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PETER EDES'S REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE RHODE ISLAND GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1787-1790

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A PRINTER might have found a more likely place to set up his press than Newport, Rhode Island, during the bitter years of the Confederation period. After 1784 the state was beset by a series of economic and political trials that would have warned away many a man whose profession so impinged upon public life as did that of a printer and newspaper publisher. Rhode Island was noted as a place of public infamy. The Narragansett commonwealth was renowned for "fraud and guile" throughout the broad expanse of the United States because of its emissions of paper money. Its latest paper money system, enacted in May of 1786, seemed a sure sign of Rhode Island's reputed lapse from civilized ways; its intransigent antifederalism, announced in 1787, confirmed the first evidence of the previous year. "Like Lot from Sodom, from Rhode Island run," advised the Connecticut Wits, Joel Barlow, John Trumbull, David Humphreys, and Lemuel Barlow, in a poetical blast against the allegedly errant ways of their neighbor.¹ Nevertheless, despite every outward disadvantage and discouragement, Peter Edes went to Newport in the early part of 1787 and began the publication of his controversial *Newport Herald*.²

Regardless of his uncertain prospects, Peter Edes was by no means unprepared. Peter's father, the well-known Benjamin Edes, seems to have passed on to his son the same devotion to freedom and tenacity of purpose that made him one of the significant leaders of the Amer-

¹Abe C. Ravits, "Anarch in Rhode Island," *Rhode Island History*, XI, 117-124.

²Clarence S. Brigham, comp., *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820*, 2 vols. (Worcester, 1947), II, 996-997. The most complete files of the *Newport Herald* are found in the American Antiquarian Society and The Rhode Island Historical Society.

ican Revolution in Massachusetts.³ Along with John Gill, Benjamin Edes founded the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal* in 1755, and the two printers steadfastly embraced the colonial cause during the dangerous days of protest that began in 1764. Nothing deflected them from making the pages of their newspaper an almost official voice of the Whig Party in Boston. Moreover, Benjamin Edes's commitment to the party of Otis and the Adamses seems to have gone even further than merely sponsoring the innumerable letters, pamphlets, and other items that were printed in the *Boston Gazette*. Edes probably had some voice in the important decisions of tactics and strategy that bound the revolutionary factions together in the Bay Colony, and his busy home provided a handy staging area for the masqueraders who put on the Boston Tea Party in 1774.⁴ The courage and controversy which marked the life of Peter Edes was without question molded by the events which he chanced to witness. Not only this. Young Peter at the age of nineteen was also destined to be an actor in the onrushing violence of the revolutionary era. Doubtless branded by his notorious father, who gave the British no rest in Boston, Peter was seized and imprisoned on June 19, 1775, two days after the Battle of Bunker Hill, and charged with having concealed guns and other war materials in his home. He was held for more than three months until released suddenly on October 3. While under confinement Peter kept a diary in which he showed not the slightest despair at his plight, nor even minute doubt concerning the guilt of the mother country and righteousness of the American cause.⁵ Obviously the future Newport printer had the right kind of training and character for contentious Rhode Island.

Peter Edes learned his craft as printer and publisher in his father's

³The best reference for Benjamin Edes is Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography*, 22 vols. (N. Y., 1928-1944), VI, 17-18. Significant information about the *Boston Gazette* may be obtained in Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain, 1764-1776* (N. Y., 1957).

⁴Peter Edes to Thomas Melville, Baltimore, June 29, 1819, Lemuel Shaw Papers, Mss., Massachusetts Historical Society.

⁵Samuel Lane Boardman, *Peter Edes: Pioneer Printer in Maine* (Bangor, Me., 1901), 15. Boardman's sketch is the only account of Edes's life in print; it includes Edes's diary as an appendix. Some material on Edes is presented in Frederick G. Fassett, Jr., *A History of Newspapers in the District of Maine 1785-1820* (University of Maine Studies, Sec. Ser., No. 25, Orono, 1932), 67-83. There is no article on Peter Edes in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

office in Boston. Beginning in 1779, when John Gill left the firm, "Benjamin Edes & Sons" took over the management of the *Boston Gazette*. The success of the American Revolution was also the success of the *Boston Gazette*, and the influential journal probably had as many as two thousand subscribers at different times after 1765. Little wonder, then, that the newspaper and related business were enough to support the elder Edes and his two sons, Benjamin, Jr., and Peter. The postwar years were more trying. Not only did the United States experience a period of reconstruction, economic adjustment, and depression, but the newspaper field saw the proliferation of journals all over the new nation. In consequence the *Boston Gazette* began to feel the pinch of hard times, and the partnership of "Benjamin Edes & Sons" dissolved after a short life of five years on November 1, 1784. Benjamin, Jr., stayed on with his father to run the business; Peter decided to strike out on his own.

