hori, and his son, David.⁸¹ Carigal died as the "Golden Age" of Newport Jewry came to a close and as a new era in world history dawned.

In evaluating Carigal's contribution to American culture and history we need not resort to exaggerated claims that the study of Hebrew at Yale was indirectly attributable to his influence on Stiles.⁸² And his Shavuot sermon is too slender a reed on which to base great claims.⁸³ But Carigal did much to raise the standards of Hebrew learning and culture in the West Indies and in North America and enlivened contacts between American Jews and the Jews of Europe and the Holy Land. Bringing deep learning and lively awareness to the New World, Carigal initiated a new awareness among Oriental and European Jews of the level of commitment to Judaism in America. Others besides Ezra Stiles would long remember the *shaliah* of Hebron's "Society and Conversation which was more sweet to my Taste than Honey, and much more plesaant than the spicy Incense and perfume of the High Priest."⁸⁴

NOTES

¹F. B. Dexter, ed., *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles* (New York, 1901), Vol. I, p. 97.

²The singular is *shaliah*. These men were also called *shaddarim* or *meshullim*, and have sometimes been confused with the *maggidim* (itinerant preachers). The term *shaliah* was probably borrowed from the function performed by the priests of the Second Temple who accepted and offered sacrifices as the congregational messenger, deputy or agent ("Sheliah Zibbur," in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. XI, p. 261).

³"Halukkah," in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. I, pp. 179-186.

⁴The signers were the heads of the yeshivot in the town, the oldest academy believed to be that founded by Israel Zevi, the author of *Urim Gedolim*. Carigal estimated that there were 107 Jewish families in Hebron at the time (Stiles, *Literary Diary*, March 30, 1773, p. 357). He also told Stiles of the restrictions placed on Jewish travel through the Holy Land which prohibited him from visiting the site of Sodom, only six or seven miles distance from his home. *Ibid.*, April 26, 1773, p. 370).

⁵This portrait was painted at the request of Ezra Stiles in 1781 by the Boston artist Samuel King from a crayon drawing by a Providence artist, Blodgett. Stiles asked Aaron Lopez to have the work done and to contribute the painting to the Library at Yale, where Stiles was President, in deference to "The affectionate Respect I bear to the Memory of that great & eminent Hocham, the Rabbi Karigal" (F. B. Dexter, ed., *Extracts from the Itineraries and Other Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles*, New Haven, 1916, Ezra Stiles to Aaron Lopez, Yale College, May 31, 1781, p. 384). Also see Lec M. Friedman, *Rabbi Haim Isaac Carigal, His Newport Sermon and His Yale Portrait* (Boston, 1940). For a complete study of all the *shaliahim* see Abraham Yaari, *Sheluhe Erets Yisrael* (Jerusalem, 1951), passim. For Carigal see pp. 47, 56, 490, 580-583. Also see Arthur A. Chiel, "The Mystery of the Rabbi's Lost Portrait," *Judaism* 22:482-487, (Fall) 1973. Recently entered a plea for the portrait's return to Yale College by the two-hundredth *yahrzeit* (anniversary) of Rabbi Carigal.

⁶Through the vagaries of Hebrew transliteration his name is sometimes rendered Carregal, Karigal, etc. His portrait appeared on the cover of *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, VI (November, 1971), No. 1.

⁷And in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Vol. V.

⁸(April 8th, 1773): . . . The Rabbi's Dress or Apparel: Common English Shoes, black Leather, Silver flowered Buckles, White Stockings. His general Habit was Turkish. A *green Silk Vest* or long under Garment reaching down more than half way the Legs or within 3 Inches of the Ankles, the ends of the Sleeves of this Vest appeared on the Wrists in a foliage Turn-up of 3 inches, & the Opening little larger than that the hand might pass freely A Girdle or Sash of different Colors red and green girt the Vest around his Body. It appeared not to be open at the bottom but to come down like a petticoat; and no Breeches could be discovered. This Vest however had an opening above the Girdle—and he put in his *Handerchief*, and *Snuff-box*, and *Watch*. Under this was an inner Vest of Calico, besides other Jewish Talismans. Upon the vest first mentioned was a *scarlet outer Garment* of Cloth, one side of it was Blue, the *outside scarlet*; it reached down about an Inch lower than the Vest, or near the Ankles. It was open before, no range of Buttons & C. along the Edge, but like a Scholars Gown in the Body but plain and without many gatherings at the Neck, the sleeves strait or narrow and slit open 4 or 5 Inches at the End, and turned up with a *blue silk Quarter Cuff*, higher up than at the End of the sleeve of the Vest. When he came into the Synagogue he put over all, the usual *Alb* or white *Surplice*, which was like that of other Jews, except that its Edge was striped with *Blue Straiks*, and had *more Fringe*. He had a White Cravat round his Neck. He had a long black Beard, the Upper lip partly shaven—his head shaved all over. On his Head a high Fur (Sable) Cap, exactly like a Woman's Muff, and about 9 or 10 Inches high, the Aperture atop was closed with green cloth (Dexter, ed., *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, pp. 362-363).

⁹For example, George Alexander Kohut, *Ezra Stiles and the Jews* (New York, 1902) excerpts relevant passages of Stile's *Literary Diary*. Morris Jastrow, Jr., "References to Jews in the Diary of Ezra Stiles," in Abraham J. Karp, ed., *The Jewish Experience in America*, Vol. I, *The Colonial Period* (New York, 1969), pp. 143-174 is a re-print of an article which appeared in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* around the turn of the century. W. Willner's "Ezra Stiles and the Jews," *P.A.J.H.S.*, VIII (1900), pp. 119-126 is a similar study.

¹⁰Lee M. Friedman, *Rabbi Haim Isaac Carigal*. . . , p. 1.

¹¹Jastrow, "References to Jews in the Diary of Ezra Stiles" in Karp, I, pp. 143-174.

¹²"Azulai, Asulay," in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, II, pp. 375-376

¹³The three Palestinians were Carigal and Moses Malki, the first such shaliah in 1759, and Samuel Ha-Cohen, the last before the Revolution. Other visitors included two Polish Cabbalists and rabbis, Moses Bar David, in November 1772, and Tobiah Ben Jehudah Loew in November 1773. Tobiah was of the family and 9th descendant of R. Salomoh Ishaaci (RASHI), the celebrated commentator who died in 1180. The other foreigners were lesser men—Rabbi Joseph Israel, November 1765, and a Rabbi Bosquilla of Smyrna and London in late 1773 or early 1774. In 1770 Gershom Mendes Seixas of New York also visited Newport.

The Minute Books of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation Shearith Israel record the treatment accorded Rabbi Joseph Israel under the heading 4th Kislev 5526 (November 17, 1765): ". . . after Rabbi Jospheh Israel has preached his Sermon he is to be dispatcht by first oppty to Newport in order to take passage for Surinam and if he will not go is to remain at his own Expence" ("The Earliest Extant Minute Book of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation Shearith Israel in New York, 1728-1756," *P.A.J.H.S.*, XXI 1913, pp. 1-171).

¹⁴For a still useful study of Safed see Solomon Shechter, "Safed in the 16th Century," *Studies in Judaism*, 2nd Series (1908), pp. 203-306.

¹⁵Jacob R. Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew* (Detroit, 1970), Vol. II, p. 1045.

¹⁶David and Tamar de Sola Pool, *An Old Faith in the New World* (New York, 1955), pp. 344 and 397.

¹⁷Isaac and Suzanne A. Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles* (Cincinnati, 1970), I, p. 159 note.

¹⁸Morris A. Gutstein, *The Story of the Jews of Newport: Two and A Half Centuries of Judaism, 1658-1908* (New York, 1936), p. 140.

¹⁹Isaac Rivking, "Some Remarks About Messengers from Palestine to America," *P.A.J.H.S.*, XXXIV (1937), pp. 288-294 identified the signers of Ha-Cohen's credentials. For Azulai see *J.E.*, II, pp. 375-376.

²⁰Marcus, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1045-1046. The Newport and New York communities shared the expenses of provision and passage to London for Ha-Cohen. A total expense of £31.8.6 was incurred ("Items Relating to the Jews of Newport") *P.A.J.H.S.*, XXVII (1920), pp. 175-216.

²¹Marcus, II, p. 1046.

²²See E. M. Shilstone, *Monumental Inscriptions in the Burial Ground of the Jewish Synagogue at Bridgeton, Barbados* (London, 1956), p. 100.

²³I. S. Emmanuel, *Precious Stones of the Jews of Curaçao: Curaçao Jewry, 1656-1957* (New York, 1957), Biography #203, pp. 480-483 provides a memoir of Carigal.

²⁴For Carigal's ancestry see Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, pp. 481-482; also I. S. Emmanuel, "Jewish Education in Curacao (1692-1802)," *P.A.J.H.S.*, XLIV (September 1954-June 1955), pp. 215-236; and George A. Kohut, "Early Jewish Literature in America," *P.A.J.H.S.*, III (1895), pp. 103-147. Kohut tells us that somehow Carigal's father was not included in Azulai's *Shem ha-Gedolim* (Kohut, *Ezra Stiles and the Jews*, p. 91).

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶Stiles, I, p. 395.

²⁷"Azulai, Azulay," in *J.E.*, II, p. 376.

²⁸Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, I, pp. 159 and 165 record seventeen such messengers down to 1901. Malki was the fifth and Carigal the sixth in line.

²⁹Marcus, I and II, *passim*.

³⁰Marcus, I, *passim*.

³¹Marcus, Foreword to I. S. Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, pp. 7-8.

³²Marcus, *Colonial American Jew*, I, p. 123.

³³See the article, "Halukkah," in *J.E.*, VI, pp. 179-186.

³⁴The *J.E.* article lists them all with the dates of their activity down to 1903. As late as the 1890s these funds from America alone equaled totals of five figures.

³⁵Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, I, pp. 153-155.

³⁶Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, p. 482.

³⁷Marcus, II, p. 1044.

³⁸"Halukkah," *loc. cit.*

³⁹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰Stiles, *Literary Diary*, I, June 8, 1773, pp. 378-379. As Carigal expressed it, he wrote nothing down, but "sealed" the sermon in his head beforehand and delivered it without written aids.

⁴¹The *Newport Mercury*, August 2, 1773, No. 778 and in other issues advertised the publication of Carigal's sermon. It was published with the title, *A Sermon Preached At the Synagogue In Newport, Rhode Island, Called 'The Salvation of Israel' on the Day of Pentecost, Or Feast of Weeks, The 6th Day of the Month of Sivan, The Year of the Creation 5533: Or May 28, 1778, Being the Anniversary of the giving of the IAW at Mount Sinai: by the venerable Hocham, The Learned Rabbi Haim Isaac Karigal of the City of Hebron near Jerusalem. . .* (Newport, Rhode Island: Printed and Sold by S(olomon) Southwick in Queen Street, 1773). The American Jewish Archives reprinted Carigal's sermon under the title *Rabbi Carigal Preaches in Newport* (Cincinnati, 1966).

The first Jewish sermon printed on the mainland was David Hirschel Franckel's *Thanksgiving Sermon for the Important and Astonishing Victory Obtain'd on the Fifth of December 1757 by the glorious King of Prussia*. . . (Boston: Green & Russell, 1758 and New York: Parker & Wegman, 1758). Another early publication was advertised in the *Newport Mercury*, November 3, 1761, No. 168 as *A Sermon Occasioned by the Death of his Late Majesty, preached on Saturday the 29th of November, 1760 in the Synagogue of the Portuguese Jews, in London, by Isaac Mendez Belisario*. . .

Samuel Ha-Cohen and Tobiah Bar Jehudah Loew are also recorded as having preached at Newport, Tobiah in Dutch (Jastrow, "References," *loc. cit.*).

⁴²Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, p. 486, note.

⁴³Emmanuel, "Jewish Education in Curacao," *loc. cit.*

⁴⁴Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, I, p. 249.

⁴⁵Marcus, I, p. 192.

⁴⁶Samuel Oppenheimer, "The Question of the Kosher Meat Supply in New York in 1813. . . ." *P.A.J.H.S.*, XXV (1917), pp. 31-62.

⁴⁷Emmanuel, "Jewish Education. . .," *loc. cit.*

⁴⁸See "The Minute Book of . . . Shearith Israel," *loc. cit.* and Marcus, II, p. 929.

⁴⁹Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, p. 483.

⁵⁰See Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, p. 483. Moses Malki left an estate of 2616 florins and a library worth 23 florins to his widow, Jocheved (Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *History*, I, p. 159, note).

⁵¹"Halukkah," *loc. cit.*

⁵²A reproduction of Carigal's instructions as per his investments and savings is printed in Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, p. 483.

⁵³Emmanuel and Emmanuel, I, p. 249.

⁵⁴Marcus, I, p. 137.

⁵⁵Marcus, I, pp. 138-139.

⁵⁶Edwin Wolf II and Maxwell Whiteman, *The History of the Jews of Philadelphia from Colonial Times to the Age of Jackson* (Philadelphia, 5717-1957) record that Mathias Lopez presented the Library Club of Philadelphia with an autograph letter by Ezra Stiles to Carigal, pp. 314-315.

⁵⁷Shearith Israel agreed "that the expenses of the Hacham Haim I. Caregal shall be paid with his passage to Rhode Island" (*Minute Book* . . ., *loc. cit.*, p. 115). The reader has probably concluded that these visitors, especially the Palestinian emissaries, created a drain on the mainland communities in particular. The De Sola Pools estimated that the cost of Malki's board for four months and passage to Newport would have paid the salary of a shammash and a shoheit for a whole year (*An Old Faith*, p. 397).

⁵⁸One example of such concern was recorded by Daniel Gomez of New York City, who entered a contribution from "Road" Island to the "Holley Congregation of Hebron" ("Gomez Ledger." *P.A.J.H.S.*, XXVII, 1920, pp. 244-250).

⁵⁹The exact number of Jews in Newport between 1760 and 1774 is difficult to determine. The best estimate is based on Ezra Stiles's calculations on the spot. The demonstrably observant and precise Stiles states there were 10 to 15 families in 1760 and about 25 families in 1774 (See Kohut, *Ezra Stiles and the Jews*, Appendix I, pp. 108-109) Jastrow, Gutstein and most recently Stanley Chyet, *Lopez of Newport: Colonial American Merchant Prince* (Detroit, 1970), pp. 52-53, all agree with Stiles's estimate.

The Jewish Encyclopedia, on the other hand, citing Tuckerman, a local historian, claims 60 to 70 families at the time the synagogue was built and a staggering 1,175 Jews at the outbreak of the Revolution ("Newport," *J.E.*, IX, pp. 294-295). These preposterous figures were also offered by Max Kohler, "The Jews of Newport," *P.A.J.H.S.*, VI (1897), pp. 61-80, where he states there were 60 to 70 families in 1763. A community of this size would not have had to appeal to all and sundry to build their synagogue, as the Newport community had to.

⁶⁰Cited in Charles M. Andrews, *Colonial Period of American History*, (New Haven, 1936), Vol. II, p. 11. This policy was perpetuated the following year.

⁶¹John Russell Bartlett, ed., *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England, 1636-1792* (Providence, 1856-1865), III, p. 160.

⁶²Stiles, *Literary Diary*, I, pp. 299, 302. Stiles took this to heart and devoted many hours to Zohar thereafter.

⁶³*Ibid.*, November 22-23, 1773, I, p. 422.

⁶⁴Kohut, *Ezra Stiles and the Jews*, p. 9.

⁶⁵Stiles, *Literary Diary*, I, March 30, 1773, p. 357.

⁶⁶The case involved a Hays who supposedly had become a member of Morgan Edward's Baptist church. The Newport Hays was not amused. He told Stiles that ". . . he knew nothing of it, and did not believe it; (it apparently was true) and added, if his Br had become a Xtian it was only to answer his Ends, he was not sincere in changing his Religion and becoming Christian — and added there were many covert Xtian Jews in Spain and Portugal — and that it could be proved that the King of Spain or Portugal was of Jew Extract" (Stiles, I, September 5, 1771, pp. 151-152). Hays apparently knew his family. His mother converted, only to revert to Judaism again before her death.

⁶⁷Stiles, I, July 7, 1773, p. 349. Carigal, *Sermon*, p. 19.

⁶⁸Edmund S. Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan: A Life of Ezra Stiles, 1727-1795* (New Haven, 1972), pp. 119-120.

⁶⁹Kohut, *Ezra Stiles*, p. 14.

⁷⁰Items cited by Marcus, III, pp. 1130-1131.

⁷¹Stiles actually used the term "Providence". Had he meant the city and not God's will he would have hit the nail on the head. Stanley Chyet feels that Lopez and Isaac Elizer were caught in a political crossfire between Stephen Hopkins of Providence and Stephen Ward of Newport. The radical Hopkins used religion as a pretext to deny Ward two more conservative voters in Newport (Chyet, *Lopez of Newport*, pp. 37-41).

⁷²For a study of the "Jew Bill" see Thomas W. Perry, *Public Opinion, Propaganda and Politics in Eighteenth Century England: A Study of the Jew Bill of 1753* (Cambridge, 1962), *passim*.

⁷³Dexter, ed., *Extracts from the Itineraries of Ezra Stiles*, pp. 52-53.

⁷⁴Stiles, *Literary Diary*, II, June 8, 1782, pp. 24-25.

⁷⁵As enjoined in Leviticus, XIX, 18, Stiles, *Literary Diary*, I.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, I, pp. 399-400.

⁷⁷Carigal to Stiles, Surinam, Sept. 19, 1773 reprinted in Friedman, *Rabbi Haim Isaac Carigal*, pp. 15-16 and to Lopez and Rivera in November 1773, *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

⁷⁸Carigal to Lopez and Rivera, Barbados, Jan. 27, 1775, in Friedman, pp. 19-20; and Carigal to Stiles, Barbados, October 11th, 1774, *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23. He was installed in June 1774.

⁷⁹Friedman, p. 25.

⁸⁰Carigal to Reverend and Worthy Friend, Ezra Stiles Esqr., Barbados, September 14th, 1775, Friedman, pp. 23-25.

⁸¹Friedman, p. 27-29.

⁸²Stiles, as President of Yale and Professor of Ecclesiastical History, stimulated the study of Semities and made the study of Hebrew compulsory for a while (Kohut, pp. 5-6).

⁸³It superficially dismissed the reigning skepticism and Deism of the day and called upon Jews to apply themselves daily to the study of the Divinely given Torah and to its diligent application in matters large and small in our lives.

⁸⁴Stiles to Carigal, 1 Nisan 5534, cited in Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan*, p. 143.

See also Bibliographical Notes No. 2, page 630 this issue of the *Notes*.

NEWPORT AS ARARAT

by SEEBERT J. GOLDOWSKY, M.D.

Mordecai Manuel Noah (1785-1851), noted American lawyer, diplomat, politician, playwright and editor, and perhaps the most distinguished Jew of his time in America, was an early exponent of Zionism. In 1813, during the War of 1812, he was appointed consul to Tunis with the mission of liberating American sailors captured by the African pirates and of strengthening American prestige in the Mediterranean. He carried out these tasks with great success, despite some political complications at home. While traveling in Europe in connection with this effort, he visited England, France, and Spain, in addition to the Barbary States. Through his own observation in Europe and his extensive acquaintance with Jewish affairs, he was early impressed with the need for bringing help to the oppressed and poverty-stricken Jews of the Old World. The reactionary policies adopted by many European governments after the battle of Waterloo led during this period to reimposition in many places of Jewish disabilities. Jews laboring under these added burdens turned to emigration for relief. Although Noah believed in and advocated the restoration of the Jews to Palestine, he seriously doubted the feasibility of colonizing large numbers of Jews in that area. He felt that in the meantime a refuge could be set up in the prosperous, free, and still largely unpopulated United States.

Although a native of Philadelphia (he was a descendant of prominent Portuguese Jewish forbears), he settled in New York upon his return to the United States in 1816 and began a career in journalism. As early as January 19, 1820 he petitioned the New York state legislature to permit the sale to him of Grand Island located in the Niagara River near Niagara Falls "for the purpose of attempting to have the same settled by emigrants of the Jewish religion from Europe." The tract was selected because of its promising commercial prospects, being close to the Great Lakes and opposite the newly constructed Erie Canal. Noah deemed it "preeminently calculated to become in time the greatest trading and commercial depot in the new and better world."

After much agitation in his own newspaper and in the secular and religious press generally, he was finally ready by 1825 to launch his project. With the aid of a gentile friend, Samuel Leggett, he was able to purchase 2,555 acres of land on the island for \$16,985. Now feeling assured of the success of the undertaking, he issued on September 1 a manifesto to Jews throughout the world, calling upon them to make

ready to migrate to the new colony, which he named "Ararat", thus linking it not only with his own name, but also with an historic event in Biblical literature.

September 15, 1825 was selected as the date for the laying of the cornerstone of the new city. Since there were not sufficient boats for crossing to the island, the activities were held on the mainland in Buffalo, then still a small town. The impressive ceremonies initiated by the firing of a cannon involved the participation of state and federal officials, Christian clergy, Masonic officers, and even American Indians. After dedicatory services in St. Paul's Church (Episcopal), the foundation stone was laid, not on the island itself, but in the village of Buffalo.

Noah obviously was the central figure of these goings-on. He appointed himself judge and governor of the new establishment and issued a proclamation announcing the restoration of a Jewish state on Grand Island and further proposing a plan to tax Jews throughout the world to support it. Nothing ever came of the whole business. Not only was the proposed city never built, but there is even some doubt as to whether Noah himself ever set foot on the island. Jews generally and most of the press ridiculed the project. No Jews ever came. The strangest aspect of the whole affair is that a person of Noah's stature and sophistication should have become so deeply committed to an undertaking as bizarre and fantastic as this one. Yet he deserves genuine respect for his continuing effort to find a solution to the age-old Jewish problem. The only extant tangible relic of the whole project is the foundation stone of the proposed city with the inscription "Ararat" and the year 1825 clearly legible still preserved among the collections of the Buffalo Historical Society.

The story thus far has been well documented in the historical literature. What had not previously been recorded is the fact of Noah's consideration of Rhode Island as a possible site for his visionary "Ararat." On November 28, 1820 the following item appeared in the *Daily National Intelligencer* of Washington, D.C., reprinted from the *True Briton*, a London newspaper:

New Colony of Jews — A Jewish merchant of New York named Mordecai Noah has demanded permission from the government of the United States to become the purchaser of an Island on the Niagara, between the Lakes Erie and Ontario north from the English territory, and containing one thousand acres on its surface. The member of Congress, who acted as reporter of the commission, charged to examine this demand, pointed out to the chamber, in

very lively colors, the persecutions to which the Jews are still exposed in many parts of Europe, and suggested, that the professed principles of the United States perfectly coincided with the views of Mr. Noah in seeking to make this purchase, it being the object to offer an asylum, under the protection of the liberal and tolerant laws of the United States, to a class of men who sought in vain for a country on the soil of the old world. In short, it is the intention of this opulent Jew to found a colony of his countrymen in this island, and his proposition has been sanctioned by the American Legislature.—*True Briton*

The *Daily National Intelligencer* commented editorially on the item in the same issue:

The mistake of the English editor, noticed in a preceding column, respecting the nature of Mr. Noah's application to the Legislature of New York, is not quite so absurd as some seem to suppose it. It was natural enough, in a country where opulence constitutes a claim to political respect, to suppose that the author of a proposition for the grant of an island was an opulent man, and, being believed to be of the Jewish persuasion, that he was a merchant. We do not like the attempt to cast an air of ridicule on the project of Mr. Noah, the object of which we think was perfectly consistent with patriotism and good policy. The Jewish merchants, if not the most skilful [sic] are the richest in the world. A small portion of their wealth, transferred hither, would infuse activity into many branches of industry amongst us, which languish for the want of capital. The Jews are, in all the countries of Europe, disfranchised [sic], and treated with systematic disrespect, unless when their gold, or the necessity for borrowing it, procures casual fits of courtesy toward them. Removed to this country, disenthralled from the fetters which they have been generally content, because obliged, to wear in other quarters of the world, they would become a happy race — and above all, would be faithful and attached to the institutions which protect them and favor their happiness. We should, therefore, be glad to receive a Colony of this description; and we honor the author of the project for his attempts to induce his brethren in opinion to withdraw from countries where, for the most part, they hold their property by a slight tenure, and their lives by one not much stronger, and where their religion is a crime. We should doubt, indeed whether the borders of the Lakes would be the proper ground for the settlement of a people who are almost exclusively merchants or connected with commerce. But a con-

venient position might be found on the sea-coast, say in Rhode Island or Connecticut. If refused elsewhere, we shall have no objection to receive them in WASHINGTON, where, if anywhere in the Universe, is realised the perfect Freedom of Religious Opinion.

Noah at this time was editor of *The National Advocate* of New York, published by his uncle, Naphthali Phillips. He was active in the affairs of Shearith Israel, the Portuguese synagogue of New York, and hence would be well apprised of the status of the Newport Jewish community, which, in fact, at that time was nearing the end of its 150 year history. Moses Lopez, nephew of Aaron Lopez, possibly the last Jew to depart, left Newport about 1820. The Torah scrolls of Jeshuat Israel (Touro Synagogue) were in 1822 transferred for safe-keeping to Shearith Israel in New York, which for more than two centuries has held the deed to Touro Synagogue. In the December 1, 1820 issue, in an unsigned editorial under the heading *Remarks*, Noah commented on the *Daily National Intelligencer* editorial as follows:

THE JEWS

The application made to the legislature of this state for the purchase of Grand Island has occupied considerable attention and created great interest among the Jews in Europe. The mistake relative to Congress, instead of the state Legislature, was perfectly natural to a people who are but indifferently acquainted with our form of government. It has, however, fixed their attention to one point, namely, the possibility of purchasing and holding property in their own right and enjoying all the privileges of citizens, which rights they do not possess in any other part of the globe. Whatever difference of opinion may have prevailed as to the location of Grand Island, yet viewing it as a site for a great commercial city, having the lakes to the right and left; the grand canal in front and outlets to the sea by the St. Lawrence and the Hudson and with a practicable water communication with the Mississippi and New Orleans, and the fur trade of the north-west territory, it presented to enterprising people certain though remote prospects of great utility and advantage. The Jews in Europe, however, have expressed to me their doubt as to the disposition of their brethren to clear land, make settlements, and cultivate the soil, so incompatible with their present pursuits and have rather given the preference to commercial places where all the necessaries of life, and even luxuries may be purchased; and where immediate and beneficial application may be made of their money and enterprise.

In fact, there have been some earnest enquiries as to the advantages of manufacturing establishments of cloth, linen, glass, silks, and other articles which now languish in Germany and France and which, if transferred to this country, it is hoped would yield a better profit while they afforded the proprietors additional rights and privileges. Accordingly, a more central situation has been examined and the state of Rhode-Island appears to combine the greatest advantages.

The town of New-Port has a harbor inferior to none in the nation. The climate is remarkably healthy, expenses of living moderate; it has been the residence of respectable Jewish merchants and has a very spacious place of worship already erected. The whole state, which is not as large as one county of this state, appears well calculated for manufactures, and the charter on subjects of religion is as liberal as could be desired. It follows then, from the most prudent calculations, that Rhode-Island is at present the most eligible spot for the Jewish emigrants and will, I trust, occupy their immediate attention. There is nothing visionary or even difficult in promoting an extensive Jewish emigration to this country. Men everywhere consult their safety and happiness: and when once they are satisfied that their civil and religious liberty will be respected, — their health and enterprise preserved and encouraged, they will venture upon an experiment which promises every advantage. I am tired of seeing a nation of seven millions of people, rich and intelligent, wandering about the world without a home which they can claim as their own and looking to the restoration to an ancient country which one eighth would not inhabit if they recovered it to-morrow. Where the Jews can be protected by laws which they will have some agency in enacting and where a laudable ambition will lead to the possession of posts of honor and confidence, and where they can mingle their voice freely in the councils of the nation and have the privilege of taking their place in the field and in the cabinet, I do consider that they will possess every temporal blessing which has been promised them. It is not, however, perfectly in order to make a colony of them in this country. It could not be done. They will spread themselves over the Union and be amalgamated with other citizens. They may be most numerous in places where their interest is best promoted.

The Jewish bankers at London, Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Leghorn, and in Germany, Poland, Russia and Turkey

can transmit to the country a sum in specie capable of paying the national debt of the United States. They have fifty millions of dollars employed in the commerce of Italy alone and it is very much the interest of the Union to encourage their emigration and attract a portion of their floating capital. I have not lost sight of this important project; on the contrary, shall not relax in my efforts to promote their prosperity and personal security. My "opulence" can be of no service to them; they wish correct and fair representations; — the *means* are in their power to avail themselves of the proffered asylum.

Through one of those strange historical twists the last item was picked up and reprinted on February 10, 1821 by an obscure frontier newspaper, the *Arkansas Gazette* of Little Rock, Arkansas territory. Through the alert eye of an able historian, it has come full circle back to Rhode Island.¹

NOTES

¹Professor William G. McLoughlin of Brown University wrote to the author as follows:

While looking through the files of the *Arkansas Gazette* at the Newberry Library in Chicago, I came across this curious article relating to the possibility of promoting Jewish emigration to Newport, Rhode Island in the 1820s. While the article was originally published in a paper called *The National Advocate of New York*, I was struck by the fact that it was reprinted in the frontier newspaper of Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1821.

SECONDARY SOURCES

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3. *The Jewish Encyclopedia*. Funk & Wagnalls. N. Y. & London, 1916. Vol. 2, p. 74 (On "Ararat — A City of Refuge") and Vol. 9, p. 323 (Mordecai Manuel Noah).
4. *Encyclopedia Judaica*. MacMillan. Jerusalem, 1971. Vol. 12, p. 1198.
5. *Major Noah, American Jewish Pioneer*. By Isaac Goldberg. The Jewish Publication Society of America. Philadelphia, 1936.

SAMUEL BELKIN AT BROWN

by RABBI WILLIAM G. BRAUDE†

My mentor, the late Professor Henry Englander of the Hebrew Union College, made sure that upon my arrival in Providence in the Fall of 1932 I would register at once in the Graduate School of Brown University. One of the courses which interested me was given by Professor Millar Burrows, head of the Department of Biblical Literature and History of Religions. But the hour scheduled for the course was inconvenient, conflicting as it did with an ongoing responsibility, with the time set—if I remember correctly—for the Confirmation Class. When I so informed Professor Burrows he reassured me: only one other person had registered, and that person's schedule was so flexible that the hour could easily be changed to suit my convenience. Even as Professor Burrows was giving this information, the other person walked in, and at once assented to the proposed change in the day of meeting. That other person had a woebegone look—his clothes frayed, his shoes literally down at the heel.

At that time, in the Fall of 1932, when I was called to Temple Beth-El in Providence, I had an overweening sense of my own importance. The country was then at the bottom of the Depression. Ninety names—so I was told—had been considered by the committee charged with finding a successor to Rabbi Samuel M. Gup, who, after thirteen years at Beth-El, left for Temple Israel in Columbus, Ohio. And I, a young man of twenty-six, one year out of the Hebrew Union College, was the one chosen. So I could not be altogether blamed for the somewhat solemn and humorless feeling of importance I had about myself. Still— and I thank the Lord for the way I resolved to act toward “that person”—I said to myself: “Don't be a *chazir* (a stuck-up pig). Be decent to this man.” I invited him to walk around the campus. Woebegone though he was, though his English was all but unintelligible, I felt then and there that “that person”—two or three years younger than I—was destined for greatness.

“That person” was Samuel Belkin, who by a strange fluke had come to Providence, specifically to Brown University, a year or so before I did. At the time of our meeting he had been in the United States only three or four years, having fled from his native Poland, where he had seen his father killed by Polish hooligans, and resolved thereupon to go to the United States. Already an ordained Rabbi, Samuel

†Rabbi Emeritus, Temple Beth-El (Congregation of the Sons of Israel and David).

Belkin, after arriving in New York, pursued independent studies at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Yeshiva. Such study for men at home in Talmud is characteristic of the world of Yeshivos.

At that time, it so happened, a resident of Conimicut, Rhode Island, a Mr. Botchkass,* who was both childless and prosperous—wanted, in keeping with old Jewish practice—to “adopt” so-to-speak, to become patron of a *yeshiva bochur*. So he went to New York, to Yeshiva College, where he called upon Doctor Bernard Revel, then president, to provide such a young man. Doctor Revel selected Samuel Belkin who, interested as he was in pursuing graduate work of a more general academic character, accepted the invitation. Botchkass promised to take care of all of Samuel Belkin’s needs, a promise which he kept, arranging among other things to have Samuel Belkin chauffeured daily in grand style into Providence to attend classes at Brown.

Now Samuel Belkin had no secondary schooling. Still the late Professor Roland Richardson, head of the Graduate School, and Professor Henry Thatcher Fowler, Millar Burrows’s predecessor as head of the Department of Biblical Literature and the History of Religions, were so impressed by Belkin that they gave him graduate standing. To this day I cannot understand how these two men managed to penetrate the barrier of Belkin’s “fractured” English to the real Belkin—the man greatly gifted in sensitivity and imagination. Thus it came about that the two of us—Samuel Belkin, the fugitive from Sislovitch in Poland, and I, fledgling Rabbi of Beth-El—were to meet and form a friendship which was to endure through the many years that followed.

By the time we met—in the Fall of 1932—the Depression was raging. Botchkass’s fortune vanished, and Belkin was on his own, living on less than a pittance with the Morris Marks family on Burrs Lane, one of the narrow streets above North Main Street.

As I came to know Belkin better, I realized that he was scrupulously observant in an incredibly unostentatious way. When he visited a home where there was any doubt about *Kashrut*, he would decline an invitation to eat by saying that he was not hungry or that he had just eaten, and when pressed would settle for fruit and tea, these being in effect the staples of his diet. From time to time he would walk—he had no carfare—from North Main Street to Whitmarsh Street where I lived (a matter of two or three miles) to borrow thirty-five cents with which he intended to buy several packages of cigarettes, these serving frequently as substitutes for food, which he could not afford to

*Not identifiable in the city directories of Warwick or Providence.

buy. But on his way back to North Main he would be approached by panhandlers to whom he gave a nickel or a dime, and if he was lucky would return with just enough money to buy one package of cigarettes.