An important character trait of Peter Edes was his ambition and determination to succeed in his chosen profession. He wasted no time in getting started again after leaving the *Boston Gazette*. The same issue of the *Boston Gazette* which carried the news of the firm's dissolution also announced: "Peter Edes Acquaints the Public That he has lately received a new and compleat Assortment of Printing Materials, with which he intends to carry on the Printing Business in all its Branches. . . ."⁶ The newly independent publisher intended to print books, pamphlets, business forms, and all routine as well as lucrative assignments which his firm could attract in the competitive world of mercantile Boston. But his boldest undertaking was the publication of a newspaper. Almost two months to the day after separating from the *Boston Gazette*, Peter Edes brought out the first number of his own journal, the *Exchange Advertiser*.⁷

Although Peter Edes began this enterprise with great energy, the *Exchange Advertiser* was not successful. The new journal failed to gain sufficient advertising during its three years of existence to make it profitable, and its list of subscribers was probably never extensive. Just as disappointing was Edes's inability to secure enough printing work to carry the newspaper over the crest of the commercial depres-

⁶November 1, 1784.

⁷The first issue of the *Exchange Advertiser* (Boston) was printed on December 30, 1784; the last appeared on January 4, 1787. For details consult Brigham, *History and Bibliography*, I, 395.

sion causing hardship everywhere in the United States. Very few items bear the Peter Edes imprint for the years between 1784 and 1787. Bad business conditions and the competition of other Boston printers, including his own father and brother, cast a pale over the publishing house of Peter Edes. He did not lose heart, however, nor his sense of humor. A typical issue of the *Exchange Advertiser* which appeared on January 26, 1786, carried only three small advertisements of sixteen lines, hardly enough to show a profit. And yet the printer included an ironic apology in this number, perhaps hoping that it might invite better things, stating "*The liberality of our advertising friends has been so great, this week, we hope our readers will excuse our not furnishing them with more intelligence.*" Similarly, later in the same year, Edes informed his readers that all "Advertisements omitted this week, we hope, will be inserted in our next [issue]."⁸ Unhappily, neither that issue nor the next carried a single word of advertising. On August 3, 1786, facing an apparently critical financial situation, Edes reduced the size of the *Exchange Advertiser* and his charges to advertisers in an attempt to give the newspaper a new lease on life. This overhaul gained only a reprieve, not a new trial, and during the first week of January 1787 the last issue of the *Exchange Advertiser* was published.⁹

The circumstances attending Peter Edes's transfer to Newport are unknown today. There is no direct evidence as to when he gave up on Boston and decided to try his luck in Rhode Island.¹⁰ Newport, just recovering in 1787 from the devastation of the Revolution, offered substantial benefits in terms of trade and commerce for an enterprising printer. One might become influential and wealthy in a resurgent and thriving seaport. Another significant factor was the

⁸*Exchange Advertiser* (Boston), May 18, 1786.

⁹The *Exchange Advertiser* expired with little mourning and regret on the part of Edes's competitors. On January 6, 1786, the *Massachusetts Centinel* (Boston) wept crocodile tears over the death of the *Exchange Advertiser*, which fell "a victim to a variety of disorders" and "an irreparable loss to dullness, envy and its other kindred friends."