Yet neither hunger nor want interfered with his resolution to study. He mastered Greek in order to read the works of Philo in the original. He guided me in Halachic aspects of my research in Jewish Proselyting in the first five centuries of the Common Era and saved me from egregious blunders. He went to Yale where he came to know the late Professor Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough, a specialist in Philo, and to Harvard where he became both friend and disciple of the great Professor Harry A. Wolfson, recently deceased. While still in his middle twenties, Belkin began publishing in learned journals. His early essays, "The Alexandrian Halakah in Apologetic Literature of the First Century C.E.," "The Alexandrian Source for Contra Apionem II," and "The Problem of Paul's Background" received wide recognition, Professor Wolfson, among others, saying of Belkin that he had the making of a great scholar. Presently, when Belkin submitted his thesis on Philo and the Oral Law, Brown conferred upon him the doctoral degree, and the Brown chapter of Phi Beta Kappa elected him to membership. Doctor Belkin may thus be one of the few in Phi Beta Kappa who have neither High School diploma nor Bachelor of Arts certificate.

At the time Samuel Belkin received his degree, there were no opportunities for Jewish scholars at American universities, and so I took the liberty of making inquiries in his behalf at several Jewish—non-Orthodox—institutions of learning. Though Doctor Belkin permitted these inquiries, he told me to make it very clear that he was an observant Jew thoroughly committed to Torah as revelation. He put the matter in more simple and direct words which because of passage of years I can no longer remember precisely.

Then in 1935 a call came from Yeshiva College inviting him to teach Greek and Talmud. Presently* he was to become head of Yeshiva's Graduate School, and President of Yeshiva College, which in 1946 he transformed into a University, an institution he has been head of for thirty years, thus making him senior university president in the United States. During his years of service he has been friend and confidant of Nobel Prize winners—Albert Einstein among others—and of men in the highest echelons of government. Singlehanded he built the greatest Jewish institution in the United States, an institution which

*He became Dean of Rabbi Israel Elchanen Theological Seminary in 1940 and President of Yeshiva College in 1943.

includes Albert Einstein College of Medicine, Stern College for Women, and a host of other subsidiary schools.

Despite the extraordinary pressure of many responsibilities he managed to continue his research in Philo in order to demonstrate that Philo's writings contain a subterranean current of Rabbinic lore hitherto unknown and unexplored.

Yet to this day Samuel Belkin remains the unassuming "other person" whom I had come to know in the Fall of 1932. Never once through all the years that followed has he been condescending to his friend and admirer who stayed in Providence.

THE TOURO INFLUENCE—
WASHINGTON'S SPIRIT PREVAILS

by SISTER LUCILLE MCKILLOP†

On most speaking occasions environment is a secondary, or at best, an accidental consideration. This is not one of those occasions. It is with admiration and reverence that I stand in this holy place before the mystery of time and God, where the present vanishes, and the past flashes before the mind in beautiful pictures, making an everlasting imprint on one's memory.

A speaker other than myself is the author of these words, and yet they are mine by sentiment in the experience of this moment.

I thank you for the privilege of addressing you, the members of Touro Synagogue. You have done me a great honor, and I, in turn, hope that honor will have its reciprocal return for each of you. Symbolically, my presence here among you speaks of the great respect we share for our Judeo-Christian tradition. To capture the spirit and the heart of the meaningfulness of that heritage, I echo the words of Abraham Joshua Herschel. They deserve to be spoken in this hallowed place:

What divides us? What unites us? We dialogue in law and creed, we disagree in commitments that lie at the very heart of our religious existence. We say no to one another in some doctrines that are essential and sacred to us. What unites us? Our both being accountable to God, our both being objects of His concern, our both being precious in His eyes. Our conception of what ails us may be different, the anxiety is the same.

We may disagree about the ways of achieving fear and trembling, but the fear and trembling are the same. The demands may be different, the conscience is the same. The proclamation may be different, the callousness is the same.

Above all, God is the same. What unites us? A commitment to the Hebrew Bible as Holy Scripture, faith in the Creator, in the God of Abraham, a shared commitment to many of His commandments, to justice and mercy, a sense of contrition, sensitivity to the sanctity of life, and to the involvement of God in history,

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Read at Touro Synagogue, Newport, Rhode Island, September 8, 1974 as part of the annual George Washington Letter Ceremonies, under the auspices of the Society of Friends of Touro Synagogue National Historic Shrine, Inc.

the conviction that without the holy the good may be defeated, a concern that history should not end before the end of days, and much more.

Rabbi Herschel expresses beautifully both sides of the Jewish-Christian relationship—the chasm and the connection.

I look upon this moment as a bridge, a span that not only links Jew with Christian, but past with present. Let me attempt to convey to you what the history of this synagogue and the occasion we commemorate mean to me. You are much more familiar with the origin, history, and personalities than I am, but perhaps that very familiarity may have dulled the grandeur of it all.

In 1763 Touro Synagogue was dedicated, but research indicates that it was actually in 1658 that the Jewish merchants of Newport came together for worship. This was five years before the Charter of Providence Plantations recognized the right of religious freedom. You have immortalized these words in bronze:

Dedicated to the principle that all and every person may from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter frelye and fullye have and engage his and their owne judgments and consciences in matters of religious concern . . .

These words were written in 1663; the ideal is alive within us still, but still not realized. Carl Van Doren lamented this fact at your ceremonies in 1946. We note with him that there have been bitter changes in the relations between races and religions since the centuries of Roger Williams and George Washington. Unspeakable generations of hatred have led the nations through unutterable wars; and homeless men still wander over the face of the earth looking for refuge in a world full of anger and brutality.

Then what have we learned in this long struggle that established in principle the “inherent rights” of man? The burden of that answer is yours and mine. In answering we cannot deny the heritage that recognized that principle two centuries ago. Humanly speaking, we, Christian and Jew, have been fumbling our way to the light of reason and justice. In our own generation, as never before, there is an urge to self-examination, a desire to make sure that in our everyday relationship we give “to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance.”

The Revolutionary War had its lasting effect on Newport and it affected also the history of your people in this seaport town, many of whom left the city, never to return. Judah Touro, who names your synagogue, was one such person, but even though New Orleans be-

came his post-revolutionary home, his love of Newport was never lost and his remains are buried here in America's oldest Jewish cemetery. This benevolent man remembered in his will Christians in need as well as the needy among his own. He gave to "bigotry no saction." Judah Touro personified that quality of life shared by so many of your people — that quality of life which could occasion Longfellow to write: "They had the grand Traditions of the Past; They had the Promise of the Coming Time."

American history has recorded that the Jews of Newport gave full support to the colonial cause. When the General Congress in Philadelphia ordered the Continental Fast Day through the United Colonies, the Newport Jewish Congregation gathered at the synagogue to join in prayers with the other colonists. In 1790, on the occasion of George Washington's visit to Newport, the President of the Newport Congregation presented greetings to the first President of the United States. In those greetings Moses Seixas made reference to Washington as another Daniel for whom the Congregation asked divine assistance "to discharge the arduous duties of chief magistrate of these states." These greetings deserve our reflective listening three centuries later:

Deprived as we have hitherto been of invaluable rights of free citizens, we now — with a deep sense of gratitude to the Almighty, Disposer of all events — behold a government erected by the Majesty of the People, a government which to bigotry gives no sanction, to persecution no assistance — but generously affords to all, liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship — deeming everyone of whatever nation, tongue or language equal parts of the great governmental machine. This so ample and extensive Federal Union, whose basis is Philanthropy, Mutual Confidence and Public Virtue, we cannot but acknowledge to be the work of the Great God who rules in the Armies of Heaven and among the Inhabitants of the Earth, doing whatever seemeth to Him good.

Washington's reply is quoted in every history of American Judaism. After referring to "liberty of conscience", which the Jewish people had a right to expect from the new nation, Washington expressed the wish and prayer that

the children of the stock of Abraham who dwell in this land, continue to merit and enjoy the good will of the other inhabitants. . . . May the Father of all Mercies scatter light and not darkness in our paths and make us all in our sacred vocations useful here, and in His own due time and way everlastingly happy.

The religious tone of Washington's letter shows how clearly he recognized the issue facing your people on the eve of the new republic as a test case of the freedom guaranteed not only to Christians by their co-religionists, but, beyond Christianity, to the Sons of Abraham.

In the part quoted most frequently, Washington repeated those words first phrased by Moses Seixas:

It is now no more that toleration is spoken of as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent rights. For happily the government of the United States *which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance*, requires only that they who live under its protection, should demean themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.

Washington's letter reassured the Jewish residents of Newport of safety, a warm-hearted welcome to the American fold. To the Christian, Washington's letter is a reminder that religious liberty is a basic foundation of the new American nation.

The post-revolutionary history of Newport deeply affected Jewish history in this area. The population had so dwindled that Touro Synagogue did not have a sufficient quorum of men to comprise a congregation. The synagogue was closed for a period of sixty years; it reopened in 1850 and in 1946 took a rightful place in American history when the government declared it a National Historic Shrine.

This history should vibrate within each one of us. As I stand in Touro Synagogue and re-live that past which has contributed so much to American's sense of freedom, I am struck once more with separate but significant details of this architectural site. I look up at the balconies which I understand have been reserved for women worshippers. I have an impish desire to call on all to witness another freedom which this Synagogue finds tolerable — a woman removed now from the balcony, a Christian woman calling forth this congregation to mark its history well so that we can continue to "sanction no bigotry" of race, creed, color, or sex.

What occurred here in 1790, the exchange of letters between Moses Seixas and George Washington, which on the one hand called for the recognition of freedom of conscience for all, and on the other an affirmative response to that call by the leader of what was then a new nation, speaks only to a beginning. We have not yet reached the ideal, and we have been proclaiming it for an interval of almost two hundred years. We could become discouraged by man's slow progress. How-

ever, in the long history of the Jewish people, two hundred years is but a moment, and we can instead be encouraged by this commemoration to continue to dream and try to live the freedoms dreamed of in 1790. God is timeless, and, as I absorb the spirit of this commemoration, I think of the distance we have traveled in His timelessness and the solace that Touro Synagogue has meant for many, Jew and Gentile.

The weary ones, the sad, the suffering
 All found their comfort in this Holy Place
 And children's gladness and men's gratitude
 Took voice and mingled in the chant of praise.

Freedom is built into our national conscience. It is symbolized in the Declaration of Independence, legalized in the First Amendment, and so typical of what we profess as our way of life that nothing better describes our nation than to call it "the land of liberty." Yet liberty is ambiguous. Rich in connotation, it can mean almost anything a person wants it to mean. On the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor is the inscription written by the Jewish poetess, Emma Lazarus:

Give me your tired, your poor
 Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free
 The wretched refuse of your teeming shore
 Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me
 I light my lamp beside the golden door.

In the history subsequent to the event that brings us together today, there is a paradox between the rhetoric and reality of the United States socio-political system. Emma Lazarus's words express the rhetoric. In the year 1974 there are in America too many people who still do not enjoy the basic freedoms that our constitution assures us we have a right to, and, while you and I do enjoy the freedom of our religious beliefs, we still recognize the prejudice that is at times attached to Catholic or Jew. It is well that we remember this, because it helps us to be more understanding of the deprivation another suffers. Our religion is a precious right to us, a right we exercise as God intended only when we couple it with good towards our fellow man.

Reinhold Niebuhr has sharply reminded us that "too often we ask that religion not only ease our fears, but that it relieve us of social responsibility. We have been known to use (rather mis-use) spirituality as an escape from reality; we link it with God and leave it at that. It then serves as an escape from moral decisions in the social realm."

Many religious people, and you and I claim that adjective, look upon the spiritual as the opposite of the material, when in truth they

are inseparable polarities (words of Sidney Harris). There is no break between the two; both must be held in a creative tension at the same time. This is the way the Old Testament enjoined piety and the prophets rallied against social injustice. In the words of Herschel,

The fundamental experience of the prophets is a fellowship with the feeling of God, a sympathy with the divine pathos, a communion with the divine consciousness which comes about through the prophet's reflections of, or participation in, the divine pathos. . . . The prophet is a man who is able to hold God and man in one thought.

And this harmony of understanding, this sympathy with God's pathos means specifically that what I do to man I do to God. When I hurt a human being, I injure God.

The Book of Prophets is a powerful corrective to the false understanding of spiritual life that prevails among many Americans today, both Jewish and Christian. In a recent television broadcast after Herschel's death Carl Stern recalled that at the Berrigan trial jurors one after another said to the judge that they thought it wrong for ministers to involve themselves in politics, for their job is to minister to spiritual needs. Herschel quickly responded that, if the prophets were alive today, those jurors would surely send them to jail. "And frankly," he added with a touch of humor, "I would say that God seems to be a non-religious person, for He always mixes in politics and social issues."

Man is uniquely a creature who cannot realize his spiritual nature unless and until he translates it into his social nature. There is no way to be genuinely spiritual except through one's intentions and acts toward others, no way to "love God" without loving each of His children. Our religious freedom is a privilege that bears within it much responsibility for our fellow man. To speak of freedom for ourselves is to allow immediately that same freedom in others. The religious freedom which is reinforced in today's commemorative event is a reminder that even in our lifetime too many have paid a price for that right.

Two events in our century that touch very deeply within each of us are capsuled in the words "Holocaust" and "Homeland." In the memory and the reality of both, I identify very closely with you. That identification unites us. For many reasons the wish for freedom among my people and yours has resulted in the indignities of man's inhumanity towards man. The experiences of your people in middle Europe

and mine in Northern Ireland have driven us to the sharing of this moment in history.

In America we are spared such experiences, but this freedom should make us aware of others who people this earth and who suffer because of their attempts to exercise their inherent rights. I would hope that these thoughts today, which for the most part concern themselves with religious freedom, would enable each of us to broaden and strengthen our understanding of all basic freedoms. With every generation of Americans there has been the awareness that the right to a good education, decent housing, a fair livelihood, and an equal chance to better one's lot in life is the right of all of us — the color of our skin, our ethnic background, our sex, notwithstanding. Indeed, it is painfully recognized by compassionate men that, as long as these rights are lacking anywhere in the world, peace remains insecure, and we have little right to happiness which we deny to others. This conviction spurs the great crusade of our generation — the drive within good people to assure the basic human rights of men and women everywhere.

It is for us to strengthen our conviction in the belief in President Washington's words, followed later by Thomas Jefferson in his correspondence to the congregation in New York. Both of these men assured the Jewish people that, no matter what had been their experience in other countries, America was different. Jefferson was especially incisive in saying,

Your sect, by its sufferings, has furnished a remarkable proof of the spirit of all religious intolerance inherent in every sect, disclaimed by all while feeble and practiced by all when in power. The spirit of religious intolerance is inherent in every sect. Such intolerance is disclaimed by all when feeble and practiced by all when in power. American laws, he promised, were designed as the only antidote to this vice.

In another communication, this time to the synagogue in Savannah, Jefferson rejoiced over the presence of Jews in this country because they could assure religious diversity which, in his judgment, was the best protector of liberty.

Madison also echoed this maxim that a multiplicity of religious bodies created the demand for independence and then became the best security for religious liberty in any society.

Then what unites us? Our desire for peace unites us. It is a value sought by the Jewish people — a value sought by all people. Peace,

to make deserts bloom again. Peace, to permit the young to live without fear. Peace, to turn the energies of man and the resources of a nation to building life anew for all men. We seek together, Christian and Jew, the values of righteousness and justice and peace and brotherhood. Within our hearts we pledge to God and to one another that we shall give no sanction to bigotry and no assistance to persecution based on race, religion, color or sex.

According to Jewish tradition the ancient Hebrews, on their way to Palestine after generations of slavery in Egypt, cut cedar trees in order to obtain the lumber they needed to build a sanctuary in the wilderness. Where did they find full grown trees in the desert? You know the answer. It is this. When Jacob traversed the wilderness on his way to Egypt many generations before, he had planted little saplings, so that his descendants on their return to their own land would find full grown trees with which to build the Sanctuary.

This is the enduring task of all of us — continuously to plant the seeds for the Sanctuary of the spirit of freedom that Moses Seixas and George Washington articulated here in Touro Synagogue in 1790. It is the heritage we received; it must be the lived expression of our lives; it is the legacy that we, Jew and Gentile, must give to others.

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LOCAL JEWISH HISTORY—THE RHODE ISLAND EXPERIENCE

by SEEBERT J. GOLDOWSKY, M.D.

I have been asked to describe the activities of the Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association. While local and regional history has been an active concern of interested groups since the earliest days of the Republic, local ethnic history has had a small constituency. Pursuit of local Jewish history has always been an incidental interest of the American Jewish Historical Society and its members. But until recent years there has been no organized effort to develop it as a finite discipline. Some Jews have felt that there was no place for this seemingly parochial type of activity, while others were in fact openly hostile. Encouragement in Rhode Island, however, was forthcoming from the local professional historians such as Clifford P. Monahan, formerly Director of the Rhode Island Historical Society, and Albert T. Klyberg, the present Director. They have supported the concept enthusiastically, feeling that local ethnic historical groups, such as the Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association, could develop significant aspects of local history. Thus a dimension and depth could be added to the total picture of local history which the resources of the state historical society did not permit it to explore.

The Association was chartered on September 11, 1951 in order "To procure, collect and preserve books, pamphlets, letters, manuscripts, prints, photographs, paintings and any other historical material relating to the history of the Jews of Rhode Island; to encourage and promote the study of such history by lectures and otherwise; and to publish and diffuse information as to such history." Of the seven original incorporators three still survive. One, Beryl Segal, a Yiddish and Hebrew scholar, is still an active member of our executive committee and a regular contributor to our publication. Another, Rabbi William G. Braude, an Hebraic scholar known to many of you, is an honorary member of the governing board.

The three basic functions specified in the articles of incorporation are collecting, study, and publication. Our current goals are in full harmony with the original objectives.

The founding father was the late David C. Adelman, who conceived and agitated for the establishment of the organization. To him must

Presented at the conference on *New Approaches to American Jewish Local History*, sponsored by the Academic Council of the American Jewish Historical Society in cooperation with the Jewish Studies Program of Ohio State University, the Ohio Historical Society, and the Columbus Jewish Federation, at Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, October 13-14, 1974.

go the lion's share of credit for his insight in perceiving the importance of local ethnic history and for bringing to realization the formation of a group for that purpose. There is little doubt that this organization, although still only twenty-three years old, was the first in the country devoted to the scientific study of local Jewish history, and was possibly the first seriously to pursue local ethnic history of any category. The idea is now spreading — there are a dozen or so active local Jewish history groups in the United States — and two colleges in our own area, Rhode Island College and Providence College, are actively encouraging other ethnic groups to follow the same path. There are organizations in Rhode Island sponsored by the Italians, the Portuguese, the Irish, and the French Canadians, among others, all important ethnic enclaves in the population of southeastern New England.

David C. Adelman was an astute and prominent attorney and a talented amateur historian. He was incisive, scholarly, and articulate. He wrote well and recorded the results of his researches in a lucid, graceful prose, sometimes acerbic, but more often softened by touches of irony or humor.

The first meeting of the incorporators was held on November 20, 1951 in the historic John Brown House in Providence, the headquarters of the Rhode Island Historical Society. The original seven incorporators became the first officers and Executive Committee and David C. Adelman the first president. An arrangement was made with the Rhode Island Historical Society to use its quarters as a meeting place and mailing address. The first formal meeting, at which David C. Adelman presided, was held at the Historical Society quarters on February 12, 1953. The timing was felicitous, although not entirely without forethought, since it enabled the Association to play a significant role in the celebration in 1954 of a dual anniversary, the centennial of the first Jewish congregation in Providence and the Tercentenary of the arrival of Jews in what was destined to become the United States. Four years after their arrival in North America a small group had in 1658 found their way to Newport, Rhode Island.

Adelman, in his opening remarks, described the genesis of his interest in Rhode Island Jewish history:

“This occasion is for me the fruition of a seed casually planted in my youth when I began to collect books. Eager but inexperienced, I had no goal and proceeded like a grasshopper. Trial and error proved to be painful financially and compelled me to concentrate. I chose to collect Rhode Island Americana and at first, subconsciously, but later

deliberately, searched for Jewish historical items. This search extended over many years and disclosed that the history of the Jews of Newport had been minutely examined by many Jewish historians who contributed to the publications of the American Jewish Historical Society. Errors had been made and were being perpetuated by repetition, such as the exaggeration of the Jewish population of Colonial Newport, the statement that Abraham Campanall had been made a freeman, and the Jew, James Lucena, had been made a citizen while Aaron Lopez had been denied naturalization a year later. The incontrovertible facts show that the Jewish population of Colonial Newport never exceeded, if it ever reached two hundred, that Abraham Campanall was not made a freeman but was given a license to conduct a tavern and that James Lucena represented himself as a Portuguese and took the oath 'upon the true faith of a Christian'."

This is a fair example of his vigorous prose, his legal orientation, and his frequent recourse to court records and public documents. He soon came to realize that the great Jewish migrations of the nineteenth century had been largely ignored in relation to Rhode Island history. Three years earlier, at the suggestion of Rabbi Braude, he had undertaken the writing of a history of the Congregation of the Sons of Israel and David in anticipation of its 100th anniversary. He was frustrated by the difficulty of locating documents and in fact by the loss of twenty-five years of records in a fire. This considerable hiatus led of necessity to a search of public records. "While such a search is soul satisfying", he wrote, "it imposes a great tax upon the time and resources of the individual. . . . I resolved that the time had come to repair the damage of the past and to lay a solid foundation for the future." Discussions with a small group of knowledgeable and sympathetic persons led to the incorporation of the Association. He kept a weather eye on the accuracy of accounts of the Newport Era and continued to write brief essays about that period, but his major effort was now directed to research on the Providence period which began about 1838. In this connection he was to make fundamental and substantial contributions.

The first issue of the *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, which he edited, appeared in, or at least was dated June 1954, midway in the Tercentenary year. This maiden effort consisted of 76 pages on slick paper and displayed the excellence of format, careful editing, and professional ambience which were to be its hallmarks through the years. Its contents consisted of the proceedings and remarks of the first formal meeting, a history of Jews in the court records of Provi-

dence from 1739 to 1860, naturalization lists from the United States Court for Rhode Island to 1906 and from the State Court to 1905, Jewish names from the Providence and Pawtucket directories of 1878, and a list of names of subscribers to a mass meeting held in 1877. There was a brief financial report and a list of the members. The list contained the names of 44 individuals, two of whom had recently deceased, for a net of 42.

The second issue, published in December 1954, was the Tercentenary issue and contained the program of the Tercentenary observance at Touro Synagogue in Newport on August 22, which featured the reading of the famed George Washington letter ("to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance"); the program on September 14 at Roger Williams Spring (recently as of this writing designated a National Park site); and the Rhode Island State program that same evening held in the State Veterans Auditorium. It also contained among a number of historical papers an important essay titled "Strangers" by David C. Adelman, concerned with the civil rights of Jews in the Colony of Rhode Island; another by Beryl Segal and Adelman on an early successful Jewish merchant of Providence after 1850; and the early records in Yiddish of the Hebrew Free Loan Association of Providence, which appeared in a more recent issue in English translation.

The issues initially appeared on a fairly regular semi-annual basis; but as illness supervened, the schedule lagged, although at least one issue per year was published through 1960. In addition to a number of papers on various subjects, individuals, and organizations by Adelman and other authors, there were lists of Jewish family names from the directories of Providence and other cities and towns, a listing of chartered organizations relating to Jews covering a period of one hundred years, and names from Jewish cemeteries. The lists of the Jewish families were generally extracted at five year intervals from 1855 through 1900. These exercises were in general consonant with Adelman's express objective of making the publication not only a vehicle for essays on historical subjects, but more important a repository of basic data on the Jewish community of Rhode Island. It has continued to feature both types of contributions.

After the issue of 1960 Adelman, who had been suffering from a lingering illness, was totally disabled, and the weakness of the organizational structure became evident. Despite his persistent efforts to build a viable organization, it remained essentially a one-man operation.

Although he had many friends and acquaintances, he found it difficult to delegate authority. When he was no longer able to carry on, there was no momentum and no self-generating initiative to fill the vacuum. A calendar year went by without the appearance of an issue of our publication. A national library serials register listed the publication as suspended. When we learned of this we realized that action was urgent. I was at that time a member of the Executive Committee. Another member of this Committee, Mr. Louis I. Sweet, and I decided that we would take the initiative in resuscitating the organization before disaster became inevitable. We met with Adelman several times to canvas the situation and came to realize that we must develop an independent posture if we were to survive. I sensed that in our organization the *sine qua non* was publication. I was a practicing general surgeon; Sweet was a business man.

I had a year or two earlier become editor of the *Rhode Island Medical Journal*. My writing experience was limited, my publications consisting of a number of scientific medical papers, essays on Rhode Island medical history, and some contributions to the *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*. I volunteered to attempt to revive the publication and keep it viable, if Sweet and others would rebuild the association on a sound and business-like basis. This division of labor, the dichotomy of publication and management, has been maintained and strengthened. Our goal, which we believe has now been attained, has been to build a self-sustaining organization, the fate of which does not depend upon the patency of one set of coronary arteries. Beryl Segal, then vice president, became acting president, and upon the death of Adelman in 1967 succeeded to the presidency.

By May 1962 the revived organization was able to release its first issue of the *Notes* containing edited versions of two of Adelman's important contributions not previously published in formal journals. Since then the Association has not failed to publish at least one issue each year. The following issue, appearing in 1963, contained substantial new contributions. We had recruited the voluntary assistance as adviser of Professor William G. McLoughlin, an able member of the faculty at Brown University, specializing in American religious history. Through his counsel the Association engaged its first research scholar, Miss Freda Egnal, who was then a graduate student in American history at the University. This move had the dual purpose of supporting research, one leg of the tripodal objectives of the Association, and ultimately of providing copy for its publication, a second of its three basic goals. She produced several papers over the ensuing

years, but her exhaustive *magnum opus* was "An Annotated Critical Bibliography of Materials Relating to the History of the Jews in Rhode Island Located in Rhode Island Depositories (1678-1966)." This and several satellite papers constitute, I believe, our most significant contribution to Rhode Island Jewish history in particular and a very professional and important contribution to American Jewish history.

Since then the Association has had on a scholarship retainer almost continuously one or another graduate student, and has thus been able both to support research and reap as a by-product a series of valuable papers for publication. Doctor Sidney Goldstein, Professor of Sociology at Brown, is currently a member of our Board and has guided several of our scholars in the preparation of papers with a demographic orientation, a specialty in which he has gained considerable eminence. While on the subject of academic resources, I should mention that Doctor Marvin Pitterman, Professor of Finance at the University of Rhode Island, is also a member of the Executive Committee and a contributor to the *Notes*. A conscious effort has been made to provide a well-rounded variety of papers with sociological, historiographic, and demographic orientation.

While officially the *Notes* are published at random, the primary objective of publishing at least one issue each year has been regularly attained. Twenty-three numbers have been published to date, and the twenty-fourth is now in preparation. We are confident that, considering the size of the issues varying in recent years from 140 to 170 pages, our subscribers and interested scholars have been provided with a substantial feast.

In the early years Adelman was able to obtain modest subsidies from the State Legislature and the General Jewish Committee of Providence (now the Jewish Federation of Rhode Island). The State subvention was discontinued several years ago. During the past fifteen years the Federation has given financial support for one project, publication of the Egnal bibliography in 1966, which issue ran to 215 pages. The organization has made no other requests and has otherwise been self-supporting.

For several years the Association has rented modest quarters in an old Victorian house, which had been converted to doctors' offices, and has continued to hold its annual meetings at the Rhode Island Historical Society quarters. As a result of successful membership campaigns the membership has reached a current high point of 322. Free copies of the publication go to 63 libraries and organizations having either

Rhode Island or Jewish orientation. An additional nineteen copies go as subscriptions to libraries around the world. The *Notes* travel east as far as Jerusalem and west as far as Sydney, Australia. The Executive Committee has made a commitment that publication will never be permitted to lapse again.

The incumbent president, Erwin Strasmich, is the fourth. The Executive Committee is comprised of competent individuals, among them lawyers, professors, business men, housewives, and a physician. Two rabbis are honorary members, both having previously served actively. The Association has no full-time staff, but retains a part-time professional librarian and supports a part-time research fellow, as already described.

Activities for members are limited. There is only one meeting annually, a combination business meeting and historical exercise. It is open to the public. The feature is the Annual David Charak Adelman Lecture, delivered by a prominent scholar in American Jewish history or other relevant subjects and supported by an honorarium. We have not as yet been able because of our limited staff to circulate a formal newsletter, but an informational letter is sent out from time to time.

The Association's growing reputation in the community has produced a dividend of considerable importance. A new and spacious Jewish Community Center of Rhode Island was dedicated in June of 1971. An attached annex, to be the headquarters of the Jewish Federation of Rhode Island, is currently rapidly nearing completion. A suite of rooms has been set aside in this new building to be the headquarters of the Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association. We expect to move into these new modern air-conditioned quarters this fall or winter.

Thus, despite many exigencies, we believe that the vision perceived by David Adelman more than two decades ago is now a reality — a healthy organization, a successful publication, and spanking new quarters.

THE TWENTIETH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
RHODE ISLAND JEWISH HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association was held in the Library of the Rhode Island Historical Society, 121 Hope Street, Providence on Sunday afternoon, May 19, 1974. Following the call to order of the meeting at 2:40 P.M. by the President, Erwin E. Strasmich, greetings were extended by Mr. Albert Klyberg, Director of the Historical Society. Mrs. Seebert J. Goldowsky, Secretary, read the Annual Report. The Treasurer, Mrs. Louis I. Sweet, reported a balance of \$1,548.70 in the treasury. Mr. Louis I. Sweet, Finance Chairman, projected a balanced budget for the ensuing year of \$4,780.00.

Mr. Melvin L. Zurier, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, presented the following slate of officers for re-election: Erwin E. Strasmich, President; Benton L. Rosen, Vice President; Mrs. Seebert J. Goldowsky, Secretary; and Mrs. Louis I. Sweet, Treasurer. With no counter-nominations from the floor, Mr. Zurier made the motion that the secretary cast one ballot for the entire slate, and it was so voted.

Dr. Seebert J. Goldowsky, Editor of the *Notes*, reported briefly on the contents of the next issue, Volume 6, Number 4.

Mr. Strasmich introduced Mr. Bernard Wax, Director of the American Jewish Historical Society, who delivered the Fourth Annual David Charak Adelman Lecture. In his address titled "Rhode Island Material in the American Jewish Historical Society", Mr. Wax presented anecdotes and accounts relating to the early history of the Jews in Rhode Island gleaned from material in their Library.

The meeting was adjourned at 4:10 P.M. Hostesses for the coffee hour which followed were Mrs. Benton H. Rosen, Mrs. Bernard Segal, Mrs. Erwin E. Strasmich, and Mrs. Melvin L. Zurier.

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 these items:

1. *The Future of the Jewish Community in America*. Edited by David Sidorsky. Published in collaboration with the Institute of Human Relations Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, New York, 1973. Essays prepared for a task force on The Future of the Jewish Community in America of The American Jewish Committee.

Chapter 4, titled "American Jewry: A Demographic Analysis," was written by Prof. Sidney Goldstein, Professor of Sociology at Brown University. The chapter (pp. 65-126) has sections on Population Growth, Mortality, Fertility, Marriage and the Family, Intermarriage, Population Distribution, Urban-Rural Residence, Suburbanization, Migration, Generational Change, Age Composition, Occupation, Income, and Overview of Future Demographic Trends.

There are several allusions to population studies of the Providence Jewish community. The citations of Goldstein references are useful.

2. *Ezra Stiles and Rabbi Karigal*. By Rabbi Arthur A. Chiel. *Yale Alumni Magazine* 37: 16-19, March (No. 6) 1974. Rabbi Chiel explores further Ezra Stiles' interest in Hebrew, his dialogues with Karigal (Carigal: see pp. 99-113, this issue of the *Notes*), his later correspondence with him, and his institution of the study of Hebrew at Yale. There are excerpts from the reminiscences of a 1788 Yale graduate concerning his doubtful efforts to conform to this Stiles innovation.

The paper is illustrated by pictures of Carigal, the interior of Touro Synagogue, and a portion of a letter written in Hebrew by Stiles to Carigal.

3. *Ideas Magazine*. A journal of contemporary Jewish Thought. Vol. 4, No. 2, 1974. Pub. by Ideas, Long Island City, New York. It contains papers by Thomas W. Pearlman of Providence ("An Appeal for Fairness," pp. 26-28) and Rabbi Baruch Korff of Rehoboth, Massachusetts ("What is Freedom of the Press," pp. 29-31). Published in behalf of the National Citizen's Committee for the Presidency, prior to former President Richard M. Nixon's resignation.
4. *The Grand Families of America 1776-1976*. By Avery E. Kolb, Gateway Press, Inc., Baltimore 1974. Mentions the Sephardic Jewish families in Rhode Island who used the Welsh names Lewis and Phillips (p. 31). Mentions Rhode Island family names of unusual occurrence in original families, mainly non-Jewish (p. 85).
5. *Emma Faegeson Adelman, An Appreciation*. By One Who Knew Her and Loved Her (David C. Adelman). Eight page memoir with paper covers. Contains a halftone portrait.
6. *American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 63, No. 2, December 1973. Devoted to the centennial of Reform Judaism in America.
Contains a Bibliography on Reform Judaism by Malcolm H. Stern. Under "Congregational Histories" are the following:
Congregation Sons of Israel and David (Providence, R. I.). *Journal of the Ninetieth Anniversary. 1844-1934*. 1934. *Temple Beth El Congregation. Dedication of Temple Beth El Congregation Sons of Israel and David*. 1954.
7. *American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 63, No. 4, June 1974. Devoted to *Contemporary Jewish Civilization on the American Campus: Research and Teaching*.

"Departments of Religious Studies and Contemporary Jewish Studies" by Jacob Neusner, Professor of Religious Studies at Brown University. Discusses the place of contemporary Jewish studies in departments of Religious Studies. (pp. 356-360).

Prof. Sidney Goldstein of Brown University is listed as a corresponding member of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of Hebrew University of Jerusalem for the academic year 1973-1974 on the subject *Jewish Demography and Statistics*. p. 321.

8. *Who's Who in World Jewry*. Edited by I. J. Carmin Karpman, Chief Editor. Pub. by Who's Who in World Jewry, Incorporated, and Pitman Publishing Corporation, Inc., New York, London, Toronto, Melbourne, Johannesburg, Tel Aviv, 1972.

This is the third edition, succeeding those of 1955 and 1965. Collation of material began in 1968. The work contains some 10,000 names of a reported world population of Jews in 1972 of 14 million. "The bulk of the subjects come from the two major free centers of Jewish life today: Israel and the United States. There are also persons included from almost every country where Jews live, with two notable exceptions: the Soviet Union (estimated 3 million Jews) and the Arab countries".

A listing of Rhode Island or Rhode Island-related personages (possibly with some oversights) reveals a number of significant omissions. The names were selected by "contacting people and organizations to recommend nominees". Omissions are explained as follows: "Many people who should have been included have not been, simply because in many cases we received no data from them". This reviewer would suggest that the method of selecting names may also be inherently faulty. Rhode Island or Rhode Island-related names:

Adler, Walter, attorney

Bakst, Dr. Henry (of Boston, b. in Providence), physician, educator
[Deceased]

Bohnen, Eli Aaron, rabbi

Braude, William G., rabbi

Chaset, Dr. Nathan, urological surgeon

Dorenbaum, Jennie Shaine, business executive

Efron, Benjamin (formerly of Providence), Hebrew educator

Feinberg, Dr. Banice, pediatrician

Feldman, Walter S., artist, educator

Finkle, Joseph M., advertising executive

Gershman, Dr. Isadore, pediatrician

Goldberger, Edward (of New York, b. in Providence), business executive

Goldman, Israel (of Baltimore, formerly of Providence), rabbi

Goldowsky, Dr. Seebert Jay, surgeon

Hassenfeld, Merrill L., business executive

Laufer, Dr. Maurice, psychiatrist

Licht, Frank, jurist [governorship not mentioned]

Mayer, Kurt Bernd (of Bern, Switzerland, formerly of Providence),
sociologist, educator

White, Allen Jordan, stockbroker (formerly of Rhode Island)

NECROLOGY

HENRY COLSON, born in Boston, Massachusetts, September 17, 1907, the son of Morris and Julia (Baker) Cohen. A graduate of Northeastern University in 1930, he was also awarded a degree in naval architecture by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1941.

Treasurer of the Leavitt-Colson Company, an electrical supply company in Providence, he was a member of Temple Beth-El, of Providence, Roosevelt Lodge F & AM, the Jewish Home for the Aged of Rhode Island, and the Ledgemont Country Club in Seekonk, Massachusetts of which he had formerly been a director.

Died in Providence, Rhode Island, November 25, 1974.

MAX L. GRANT, born in Providence, Rhode Island, April 28, 1889, was the son of the late Louis M. and Mary D. Grant. A well known industrialist and philanthropist, he was prominent in the founding of The Miriam Hospital of Providence. He graduated from Classical High School and attended Brown University. Upon graduation from high school he became interested in the activities of the Crompton Company and soon was associated with its booming production of velvet and related materials.

In later years he invented the fare collection meter used by transit companies around the world and eventually assumed control of the Grant Money Meters Company, which became universally known. He had extensive real estate holdings throughout the country. While he was a member of virtually every Jewish organization in the state, his philanthropic activities also cut across religious and ethnic lines. In 1972 Grant was awarded the Joseph Dressler Memorial Award as Jewish Man of the Year. In that same year he announced gifts of \$2.5 million to several organizations including the Jewish Federation of Rhode Island, the Catholic Charities, and the United Way of Southeastern New England. He was president of a variety of businesses, including Grant Supply Co., Central Real Estate Corporation, and Elastic Knitted Wire Co. For twenty years he was president of The Miriam Hospital, was the first president of the Jewish Community Center and, national vice president of the Joint Defense Appeal, and was a former director of the Providence Community Fund,

the Legal Aid Society, the Council of Social Agencies, Rhode Island Blue Cross and the Osteopathic Hospital, which is on the site of Grant's former Cranston home, which he had donated to the hospital. He was a director of the Jewish Family and Children's Service, the Jewish Home for the Aged of Rhode Island, B'nai B'rith, and the Ledgemont Country Club. He was an early supporter of the State of Israel and helped organize the Zionist movement in Rhode Island. He was active in the affairs of Temple Beth-El (Congregation of the Sons of Israel and David), of which he had long been a member.

Died in Providence, Rhode Island, October 11, 1974.

JESSIE (SHORE) KRAMER, widow of Dr. Louis I. Kramer, daughter of Fred and Anna Shore, was a lifelong resident of Providence, Rhode Island.

She was a member of Temple Beth-El, a past president of the Brandeis University National Women's Committee, a fellow of Brandeis University, and a life member of The Miriam Hospital corporation.

Died in Providence, Rhode Island, March 9, 1974.

AGNES LEVITT, wife of Jack Levitt, was the daughter of the late Thomas and Ann (Brooks) Parkinson. She was born in Pawtucket, Rhode Island and for the last twenty-five years had been a resident of Warwick, Rhode Island.

Died April 20, 1974.

LOUIS SANDLER, born in Providence, R. I., August 12, 1913, the son of Max and Celia (Stoloff) Sandler. He was the founder and operator of Louis' Kosher Catering Service on North Main Street in Providence for twenty-eight years. He had lived in Providence for over fifty years. He was a member of Temple Emanu-El and its Men's Club, the Touro Fraternal Association, B'nai B'rith organization, Jewish War Veterans, Providence Hebrew Day School, Overseas Lodge No. 40, F & AM, and the Palestine Temple of Shriners.

Died in Providence, Rhode Island, November 27, 1973.

ERRATUM

Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes 6:479, (No. 3) Nov. 1973.
NECROLOGY, MANUEL HORWITZ, "Died in Providence, October
1, 1973" should read, "Died in Providence, September 30, 1973."

INDEX TO VOLUME VI

by MRS. SEEBERT J. GOLDOWSKY

- | | | |
|-------|----------------|-------------|
| No. 1 | November, 1971 | pp. 1-140 |
| No. 2 | November, 1972 | pp. 141-308 |
| No. 3 | November, 1973 | pp. 309-484 |
| No. 4 | November, 1974 | pp. 485-649 |
-
- Abbott, Dorothy M. 2, 142, 310, 486
 Abbott, Norris G., Jr. 578, 580, 586n
 "Abraham Touro Fund" 236-244, 538
 Abrams, Saul 157, 166, 168
 Abrich, Abraham 136
 Abrich, John 136
 Adelman, David C. 81, 203, 205n. 387, 464, 538-540, 540-541, 622-628, 629, 630
 Adelman, Eleanor Goldowsky (Mrs. Maurice) 92
 Adelman, Emma Faegeson (Mrs. David C.) 630
 Adelman, Maurice, M.D. 83, 93, 95, 519, 521-522, 531n
 Adler, Walter 631
 Ahavath Shalom, Congregation 454f
 Albert, Dr. Heinrich 120-123
 Aldrich, Senator Nelson W. 498
 Alfandari, Aaron 587
 Allocations Committee, General Jewish Committee 7, 31-32
 American Association of Jewish Education 26, 28
 American Jewish Committee, The 217
 Ann & Hope 194, 195, 199-202, 281-282
 Ann & Hope Factory Outlet 201-202
 Ann & Hope Textile Mill 191, 193-195, 201, 281
 Anniversary Report, Twenty-fifth, General Jewish Committee 33-35
 Annual Meetings, Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association (1971) 138, (1972) 303, (1973) 476-477, (1974) 629
 Applebaum, Joseph 385-386, 389n
 Arbeiter Ring 69
 Armstrong, James 368
 Aronson, Stanley M., M.D. 477
 Automatic Gold Chain Company 96
 Azulai, David 591, 600n, 601n
- Babin, Nehama Ella, 390
 Baby Health Clinic, Jewish Community Center 158
 Bachrach, Rabbi Hayim David 454
 Baghdadi, Mania Kleinburd, 56
 Bank of Rhode Island 227, 233
 Baran, Abram 205-206, 208n
 Barbosa, Dimas 366, 369, 372, 380, 384n
- Bardach, Peter 177, 188n, 190n, 516
 Bar David, Moses 600n
 Barnard, Harry 475
 Baugh, Mrs. Samuel 525
 Baynard, Samuel Harrison, Jr. 578, 586n
 Beach Pond Camp, Jewish Community Center 162, 167
 Bearman, Jennie 145
 Bearman, Lillian 145
 Beccman, Governor R. Livingston 523
 Begleiter, Ralph J. 515-516, 528, 531n
 Belkin, Samuel 610-613
 Benefit Street Building, Jewish Community Center 146-176, 188n
 Beranbaum, Morris 198
 Berger, Ilie, D.M.D. 16, 23, 24
 Berger, Jacob 205, 208n
 Berger, Rose (Mrs. Samuel) 387, 389n
 Berman, Abe, & Sons 388, 389n
 Berman, Annie 206, 208n
 Bernhardt, Bertram L. 180, 182, 184, 189n
 Bernhardt, Helene Donig (Mrs. Bertram L.) 519, 531n
 Bernheimer, Charles S. 29, 35n, 51
 Bernstein, John L. 213
 Bernstein, Perry, M.D. 155
 Bibliographical Notes; references to Rhode Island Jews 137, 300-301; 475, 630-631
 Bicknell, Theodore Williams 81
 Bigelow, Bruce 313
 Billingkopf, Maurice 154
 Blackstone Distributing Company, 199, 200-202
 Blaustein, Rabbi David 5
 Blumental, Doctor J. N. 147
 B'nai B'rith 17, 50
 B'nai B'rith, Independent Order of, Haggai Lodge 50
 Bohnen, Rabbi Eli A. 2, 142, 310, 465, 486, 631
 Bolhouse, Gladys E. 235, 586n
 Bolotow, Louis 205, 208n
 Borod, Robert 179
 Boslowitz, Bertha 511, 531n
 Boslowitz, Bessie 511, 531n
 Bosquillo, Rabbi 600n
Boston Israelite, The 209
 Botchkass, Mr. 611

- Botvin, Barney 385, 389n
 Boyman, Alter 7, 10, 16, 23, 24
 Boy Scouts 155, 169
 Bradner, Dr. Lester 50, 78-79
 Braude, Rabbi William G. 2, 142, 310, 486, 524, 528, 531n, 610-613, 622, 624, 631
Break In, The 532-541
 Brier, Benjamin 10
 Briscoe, Robert 22
 Brody, Solomon 388, 389n
 Bromson, Sol S. 147
 Brown, Bertram M., Mr. and Mrs. 145
 Brown, Charles 365, 366, 367, 377, 378, 514
 Brown, Charles C. 378
 Brown Realty Inc. 366
 Brown, Rebecca 145
 Brown, Sarah (Sally), (Mrs. Charles) 366
 Brown University 233, 610-613
 Christian Association 155
 B. R. Realty Corp. 365
 Budgeting Conference, Large City 32-33
 Budgeting, General Jewish Committee 7, 31-33
 Burbank, Mortimer L. 506, 510, 511, 514, 520, 531n
 Bureau of Jewish Education 28-29, 30, 182
 Burke, Judge John C. 532-541
 Burlingame, Lillian 384n
 Byrnes, Garrett D. 365, 374
- Campaign, Building, Chairmen, Jewish Community Center 189n-190n
 Campaign, Jewish Community Center, 1939, 161, 162
 Campanall, Abraham 624
 Campbell, Bertha ("Babe") Carol Samuels Sinclair 491, 521, 525
 Camp Centerland 167, 178
 Camp Fire Girls 155
 Capaldi, Gilda 369, 374, 384n
 Carigal, Raphael Haim Isaac (also Carrigal and Karigal) front cover No. 1, 475, 587-603, 630
 Carp, Dr. Bernard 178-185, 186n, 189n
 Carrigal, Rabbi Hayim (also Raphael Haijm Karigal and Hayim Carigal) front cover No. 1, 475, 587-603, 630
 Cemetery, Jewish, of Newport 228, 245-248
 Central Information Bureau for Jewish War Sufferers in the Far East 213
 Central Information Bureau for Jewish War Sufferers in Siberia and the Urals 214
 Century Club 180, 181
 Chafee, John H. 525
- Channing, George G. 235n
 Chapel, Jewish, at Rhode Island Medical Center 465
 (see Jewish Chapel, Rhode Island Medical Center)
 Charter, General Jewish Committee 11-15
 Chase Clothes, Inc. 199
 Chase, Helen (Mrs. Martin) 201, 202
 Chase, Irwin 195, 196, 199-202, 282
 Chase, Jill Forman 199
 Chase, Martin 191-202, 281-282, 305
 Chase, Morris 191
 Chase, Samuel 196, 200-202, 282
 Chaset, Nathan, M.D. 631
 Chiel, Rabbi Arthur A. 137, 138, 300, 475, 599n, 630
 Children's Theatre, Jewish Community Center 167
 Chyet, Stanley F. 300, 313, 602n, 603n
 Circumcision invitation, 1906, 137
 Circumcisions, 1906, 136
City, A Modern 51, 76-80
 Civil Rights, Jewish Community Center 180
Clapboard, The 137
 Clarke, Jeremiah 579
 Clarke, Peleg 579
 Cohen, Caroline Myers (Mrs. Edward) 220-222, 224n, 225n
 Cohen, Earle F., M.D. 524, 531n
 Cohen, Esther 386, 389n
 Cohen, Jacob I. 149, 154-158, 160, 165, 166, 167, 168, 186n
 Cohen, Jacob N. 386, 389n
 Cohen, Leo, M.D. 524
 Cohen, Michael R. 147
 Cohen, Samuel 148
 Cohn, Dorothy 465
 Committee on Foreign Operations 211
"Community" and the Providence Jew in the Early 20th Century 56-75
 Community Fund, Providence 160, 168, 177
 Community Planning Committee 22, 29-30
 Conference of Jewish Organizations 10
 Congregation Ahavath Shalom 454
 Congregation Beth Ahabah 220
 Congregation Jeshuat Israel 236, 532-541
 (see Touro Synagogue)
 Congregation of the Sons of Israel and David (Temple Beth El) 5, 57, 81, 98-99, 630
 Congregation Shearith Israel 532-541
 Congregation Sons of Israel 81
 Congregation Sons of Zion 454f

- Conyngton, Mary 79
 Cornerstone Laying, 1939, Jewish Community Center 163
 Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds 29
 Cummings, Matthew J. 6
 Cutler, Colonel Harry 7, 50-51, 99, 130-135, 147, 300
 Czech-American Patriots, World War I 117-123

 David, Fischel 532-538
 Dayton, Henry 579
 D-Day Committee 31
 Dedication, Jewish Community Center, 1971, 183
 de Fleury, Marquis (Mons. Fliory) 581, 586n
 Demography, Jewish, Rhode Island 22, 29, 49-55, 55n, 300, 630
 DeSola Pool, Rabbi David 162, 600n, 602n
 Discount Operations 191-202
Distribution of Jewish Households in Rhode Island, 1963 and 1970, 36-48, 50
 Donig, Daniel 519, 520, 526
 Dorenbaum, Jennie Shaine (Mrs. Philip) 190n, 631
 Dorenbaum, Philip, D.M.D. 155
 Downing, Antoinette Forrester 235n
 Dreyfus, Edward 367

 Eastern European Jewry, Providence 56-75
 Edelstein, Jacob E. 378, 511, 519, 520
 Education, Jewish, in Providence, Rhode Island 28
 Efron, Benjamin 631
 Egnal, Freda 626-627
 Eidelberg, Morris and Clara Whitehill 525
 Eisner, Theodore R. 520
 Elizer, Isaac 300, 314, 603n
 Elkus, Abram J. 215
 Elmgrove Avenue Building, Jewish Community Center 181, 189n
 Empire Theatre, back cover and inside back cover No. 4
 Engel, Julius 539
 Englander, Rabbi Henry 300, 614
 Engleman, Uriah C. 28, 35n
 Epstein, Max 206-207, 208n
 Errata, *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes* 137, 477, 634
 Espo, Harlan J., 184, 188n, 190n
 Etheridge, Thomas ("Timmy") 369, 380, 384n

 Fain, William, M.D. 214n
 Fay, Edward M. 502, 515, 526
 Feinberg, Banice, M.D. 155, 158, 631
 Feinberg, Saul 188n
 Feldman, Ada (Mrs. Louis) 361-362, 384n
 Feldman, Louis 362
 Feldman, Walter S. 631
 Fershtman, Max, M.D. 465
 Finberg, Joseph 152, 154, 155
 Fink brothers 388, 389n
 Finkle, Joseph M 631
 Finklestein, A. A. 148, 185n
 Fintex 191
 First Odessa Independent Association 59
 Fisher, Harry 385, 389n
 Flink, Abe V. 157
 Forstner, Walter and Wilhelm 96
 Forstner, W., Company 96
 Foss, Karl 190n
 Foster, Theodore, and Brother 92
 Fox, Charles J. 179, 188n
 Frank, Gertrude, Mildred, and Rebecca 520
 Franklin, Susan B. 235n
 Franks, Raymond 188n
 Freemasonry in Rhode Island 227, 578-586
 Friedman, Edward I. 160
 Friedman, Lee M. 588, 599n, 600n, 603n
 Funds, allocation of, General Jewish Committee 31-33

 Gainer, Mayor Joseph 516, 526, 527
 Galkin, Herman 150
 Galkin, Joseph 10, 19, 31, 167
 Galkin, Samuel 148
 Gemilath Chesed 136
 General Jewish Committee 5-35, 52, 55n, 67, 73, 167, 168, 177, 179, 182, 189n
 George Washington Letter Exercises 218-225, 614-621
 German Jewry, Providence 56-75
 Gershman, Isadore, M.D. 631
 Gertz, Samuel 385, 389n
 Gettler, Joseph 508, 513, 517
 Giblin, Thomas P. 515-516
 Ginsburg, Adolph 148
 Glantz, Max 386, 389n
 Glass, William B. 189n
 Goldberg, Esther 206, 208n
 Goldberg, Lawrence Y. 25
 Goldberg, Norman L. 465
 Goldberger, Edward 631
 Golden Agers, Jewish Community Center 181
 Goldenberg, Samuel 387, 389n
 Goldman, Rabbi Israel 631

- Goldman, James 23
- Goldowsky, Antoinette Lotary (Mrs. Bernard Manuel) 88, 93, 100
- Goldowsky, Beatrice 83, 92
- Goldowsky, Bernard Manuel 83-128, 153; Bendix Family 90; "Brown, Mr." 95, 117-123; Broadside, United Jewish Appeal, 1928, 124-128; Chapin and Hollister 92; Chapin, William P. 92, 99; Czech-American patriots, World War I 117-123; Detective Agency, The National 92, 93, back cover No. 1; Detective, Private, Reminiscences of a 102-116; Gaunt, Captain Guy 117-119, 123; "Get That Crook!" 102-116; Goldberg, Isaac 89; Goldowsky Detective Agency, The 92; Howick, Tom 95-96; Intelligence work, World War I 95, 117-123; Irwin, Will 117; Jewelers' Protective Association 92; Jewelry industry, Providence 92, 94, 96-97, 98, 99, 100; Jewish Home for the Aged of Rhode Island 99; Jewish Orphanage of Rhode Island 99; Keren Hayesed Committee, Providence 99; Knight, B. B. and R., Company 97; Langer, Rabbi Samuel 89; Loeb, William, and Company 99; Lotary, Alfred 94; Lotary, Eduard (Edward) 84, 91; Lotary, Emma Bendix 84, 89, 90-91; "Mr. Brown" 95, 117-123; National Detective Agency, The 92, 93, back cover No. 1; Parker, Patrick ("Patsy") 91-92; Pinkerton Detective Agency 89, 91, 92; *Providence Evening Bulletin*, The 102-116; *Providence Journal-Bulletin* papers 95, 102-116, 128; Rathom, John Revelstoke 95, 117-123; Samuels brothers 99, 488-531; Silverman Brothers 99; Speidel, Albert and Edwin 96; Speidel Corporation 96; Speidel, F., Company 96; Temple Beth El 98-99; United Jewish Appeal 124-128; United Jewish Appeal Broadside, 1928, 124-128; Viereck, George Sylvester 95, 120; Voska, Emmanuel V. 95, 117-123; Voska, Villa 120; Zionism 99
- Goldowsky, Elenor 83, 84
- Goldowsky, Gertrude (Bonnie), (Mrs. Seebert J.) 2, 142, 310, 486, 629, 635
- Goldowsky, Moses 87
- Goldowsky, Samuel 83, 84
- Goldowsky, Seebert J., M.D. 2, 81, 83, 102, 117, 137, 142, 300, 310, 313, 475, 486, 604, 622, 626, 631
- Goldsmith, Hyman Goodman 128-129
- Goldsmith, Lena (Mrs. Hyman G.) 129
- Goldsmith, Milton J. 129
- Goldstein, Charles 136, 137
- Goldstein, Charles, Mr. and Mrs. 137
- Goldstein, Joseph 386, 389n
- Goldstein, Jules P. 152, 154-155, 156, 166, 378
- Goldstein, Leopold 204, 208n
- Goldstein, Sidney 2, 29, 35n, 36, 52-54, 55n, 61, 74n, 142, 300, 310, 392-395, 397, 400-403, 406, 429, 449-450, 486, 627, 630, 631
- Goldstein, Sidney S., M.D. 465-474
- Goldstein, Sydney 136, 137
- Goldstein, Terry (Mrs. Sidney S.) 465
- Gordon, Leon 136
- Gordon, Samuel H. 136
- Goren, Arthur A. 74n
- Gorin, Jeremiah J. 190n
- Gould, Dr. Morton 180
- Grabel, Marvin 190n
- "Granddaddy, The, of all Discounting" 281-282
- "Grandfather of Discounting" 191-202, 281-282
- Grand Lodge of Masons 227
- Grand Lodge of Rhode Island 579
- Grant, Max L. 148, 152, 155, 158, 166, 182, 189n, 378, 380, 526, 632
- Green, Senator Theodore Francis 523, 524, 531n
- Greene, Nathan 385, 389n
- Greenstein, Mathilda 387, 389n
- Gribinsky, Leonora 145
- Grinnell, Edson F. 365
- Griswold, Harry C. 367
- Grossman, Morris 147
- Ground-breaking ceremonies, Jewish Community Center, 1969, 183
- Group Work and Leisure-Time Needs in the Jewish Community of Providence* 36, 52, 55n
- Guedalia, Reverend Moses 539
- Gunther, J. H. 148
- Gup, Rabbi Samuel M. 152, 524, 526, 610
- Gutheim, Reverend J. K. 247
- Gutstein, Morris A. 224n, 235n, 601n, 602n
- Ha-Cohen, Rabbi Samuel 589, 600n, 601n, 602n
- Hadassah Youth Aliyah 17

- Haggai Lodge, Independent Order of B'nai B'rith 50
- Hahn, Isaac 204, 208n, 254, 308, advertisements inside back cover No. 2
- Hahn, Judge J. Jerome, 99, 204, 254, 308
- Halpert, Murray, 180, 188n
- Hamburger, Jacob M. 520
- Handwerker, Louis 180, 188n, 190n
- Harrison, George 578
- Harrison, Peter 137, 475
- Hart, Abraham 227
- Hart, Isaac 587, 589
- Hart, Jacob 234
- Hart, Nathaniel 231, 234
- Hassenfeld Leadership Award 22
- Hassenfeld, Marion (Mrs. Henry J.) 21
- Hassenfeld, Merrill L. 631
- Hassenfeld, Sylvia (Mrs. Merrill L.) 21
- Hays family 220, 221, 224n, 225n, 234, 603n
- Hays, Moses Michael 221, 578, 579
- Hebrew American Club 146
- Hebrew Day School 27-28
- Hebrew Educational Alliance 146
- Hebrew Educational Institute 146-152, 157, 172, 180
- Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society 17, 211-217
- Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society 211-217
- Hebrew Sheltering House Association 211
- Hebrew Sheltering Society, The 9
- Helfner, Francine Gail 226
- Hellinger, Miriam 148
- Hellman, Sigmund J. 185, 186n
- Henry, Edward P. 465
- Henry, Reverend H. A. 247
- Herberg, Will 56, 59, 74n
- Herschel, Rabbi Abraham Joshua 614-615, 619
- Herscovitz, Esther 205, 208n
- Herzl, Theodore, letter 209
- HIAS 17, 211-217
- Higgins, Edward J. 369, 373, 378, 379, 384n, 502, 523-524, 531n
- Higgins, Governor James 515, 516
- Hilfer, Nathan, 148
- Histadruth (Israel Federation of Labor) 17
- Hoffman, Harry Adolph 327-359
- Holocaust, the European 9
- Horn, Werner 118-119
- Horvitz, Eleanor (Mrs. Abraham) 142, 145, 310, 361, 486, 488
- Horwitz, Manuel, M.D. 479, 634
- Hotel Corporation, The 365
- Howard Clothes 191
- Hurvitz, Harry 387, 389n
- Hurvitz, Ida (Mrs. Harry) 387, 389n
- Independent Order of Free Sons of Israel 50
- Industrial Statistics, Commissioner of, of the State of Rhode Island, Annual Report (1910) 80
- Isaacks, Jacob 227, 234
- Isaac Leeser Lodge, Free Sons of Benjamin 50
- Isaacs, Reverend S. M. 247, 248
- Israel, Rabbi Joseph 600n
- Jacobs, Abraham 148
- Jacobson, Jacob Mark 313
- Jaffe, J. 136
- Jagolinzer, Carl 150
- Jampolsky, David 136
- Jampolsky, Israel 136
- Jefferson, Thomas, and the Jews 620
- Jennings, Edward 513-514, 531n
- Jeshuat Israel, Congregation 236, 532-541, 607, 614-621 (see Touro Synagogue)
- Jessurun, Jacob Samuel 316, 323-326
- Jewelry, Jewish manufacturers (1897) 301
- Jewish Cemetery of Newport 228, 245-248
- Jewish Chapel, Rhode Island Medical Center 465
dedication of 465-466; participants in dedication of 465-466
- Jewish Choral Society 155
- Jewish Community Center 9, 17, 27, 30, 52, 55n, 65, front cover No. 2, 145-190, 209, 376, 628
- Jewish Community Relations Council 25
- Jewish Community Services in Greater Providence, A Study of 29*
- Jewish Education, American Association of 26, 28
- Jewish Education in Providence, Rhode Island* 28
- Jewish Family and Children's Service, The 9, 10-11, 65, 162, 477
- Jewish Federation of Rhode Island 5, 26, 33, 429
- Jewish Home for the Aged of Rhode Island, The 9, 29, 30, 64-65, 99, 181
- Jewish Households in Rhode Island, 1963 and 1970 36-48, 50, 52-53
(see *Jews in Rhode Island, A Study of Residential Mobility of, 1963-1972*)
- Jewish manufacturers and businessmen of Rhode Island (1901) 300

- Jewish Men's Club, first, in America 233
 Jewish Orphanage of Rhode Island 99, 526
 Jewish policeman, first 128-129
 Jewish studies in higher education 630
 Jewish War Veterans 17
 Jewish Welfare Board, National 27, 29, 51, 52, 55n, 131, 133, 134-135, 146, 148, 153, 157, 159, 165, 183, 188n
Jewish World 209
Jewry, American, 1970: A Demographic Profile 300
Jewry, World, Who's Who in, 1972 edition 631
Jews and the Textile Industry, Rhode Island and Fall River, Massachusetts 249-299, 308
 (See *Textile Industry, Jews and the, Rhode Island and Fall River, Massachusetts*)
 Jews' Cemetery 228, 245-248
Jews in Rhode Island, A Study of Residential Mobility of, 1963-1972 390-453
 analysis of findings 406-425, 450-451; conclusions 427-429; literature in the study of: Gans, Herbert 391, 426, 449rf.; Goldstein, Sidney 392-395, 397, 400-403, 406, 449rf.; Hansen, Marcus 427, 449rf.; Herberg, Will 426, 427, 449rf.; Lee, Everett S. 398-399, 428, 449rf.; Lenski, Gerhard 391, 426, 449rf.; Litwak, Eugene 404, 449rf.; Osterreich, Helgi 404, 425; Piddington, Ralph 404, 449rf.; Rossi, Peter II. 397, 399-400, 405, 408, 449rf.; Sklare, Marshall 426, 449rf.; Speare, Alden 405, 449rf.; methodology 392-398; tables 431-448, 451-453
 Jews in Rhode Island. residential mobility of the 36-48, 49-55, 390-453
 (see *Jews in Rhode Island, A Study of Residential Mobility of, 1963-1972*)
 Jews of Newport 218-225n, 226-235, 236-244, 245-248, 300, 313-326, 475, 578-586, 587-603, 614-621, 623, 624, 625
 Joint Distribution Committee 9
 Josephson, Bella 145
 Josephson, Israel J. 539
 Joslin (Jostkovitch), Harold 136
 Joslin (Jostkovitch), Joseph 136
 Joslin, Judge Philip C. 147, 148, 152, 208n, 365, 378, 381
 Judah family 234
 Judah Touro Ministerial and Cemetery Fund 239n
 Junior Hadassah 155
 Kaminsky, Nettie 145
 Kane, Benjamin N., Library 166
 Kaplan, Robert 179
 Kapland (Copeland), Mitchell A. 136
 Kapland (Copeland), Sidney 136
 Karigal, Rabbi Raphael Haijm (also Carigal and Carrigal) front cover No. 1, 475, 587-603, 630
 Kastor, William 81
 Katz, Hyman 492
Kehillah 57-58, 66-67, 68, 73
 Keren Hayesed Committee, Providence 99
 Kessler, Sam 386, 389n
 Kiev, I. Edward 475
 King David's Lodge of Newport 227, 578-586
 King, Moses 50, 55n
 Kinsley, Simeon 166-167, 168, 186n
 Kirk, William 76, 79
 K. K. Beth Shalome 219
 Klemmer, Oscar 386-387, 389n
 Klyberg, Albert T. 622
 Kominsky, Harry 147
 Korff, Rabbi Baruch 630
 Korn, David 386, 389n
 Kraft, Louis J. 35n, 51, 157, 185, 187n
 Krakow, Simon 29, 35n
 Kramer, Louis I. 26
 Kramer, Louis I., M.D. 155
 Krasnoff, James C., D.M.D. 155
 Kritzman, Morris 167, 177-178, 186n
 Kublin, Shirley 214n
 Kusnitz, Bernard 239n
 Kwasha, Barnett 206-207
 Kwasha, Bernard 492
 Ladies Hebrew Union Aid Association 6
landsmanshaft 58, 68
 Lansing, Robert 216
 Large City Budgeting Conference 32-33
 Laufer, Maurice, M.D. 631
 Lazarus, Emma 618
 Leach, Max 180
 Lederer, Benedict B. 204-205, 208n
 Lederer, Henry, and Brother 99
 Lederer Realty Corporation 205, 208n
 Lederer, S. and B. 99
 Leeser, Reverend Isaac 247, 248
 Leo, Reverend Ansel 247
 Levine, Barbara (Mrs. George A.) 310
 Levine, Bessie 387, 389n
 Levine, Solomon 387, 389n

- Levy, Arthur J. 20, 22, 155, 305-306, 477, 517-518
- Levy, Arthur J., Annual Oration, the First 477
- Levy, Hyman 234
- Levy, J. M. 517-518
- Levy, L. Napoleon, et al vs. David, Fischel 205, 208n, 534-537
- Levy, Max 535
- Levy, Moses 229, 233, 234
- Lewis family 630
- Licht, Frank 10, 19, 24, 190n, 631
- Licht, Harry 182, 190n, 306
- Lipschitz, Jacob 136
- Lipschitz, Solomon 136
- Local History, New Approaches to American Jewish* 622n
- Lodge, King David's, in account with Topham, John, 1781-1784, 581-584
- Loebenberg, Nannie R. (Mrs. Theodore) 518-519, 531n
- Loebenberg, Theodore 518-519, 520, 526
- Lochmann, Charles 199
- Loehmann's 199
- Loftin, Professor Colin 429
- Logowitz, Kenneth 510, 517-518, 530, 531n
- Lopes, Lela 525
- Lopez, Aaron 226, 228, 233, 300, 313-326, 475, 598, 599n, 603n, 607, 624
- Bennet, Joseph, letters from 314; Brigg, Nathaniel 317; Brown, Nicholas 319; Condet & Company 320; Crugar, Henry Jr. 314; Davis & Benson 316; Hart, Joshua 315-316; Hewes, Josiah 318-320; Jessurun, Jacob Samuel 316, 323-326; Levy, Hiram 320; Lloyd, Henry 314; Lopez, Abraham 315, 316; Lopez, David 315; Lopez, Joseph 317-318; Marcus, Samson & Co. 320; McNab, Gregory 323; naturalization of 475; Rapalje, Stephen 320; Rotch, Joseph and William 314; Sigourney, Ingraham & Bromfield 318; triangular slave trade 317; West Indies trade 316-320
- Lopez, Abraham M. 315, 316, 593
- Lopez, David 315, 578, 579
- Lopez family 234
- Lopez, Joseph 317-318
- Lopez, Moses 226, 227, 607
- Lopez, Samuel 230, 234
- Lovett, Raul 190n
- Lubliner Sick Beneficial Association 59
- Lucena, James 226, 314, 624
- Lynch, James H., Jr. 371, 372
- Lyon, Harry 148
- MacDonald, William 76
- Magid, Samuel M. 152, 378
- Malki, Rabbi Moses 589, 600n, 601n, 602n
- Mandell, Claire Katz 492
- Manucenter 199
- manufacturers and businessmen, Jewish, of Rhode Island (1901) 300
- Manufacturers' Outlet 491, 526
- Mareus, Jacob R. 300, 591, 600n, 603n
- Marcus, Philip V. 148
- Markowitz, Benjamin 519
- Marks, Morris 611
- Marshall, Louis 131, 217
- Marty's Clothing Mart 193, 199
- Marx, Joseph 222
- Mason, George Champlin 235n
- Mason, Mark 214n
- Mason, Samuel 209-217
- Masonry, Jews in 227
- Mass Retailing Institute 197-198
- Mayer, Kurt Bernd 397-398, 631
- McGrath, J. Howard 366, 370, 373, 378, 380, 384n
- McKillop, Sister Lucille 614-621
- McKinley, President William, Memorializing Death of, September 14, 1901 front cover No. 4
- McLoughlin, Professor William G. 609n, 626
- M-Day 23
- Memorial Fund, Sidney S. Goldstein 474
- Mendes, Reverend Abraham Pereira 223, 539
- Meyer, Reverend E. M. 539
- Meyer, Sidney 182, 188n, 189n
- Meyers, David 190n
- Michaelson, Julius 188n
- Mikveh*, Providence 456, 456f
- Millman, Lester 182
- Millman, Rose 154
- Minikowsky, Certie 385-386, 389n
- Minyan, the (1840-1860) 81
- Miriam Hospital, The 9, 30, 64-65, 67, 376, 526
- Mistowsky, Samuel 341
- Mobility, residential, of Jews in Rhode Island 36-48, 49-55, 390-453
(see *Jews in Rhode Island, A Study of Residential Mobility of, 1963-1972*)
- Mobility, residential, of Jews in Rhode Island, 1963-1972, 390-453
(see *Jews in Rhode Island, A Study of Residential Mobility of, 1963-1972*)
- Modern City, A* 51, 76-80

- Monahan, Clifford P. 622
 Monis, Judah 597
 Montefiore Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Association 6
 Mordecai, Moses 220
 Mordecai, Rebecca Myers (Mrs. Moses) 221
Morning Journal 209
 Morris' Clothes Shop (Shoppe) 198
 Moses, Isaac 578
 Moskol, Julius 136
 Moskol, Milton 136
 Musler, Sarah Leichter 510-511, 531n
 Myers, Harry 519
Myers, Hays, and Mordecai Families, Records of the, from 1707-1913, 220-222, 224n, 234
 Myers, Moses Mears 221
 Myers, Myer 220-221, 578
 Myers, Samuel 221, 319
 Myers, Solo. A. 579
 Narragansett Hotel 361-384
 art and the 373-374, 376; Democratic Party and the 370; funeral of Max Zinn 381; gambling and the 367; hurricane, the 1932, 372; lobby, picture of 382; mezzanine parlor, picture of 381; Narragansett Round Table 376, 378; ownership of 364-366; prohibition and the 366; social affairs and the 376-379; Tercentenary, the, and the 370-372; Union, the, and the 368-369; World War II and the 373; picture of the, back cover No. 3
 Nass, Julius 387, 389n
 Nathan, Sophie Samuels 525
 Nathans, Philip 520
 Nathanson, Max 204, 208n
 National Council of Jewish Women 162
 National Federation of Welfare Funds 23
 National Jewish Population Study 36, 37
 National Refugee Service 9
 Necrology 139-140, 305-307, 479-483, 632-633
 Berry, Melvin T. 1919-1971, 139
 Bromberg, Sylvia I. d. 1972, 305
 Chase, Martin 1906-1971, 305
 Colson, Henry 1907-1974, 632
 Grant, Max L. 1889-1974, 632-633
 Horwitz, Manuel, M.D. 1910-1973, 479, 634
 Joslin, Dorothy 1894-1971, 139
 Kramer, Jessie d. 1974, 633
 Levitt, Agnes d. 1974, 633
 Levy, Arthur J. 1897-1972, 305-306, 477
 Licht, Harry J. 1910-1972, 306
 Nathans, Samuel H., M.D. 1906-1972, 306-307
 Oelbaum, Henry 1901-1973, 479
 Potter, Charles, M.D. 1908-1970, 140
 Richter, Max J. 1886-1973, 479-480
 Sandler, Louis 1913-1973, 633
 Sholovitz, Phyllis 1923-1973, 480
 Silverman, Ida Marcia 1882-1973, 480-482
 Tenenbaum, Helen 1906-1973, 482
 Winnerman, Harriet J. 1905-1972, 482-483
 Neusner, Rabbi Jacob 630
 Newburger, Samuel [incorrectly given as Newberger in text] 191
 Newman, John L. 465
 Newport 218-225n, 226-235, 236-244, 245-248, 300, 313-326, 475, 578-586, 587-603, 604-609, 614-621, 623, 624, 625
Newport As Ararat 604-609
 Arkansas Gazette, reprint in the, 1821, 609; *Daily National Intelligencer*, article in the, 1820, 605-606, editorial in the 606-607; foundation stone for Grand Island 605; Grand Island 604-608; *National Advocate, The*, editorial in, 1820, 607-609; Rhode Island 606-607, 608
 Noah, Mordecai Manuel 604-609
 Oken, Evelyn (Mrs. Isidor J.) 387, 389n
 Open House Tours, Jewish Community Center, 1971, 183
 Opera House, The 364-365, 366, 383
Organ, The 50, 55n
Orinin, My Shtetl in the Ukraine 542-577 (see *Shtetl*)
 Orson, Barbara 180
Outlet Bulletin 498-499
 Outlet Company 198-199, 382, 488-531
 automobile race in 1906, picture of 522; Buyers' and Managers' Club 518, 520; City Hall property 492; 496; communications 504, 515-517; Donley, Dr. John E., Rehabilitation Centre 526; *Dry Goods Economist*, article in by Joseph Samuels 529; employee relations 509-515; flower raising by Joseph Samuels 528; funeral of Joseph Samuels 527-529; "Happyland" at Christmas 507; Hodges Building, acquisition of 492;

Outlet Company—Continued

- honorary degree awarded to Joseph Samuels 529-530; Industrial National Bank and the 525; Ledgermont Country Club 513, 518-519, 528; Manufacturers' Outlet 491, 526; Metacomet Country Club 513, 528; Old Home Week and Arch, picture of 502; outings 511-515; *Outlet Bulletin* 498-499; pallbearers, Leon Samuels' funeral 526; philanthropy and the 498-502, 510, 526; pictures of, in 1894, 488; in 1903 and 1909, 493; in 1914, 495; Radio Station WJAR 504, 515-517; Samuels, Joseph, Dental Clinic for Children 500-501; Samuels, Joseph, picture of, at wheel of Stevens-Duryea, circa 1910, 522; Samuels Land Company 496; Samuels, Leon and Colonel Joseph, pictures of 490; showmanship in advertising, front cover No. 4, 501-509; transcontinental telephone call, picture of 505
- Paley, Lawrence A. 190n
 Pastore, John O. 378, 380
 Patten, David 374, 376, 382
 Pearlman, Sarah 145
 Pearlman, Thomas W. 630
 Pell, Claiborne, speech by 197n
 Pelosi, John J., Jr., M.D. 473
 Pereira, Solomon 81
 Perry, Mary 509-510, 531n
 Pershing, General John J. 131, 134-135
 Philanthropy and the Outlet Company 498-502
 Phillips family 630
 Phillips, Naphthali 607, 630
 Pioneer Women's Organization 17
 Pitterman, Marvin 142, 191, 310, 486, 587, 627
Pocket Book of Providence (1882) 50, 55n
 Podrat, William 205, 208n
 Pogroms, Russian 6
 Pollak, Professor Fred 26
 Pollock House 229, 233
 Population, Jewish, of Providence 22, 29, 49-55, 55n, 300, 630
 Population Studies, Jewish, Providence and Rhode Island 22, 29, 36-48, 49-55, 55n, 630
Population Study of the Jewish Community of Greater Providence 22, 29, 52-53, 55n, 630
Population Survey of the Greater Providence Jewish Community (1964) 22, 29, 52-53, 55n, 630
 Port, Edward 362, 367, 368, 376, 380, 384n
 Port, Eli 362
 Port, Lena (Mrs. Max Zinn) 362, 381-382, 384n
 Post, Louis F. 216
 Potter, Lillian (Mrs. Charles) 2, 142, 310, 486
 Premack, Benjamin 154, 173
 Pritzker, Samuel, M.D. 190n
 Providence Jewish community, a study of the (early 20th century) 56-75
 Providence Jewish community, members of (1840-1860) 81
Providence Jewish Community, Some Observations on the (circa 1909) 76-81
 Providence Opera House 364-365, 366, 383
 Rabbinical Council 182, 183
 Radding, Edward 152, 365-366
 Raleigh Clothes, Inc. 199
 Rao, Frank 370
 Rapaport, Samuel, Jr. 190n
 Raphall, Reverend Dr. 245, 247
 Resnick, Abraham 153
 Ress, Joseph W. 10, 18, 22-23, 189n
 Restoration of the Touro Synagogue 237-239n
 Revel, Dr. Bernard 611
 Rhode Island General Assembly 236
 Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association 29, 182, 429, 622-628
 annual meetings (1971) 138, (1972) 303, (1973) 476-477, (1974) 629; history of 622-628
Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes 624-627
 Rhode Island Medical Center 465-474
Rhode Island Register, The 209
 Rhode Island Supreme Court cases involving Jews 1870-1912, 203-208; 1913-1924, 385-389
 Rivera, Abraham Rodrigues 229, 231, 233, 300
 Rivera family 226, 233
 Rivera, Jacob Rodrigues 227, 230, 234-235, 315, 475, 597, 598
 Robin, William L. 2, 142, 310, 486
 Rogers Brothers [incorrectly given as "Roger's" in text] 191
 Rose, Helen 510, 531n
 Rose, Manuel 385, 389n

- Rosen, Benton H. 2, 76, 136, 142, 236, 310, 328, 486, 578, 629, inside back cover No. 4
- Rosen, Beverly (Mrs. Benton H.) 629
- Rosen, Sigmund 205, 208n
- Rosenfeld, Gussie 388, 389n
- Rosenfeld, Leon 387-388, 389n
- Rosenstein, Morris 387, 389n
- Rosenthal, Herman 148
- Ross, Joe 180
- Rubel, Rabbi Charles M. 465
- Rubin, David 386, 389n
- Rubin, Florence 386-387, 389n
- Rubinstein, Rabbi Israel S. (also Y. Z.) 147, 152, 454, 454f
- Rubinstein, Lillian Berger 507, 516, 531n
- Rumpler, Alex 190n
- Ryding, Cyril 512-513, 515, 520, 531n
- Sachs, Reverend Joseph 247
- St. John's Lodge of Newport 227, 578, 579, 586, 586n
- Samuels, Alice March Murr (Mrs. Joseph) 491, 519, 521
- Samuels brothers 99, 198, 488-531
- Samuels, Claire (Mrs. E. B. Quinn) 492, 525
- Samuels, J., & Bro. 198, 488-531
- Samuels, Joseph 198, 378, 489-530
- Samuels, Joseph and Brother, Inc. 198, 488-531
- Samuels, Joseph, Dental Clinic for Children 500-501, 521
- Samuels, Leon 198, 489-527
- Samuels, Mildred Eidelberg (Mrs. Leon) 492, 525
- Samuels Realty Company 528
- San Souci, Governor Emery J. 516
- Sapinsley, Milton C. 10, 157, 162, 166, 189n, 258
- Sarzedas, Abraham 234
- Schaffer, Julius 540
- Schatz, Harry A. 35n
- Schiavo, Bartholomew 587
- Schiff, Jacob H. 214-215
- Schlesinger & Blumenthal 204, 208n
- Schless, Nancy Halverson 137, 475
- Schlossberg, Joseph 372
- Schreier, Eugene 539
- Schuman, Eleanor Saunders 517, 531n
- Schusheim Rabbi Morris 152
- Schwartz, Harry A. 465
- Scully, Vincent J. 235n
- Seefer, Joseph J. ("Jake") 366, 368, 369, 371, 380, 384n
- Seefer, Minnie (Mrs. Joseph J.) 369, 371, 379-380, 384n
- Segal, Bernard (also Beryl Segal) 2, 5, 142, 208n, 209, 310, 454, 465, 486, 542-577, 622, 625
- Segal, Mrs. Bernard 629
- Seixas, Gershom Mendes 597, 600n
- Seixas, Moses 219, 227, 229, 233, 300, 578, 579, 616-618, 621
- Sermon, first Jewish, in America 593, 599, 601n
- Sessions Street building, Jewish Community Center 167, 172, 177-178, 181, 188n
- Shearith Israel, Congregation 532-541, 600n, 602n, 607
- Sherwood, Herbert M. 365
- Shipton, Nathaniel 313
- Sholovitz, Hyman 386, 389n
- Shtetl* 542-577
charity 571-573; children's games and recreation 558-561; a day in the 575-577; Hebrew Schools, modern, 557-558; *heder*, school for boys 553-556; houses of worship 561-563; market day 567-569; matchmaking 569-571; occupations 549-552; *rov*, the 563-566; Sabbath, the 573-575; *shreiber*, school for girls 556-557; spiritual needs in the 547-549
- Siegel, Herman 147
- Silverman, Archibald 7, 10, 16, 17, 18, 21, 23, 99, 524, 526
- Silverman, Charles 157, 378
- Silverman, Ida (Mrs. Archibald) 8, 480-482
- Silverman, Jacob 148
- Silverman, John, 50th birthday celebration for 375
- Silverman, Louis 205, 208n
- Silverman, Max 205-206
- Silverstein, Aaron 204, 208n
- Sinclair-Campbell, Bertha Carol ("Babe") 491, 521, 525
- Sinclair, James 525
- Sinclair, Joseph S. ("Dody") 510, 523, 525, 530, 531n
- Slefskin, Hyman 386, 389n
- Sobiloff brothers 388, 389n
- Society of Friends of Touro Synagogue 236n
- Soforenko, Edwin S. 189n
- Sollosy, Sheldon S. 25
- Solomon, John A. 8
- Sons of Zion Shul 454f
- Sopkin, Alvin A. 10, 17, 18, 21, 276, 524

- South Providence Branch, Jewish Community Center 159, 175, 177, 178-179, 182
- South Side facility, Jewish Community Center 159, 175, 177, 178-179, 182
- Spears, Donald E. 580
- Spunt, Jerome B. 2, 142, 310, 486, 629
- Stanzler, Harold 188n
- Stanzler, Milton 188n
- Stein, Samuel 152
- Steiner, Samuel 520
- Steiner, William 520
- Stern, Rabbi Malcolm H. 630
- Stiles, Ezra front cover No. 1, 137, 138, 300, 475, 587-590, 593, 596-599, 599n, 600n, 601n, 602n, 603n, 630
- Stover, Lillian 381-382
- Strasmich, Erwin E. 2, 142, 249, 256, 310, 468, 628, 629
- Strasmich, Pauline E. (Mrs. Erwin E.) 629
- Sundlun, Bruce G. 525
- Sweet, Jennie (Mrs. Louis I.) 2, 142, 310, 486, 629
- Sweet, Louis I. 2, 142, 267, 310, 486, 626
- Taber, Barney 148
- Taber, Sadie 154
- Tageblatt* 209
- Talmud Torah 146, 147, 148-153
- Tanenbaum, Meyer 180
- Tarnapol, Gertrude 154, 168
- Temkin, Jacob S. 10
- Temkin, Nathan 147
- Temple Beth El 5, 57, 81, 98-99, 630
- Temple Emanu-El 177
- Tercentenary, Jewish, observance of 29
- Tew, James, letter from 585
- Textile Industry, Jews and the, Rhode Island and Fall River, Massachusetts* 249-299, 308
- A & C Woolen Mills Inc. 286;
- Aaronson, Adrienne (Mrs. Eugene L.) 257; Aaronson, Eugene L. 256-257; Abdon Mills Corporation (Elgin Silk Mills) 268; Abramson, Fisher 283; Abrash, George 268; Abrash, Reuben 267-268; Abrash, Samuel 268; Ace Dyeing & Finishing Company 285; additional textile firms 291-294; Adler, Bernhard 255; Adler Brothers 255-256; Adler, Edwin I. 256; Adler, Morris 255; Adler, Oscar 256; Africk, Morton J. 286; Airedale Worsted Mills, Inc. 283; Albert, David 264; Albert, Eugene 264; Albert, Jack 264; Allentown Mills Inc. 285; Alperin, Max 19, 25-26, 190n, 259; Alperin, Melvin 25; Alpert, Sol 282; American Insulated Wire Corporation 257; American Print Works 280; American Silk Spinning Company 264; American Textile Company 288; American Tourister Co. 275; Andrews Worsted Mills Inc. 284-285; Ann & Hope 281-282; Ann & Hope Textile Mill 281; Ansin, David 287-288; Ansin, Evelyn R., Joseph L., and Lawrence J. 288; Ansin, Harold 287-288; Ansin, Jacob and Lila 285; Arch Narrow Fabric Co. 258; Associated Textiles 255; Atlantic Knitting Corporation 271; Atlantic Tubing & Rubber Company 258; Atlas Braiding Co., Inc. 255-256; Attleboro Braiding Company 258; Avnet Inc. 258; Axelrod, James 283; Axelrod, Joseph 283; Bakst, Leon 280; Ball, Harry, Jerome, Marvin, and Robert M. 288; Barr, Samuel 308, inside back cover No. 2; Barrish, Sol and Frieda 285-286; Berk Lace & Braid Manufacturing Company 256; Berk, Nathan 256; Berkowitz, Abram 281; Berlin, Nathan 259; Berry Spring Mineral Water Company 261; Berstein, Emanuel 257; Bertch, Donald P. 264; Biltmore Textile Co. 256; Black, Arthur 268; Blackman, Morris 287; Blue Ribbon Textile Corporation 260; Blumenthal, Sidney, and Co., Inc. 283; Brown, Moses 249; Burrows, Murray 267; Cadillac Textiles Corporation 268-269; Carol Cable Co. 258; Castleman, Samuel 267; Casty, David and Frank 260; Charlton, Earle P. 267; Charlton Mills Inc. (Maplewood Yarns) 267; Charmis, Benjamin 272; Chase, Herbert S. 282; Chase, Martin, 281-282; Cohen, Alex 264; Cohen, Arthur 256; Cohen, Jack 288; Cohen, Lester 256; Cohen, Martin 256; Cohen, Max 256; Cohen, Sanford H. 258; Colonial Braid Company 258; Concord Webbing Company, Inc. 256-257; Crescent Co. (Rhode Island) 258; Crescent Corporation (Fall River) 279, 280;

Textile Industry—Continued

- Crown Manufacturing Company 283; Damar Wool Combing Company Inc. 274-275; Darlington Textile Company 265; Darman, Arthur I. 264, 265; Darman, Arthur I., Co. 265-266; Darman, Morton H. 264, 265; Davis-Jones Wire Company 259; Diamond, Fred 272; dry goods, rag, and yarn dealers 290, 291, 308; Dunn, Norman S. 260; Dwares, David 274-275; Dwares, Donald 274; Dwares, Louis, Nathan and Samuel 275; Dwares, S., & Sons 275; Elizabeth Webbing Mills, Inc. 260; Empire Woolen Mills 277-278; Fairlawn Spinning Co. 255; Fall River industry 250, 251, 252-253; Fall River Iron Works 280; Fall River mills 295, 296-299; Fall River mills, 1930, 295; Feldman, H. B. and J. J. 267; Fine, Abe C. and Harry L. 269-270; Finegold, Martha Dwares (Mrs. Ephraim) 274-275; Finkelstein, A. Archie 271; Finkelstein, Joseph 271; Firmtex Company 265; "Flexces" 284; Forman, William 275; Franks, Raymond G. 273; Freedman, Julius 256; Furman, Max H. and Fannie M. 285; Galkin, Arnold 257; Galkin, Herbert 257; Galkin, Hyman 257; Galkin, Ira S. 257; Garment industry, Fall River 252; Genesco Corporation 270-271; Gittleman, Benjamin 256; Gittleman, Robert M. 256; Gittleman, Sidney 256; Glasgow, Robert A. 287; Glass, Leo 268; Goldberg, Barney 286; Goldberg, Leo, Philip, and Thomas 286; Goldberger, Edward 278; Goldfarb, Charles C. 282; Goldfarb, Jack A. 287; Goldsmith, Hyman G. 256; Goldsmith, Milton J. 256; Goldsmith, Sidney J. 256; Goodman, Jacob 275; Goodman, Martin 190n, 266-267; Gordon, Irving 284; Gottlieb, Ilona and Maximilian 278; Gould, Leo 274; Grand Mars Rug Company 255; Granoff, G. Sidney 282-283; Granoff, Samuel 282-283; Granoff, S., Manufacturing Company 282-283; Greenberger, Ann 285; Grossman, Albert, Clinton, Edward, Max, and Stanley 270; Grossman, Leo 270; Gurwitz, Abel S. 258; Haber, Hyman 287; Hamilton Web Co., Inc. 259-260; Hanora Looms Inc. 287; Harrisville Company 262; Harrisville, Rhode Island 263; Hasbro Toys and Hasbro Industries 269; Hassenfeld Brothers 269; Hassenfeld, Harold 269; Hassenfeld, Henry J. 18, 21-22, 23, 269; Hassenfeld, Hillel 269; Hassenfeld, Merrill L. 19, 23-24, 25, 189n, 269; Health Tex 274; Heller, Ben 285; Heller, William, Inc. 285; Highland Textile Printers Company, Inc. 288; Hillelson, Irving H. 284-285; Hillelson, Upton 284-285; Hirsch, David and Harold E. 286; Hirsch, Harry 286; Hope Webbing Division of Chelsea Industries, Inc. 260; Horvitz, Abraham 264; Horvitz, David 264; Horvitz, Samuel 265; Horvitz, S., & Sons Inc. (Firmtex Company) 264-265; Howard-Arthur Mills (Seaconnet Mills) 272; Hurvitz, Arthur 274; Hurvitz, M. 274; Imperial Printing and Finishing Company 261; International Stretch Company 256; Jette, William M., & Sons, Inc. 256; Jewish textile manufacturers, first 308; Joan Fabrics Corporation 287-288; Joslin, Archie 261; June Rockwell Levy Foundation, Inc. 263, 264; Kahn, Mack 284; Katz, Irving, 287; Kenner, Barney 257; Kenner, Jacob 257; Koffler, Sol 275; Kourland, Alexander 274; Lebanon Knitting Mill, Inc. (Hope Knitting Mills) 270-271; Levine, A. E. 258; Leviton Manufacturing Co. 257; Levy, A. A. 257; Levy, Austin T. 262-264; Levy, June Rockwell (Mrs. Austin) 263; Levy, June Rockwell, Foundation, Inc. 263, 264; Lifland, Martin 260; Lincoln Lace & Braid Co. 256; Lincoln Park Cemetery, chapel at 261; List, Albert A. 253-254; Littman, Samuel 257; Lowenstein, Edgar J. (Lownes) 264; Lowenstein, M., and Sons 261, 278, 283; Lownes, Albert E. 264; Lownes, Edgar J. 264; Lownes, Edgar J., Jr. 264; Malina, Arthur 272-273; Mann, Albert J. 274; Maplewood Yarns

Textile Industry—Continued

267; Marks, John 268; Marks, John, Company 268; Marks, Leo, Michael and Richard 268; Marshall, Walter, Spinning Corp. of R. I. 285; Mayer, Claus and Helen 286; Medoff, I., Co. 266; Medoff, Israel 266; Medoff, Samuel J. 266; Menschik, A. C. 265; Merrimac Mfg. Co. 278; Meyer, Victor E. 257; Miller, Alan J. 254-255; Miller, Charles H. 254-255; Miller, I. 254-255; Miller, I., & Sons 254-255; Mirman, Louis 272; Narragansett Thread Co. 257; narrow fabrics industry 254-260; National Tubing Company 254, 308; Nedra Mills 267; Nelson, Martin 259; Newman, Jerome A. 272, 273; Odessa, Benton A. 288; Pansey, Alvin W. 277; Pansey, Herbert 277; Pansey, Neil 277; Pansey, Roy 277; Pansy Weaving Mills 277; Parflex Rubber Thread Corporation 286; Pawtucket Braid and Line, Inc. 256; Peerless Weaving Co. 269-270; Percelay, Abraham 255; Percelay, Jacob 255; Percelay, Joseph 255; Percelay, Merrill 255; Percelay, Morris 255; Pinkos, J. William 260; Pontiac Printing Works 287; Priest, Pearl Raphael (Mrs. Samuel) 261; Priest, Samuel 148, 260; Providence Fabric 257; Providence Pile Fabric Corporation 282; Providence Pipe and Sprinkler Company 261; Radlauer, Arthur M. 255-256; Rains, Saul E. 274; Rains, S. E., Co. 274; Rantenberg, L. 265; Reiss, Elias 271-272, 273; Reiss, Elias, & Company (St. John-Reiss Co.) 271-272; Reiss Factors Corporation 272; Riesman, Joseph and Myer 259; Ricsman, Robert A. 25, 190n, 259; Robison Rayon Company, Inc., Atlantic Yarns Division 272-273; Rosen, Ada and Irving 257; Ross Matthews Corporation 256; Royal Electric Company 259; Royal Textile Co. 288; Royal Weaving Company 279; Royal Yarn Company 275; Rumford Rubber Co. 265; Russek, Louis 273; Safety Flag Co. of America 269; Sapinsley, Alvin T. 152, 258; Sapinsley, John M. 258; Sapinsley, Milton C. 258;

Scher, Meyer 285; Schloss, F. H. and N. F. 265; Schneider, Dr. A. D. 265; Schneirson, I., & Sons 271; Schwartz, David 268; Schwartz, Eugene 269; Schwartz, Harry A. and Samuel 268; Schwartz, Thomas H. 269; Seaconnet Mills 271, 272; Shatkin, Simon 257; Siegel, Art and Edward 285; Siegle, Joseph 265; Silver Brothers 256; Silverman, Sam 287; Sinclair Industries 266; Slater Dye Works 274-275; Slater, Samuel 249, 250; Sobiloff, Hyman 276-277; Sobiloff, Meyer 277; Solomon, J. 256; Sopkin, Alvin A. 276; Sopkin, Henry 276; Sources, General: Jews and the Textile Industry 289; Sparr, Irwin 260; Standard Romper Company 273-274; Standish Mills Inc. 286; Sterling Pile Fabrics Corp. 285; Sterling Wale 285; Stern, J. Jerome 282; Stillwater Worsted Mills, Inc. 262; Stone, Gerland 287; Strasmich, Erwin 249, 256; Strasmich, Fred 256; Strasmich, Max 256; Sussman, Paul 257; Swartz, Charles 287; Symonds, Alan E. 282; Symonds, Bernard K. 282; Symonds, Louis J. I. 282; Taunton Manufacturing Company 257; Tectra Industries 288; Textile Industry, Jews and the 249-299, 308; Textile Investment Co. 275; Top Fibres Company 264; Vengerow, Harry 282; Zura, Allie 270; Vogue Textiles, Inc. 269; Waldman, Edmund 259; Waldman Mfg. Co. 258; Waldman, Samuel 258; Wamsutta Manufacturing Company 283; Wanskuck Mills, Inc. 284; Warren Handkerchief Company 274; Wasserman, Bernard 275; Waste dealers 289-290; Weiner, Jacob 267; Weinstein, Philip P. 258; Weinstein, Sidney 258; Weinstein, William P. 258; Weiss, Abraham A. 269; Weissman, Hyman 286; Weltman, Larry 280; Weltman, Mrs. Sol 280; Wentworth Mfg. Co. 276; Werner, Hyman and Jacob 267; Winstead, Harold A. 258; Woonsocket Sponging, Inc. 287; Yarn Dealers 291; Yetra, Robert 256; Young Bros. Mattress Company, Inc. 266; Young, James 266; Young, John, Morris,

- Textile Industry—*Continued*
 and Samuel 266; Ziskind, Abraham and Edward J. 280; Ziskind, Jacob 271, 278-281; Ziskind, The Jacob, Trust for Charitable Purposes 280
- Tilles, Norman 179
- Tobiah, Rabbi, of Poland (Tobiah Ben Jehudah Loew) 475, 596, 600n, 602n
- Touro, Abraham 236, 247
- Touro, Abraham, Fund 236-244, 538
- Touro Cadets 209
- Touro, Isaac 221, 223, 231, 234, 316, 595
- Touro Jewish Synagogue Fund 236-244, 538
- Touro, Judah 219, 615
 Fund, 538, 539; funeral of 245-248; will 300
- Touro Synagogue 137, 218-225, 228, 475, 532-541, 607, 630
Brzak In, The 532-541; Brown, Mr. Justice 537; Burdick, Charles 535; David, Fischel 532-538; Douglas, Mr. Justice 535-538; Jewish Synagogue Fund 236-244, 538; McKillop, Sister Lucille 614-621; medal, front cover and inside front cover No. 3; nun, a, speaks at 614-621; restorations 237-239n; Richards, Benjamin 525; Stearns, Charles H. 523-524; Tercentenary observance of 625; *Touro Monthly* 532f, 540, 541
- triangular slave trade 317
- Triedman, George, Memorial Health Center 177
- Trinkle, Benjamin 518, 519, 526
- Trinkle, Murray 518
- Trowbridge, Madeline 514-515, 531n
- Twentieth Anniversary Meeting, Jewish Community Center 166, 187n, 188n
- Twenty-fifth Anniversary Report, General Jewish Committee 33-35
- United Fund 179
- United Hebrew Charities 5, 6
- United Jewish Appeal 9, 52, 124-128
- United Jewish Relief Committee 7
- United Palestine Appeal 9
- Vaad Hakashruth of Providence 25, 454-464
 Constitution and By-Laws of 455-464; Officers and Committee on Constitution 464
- Viener, Saul 218
- Walden, Warren 502, 531n
- Wallick, Haskell 190n
- War diary, Harry A. Hoffman (1918-1919) 327-359
 Armistice 353; Austria, peace with 349, 350, 352; Collyer, Professor Theodore F. 357; Fort Wetherill, Jamestown 328-338; France, duty in 339-358; German counteroffensive 341-343; Germany, peace with 350, 353; Mistowsky, Samuel 341; Overseas duty 339-358
- Ward, Stanley 235
- Washington, Charles 219
- Washington, George 218-225, 475, 579, 586n, 614, 616-618, 620, 621, 625
- Washington, George, letter 218-225, 475, 625
- Washington, Samuel 219
- Wax, Bernard 629
- Webber, Joseph B., M.D. 155
- Wendelschaefer, Colonel Felix 364
- West Indies, early Jewish community of the 591-594, 601n, 603n
- West Indies trade 316-320
- West, Joseph V. 371
- Weyler, Henry L. C., M.D. 155
- White, Allen Jordan 631
- White, Sol 190n
- Who's Who in World Jewry*, 1972 edition 631
- Williams, Roger 475
- Winkler, George 367, 380, 384n
- Wolfson, Professor Harry A. 612
- Women's Committee, Jewish Community Center 157, 166
- Women's Division, General Jewish Committee 23, 31
- Wolf, Henry, Mr. and Mrs. 137
- Wolf, Isaac 152, 166
- Workman, Samuel 162, 166
- Workman's Circle 70, 155
- World Jewry, Who's Who in*, 1972 edition 631
- World War II Honor Roll 164
- Yashar, Mrs. John 190n
- Yelisabethgrad Progressive Benevolent Association 59
- Yeshiva College 611, 612
- Yiddish theatre in Rhode Island, back cover and inside back cover No. 4
- Young Adult Division, General Jewish Committee 22, 25
- Young Executives Training Program, General Jewish Committee 25

- Young, Judea 155
Young Ladies Hebrew Aid Society 6
Young Men's Hebrew Association 145-146,
147-154, 165, 169, 180, 209, baseball
trophy (1912) back cover No. 2
"Young Montreal" 154
Young Women's Division, General Jewish
Committee 31
Young Women's Hebrew Association 145-
146, 148, 151-154, 180

Zaiman, Rabbi Joel M. 465
Zarrinsky, Abraham 206-207
Zawatsky, Philip 147

Zevi, Isaac 587
Zinn, Lena Port (Mrs. Max) 362, 381-382,
384n
Zinn, Max 360-384
*Zinn, Max, and the Narragansett Hotel:
the End of an Era* 361-384
Zinn, Wolf 361
Zionism 17, 69, 71, 72, 73, 99
Zionist District of Rhode Island 99
Zionist Organization of America 17
Zisman, v. Harry Fisher 385, 389n
Zurier, Janet (Mrs. Melvin L.) 629
Zurier, Melvin L. 2, 25, 26, 142, 203, 385,
486, 629

BACK COVER

According to the Hebrew Actors' Union (AFL-CIO) of New York City, the premiere of "Kabtzn vu Krichstu" was given in the season of 1922 at the Irving Place Theatre in New York. It is of interest that the Hebrew Actors' Union has a record of the Providence performance and the cast. (*Photo courtesy of The American Jewish Historical Society and Benton H. Rosen*).



The following is a translation from the Yiddish:

EMPIRE THEATRE

Wednesday Evening, May 16 at the Empire Theatre, Providence, R. I.

The success of New York. 150 performances were presented with success in Irving Place Theatre in New York.

The success of New York. 150,000 people have seen the play in Irving Place Theatre in New York.

Edwin A. Relkin presents Ludwig Zatz in Z. Libin's tragicomedy "Kabtzn vu Krichstu" ("Shlemiehl, where are you going?") with Peter Graff, directed by Sigmund Weintraub. (Also in the cast:) Samuel Tobias, A. Tenenholtz, Adolph Erber, Morris Tuchband, Ben-Zion Vogschul, Adolph Sprage, Izzie Goldstein, Annie Lillian, Mina Birnbaum, Bettie Forkauf, Yetta Shorr, Celia Marks, and Rae Schneier.

Liphshitz Press, 80 Lafayette Street, New York