¹⁰News articles in the *Exchange Advertiser* do offer indirect evidence of Edes's growing interest in Rhode Island affairs, particularly the paper money situation, late in the summer and in the fall of 1786. On August 31 Edes reprinted an especially bitter attack on Rhode Island paper money measures. The October 19 number of the *Exchange Advertiser* devoted nearly twenty-five percent of its lineage to Rhode Island news.

paper money struggle which divided the state. Although conclusive evidence is lacking, the mercantile community in Newport probably played a key role in bringing Peter Edes to Rhode Island. In view of the unrelenting anti-paper money and pro-federalist slant of his newspaper, there can be little doubt that the *Newport Herald* was created to serve as a nearly official organ of the Newport merchants.¹¹ Nor can there be much doubt that they needed support. The spring elections of 1786 had resulted in an unprecedented defeat for the mercantile community. With sweeping consistency Rhode Island's freemen voted in overwhelming numbers to give power to a newly organized Country Party and its candidate for governor, John Collins. The mercantile community now became an ineffectual political minority, and the paper money system established in May 1786 as well as the Country Party's intransigent antifederalism were merely measures of the mercantile debacle at the end of the Confederation era. At the very time that these threatening events were occurring, the merchants were without a reliable public voice in Newport. The long established *Newport Mercury* was intermittently published late in 1786 and throughout 1787 because of financial troubles, a transfer of ownership, and the illness of Solomon Southwick, who became sole owner of the paper in 1787. Indeed, Southwick's health was so precarious that the *Mercury* suspended publication entirely after November 8, reappearing again in an abbreviated issue on December 22 with a statement that Southwick hoped that either he or "some other person" might soon resume the publication of the newspaper.¹² Peter Edes's *Newport Herald* was founded to fill a critical gap in public information and public persuasion in Rhode Island's largest city.

It should not be thought that Peter Edes conceived of his journal as simply an arm of the mercantile party in Rhode Island politics. The slender printer's conception of his profession was more honorable and broad-minded than that. Edes understood that the press was more than a business enterprise established to make money; its responsibilities were as much determined by the public good as the publisher's personal needs and preferences. His newspaper would report the truth, elevate a reader's virtue and taste, and facilitate economic

¹¹Boardman, *Peter Edes*, 21-24; Charles E. Hammett, Jr., *A Contribution to the Bibliography and Literature of Newport, Rhode Island* (Providence, 1887), 108-109. ¹²Brigham, *History and Bibliography*, II, 998.

growth through its advertisements and business reports. "TO PUBLISH TRUTH SHALL BE OUR HONEST AIM," Edes proclaimed as the motto of one of his newspapers published after leaving Rhode Island in 1795.¹³ Likewise, the first number of his *Newport Herald* declared that its columns "shall ever be open to the different politicians of the day."¹⁴ Interestingly, considering his aversion to paper money while in Rhode Island, Edes ran into difficulty while editing the *Exchange Advertiser* because he printed an article favorable to a paper emission by the Massachusetts legislature. An enraged subscriber vented his anger by canceling his subscription. Edes responded immediately in his characteristically forthright, principled, and admonitory fashion. "So long as PETER EDES publishes the EXCHANGE ADVERTISER," he proclaimed, "so long it shall be a free, impartial paper — open to ALL parties. Sorry he is to find that a Gentleman — a Gentleman of sense too! should discontinue taking the same on account of his inserting the paragraph . . . respecting paper money. Although that Gentleman has discontinued taking the Exchange Advertiser yet he, or any other Gentleman, may write as much as they please against paper money, and the Printer will publish it; at the same time any piece sent to him in favour of it shall not be discarded."¹⁵ Edes's lofty principles, however, did not preclude a personal and often partisan conception of what the truth might be in reporting the news and what was in the best interest of the state.

In this respect Peter Edes was a confirmed enemy of the paper money Country Party which governed Rhode Island. As he explained time and again in the *Newport Herald*, the motive force behind the Country Party was the paper money system, which it sponsored as a program of public relief. Edes asserted that every measure affecting the state had become *subservient* to the paper money controversy, even the momentous question of the Constitution of 1787. "We have therefore conceived it our duty," Edes wrote frankly in his news columns, "to continue an impartial detail of the progress of this system, not with a view of familiarizing injustice, nor with an intent

¹³*Kennebec Intelligencer* (Augusta), November 14, 1795; Boardman, *Peter Edes*, 26.

¹⁴March 1, 1787.

¹⁵*Exchange Advertiser* (Boston), July 6, 1786. The item favorable to paper money was printed on June 29.

of immortalizing the patrons of it, but to guard our fellow citizens from artful misrepresentations, and to arouse them from the apathy of past delusions to a sense of our common danger, trusting that we may revive the dormant virtues in this state, and that our deviations from justice and honor may prove a salutary monitor to others."¹⁶ The editor was in no way disturbed that a preponderant majority of Rhode Islanders disputed his characterization of the paper money emission as *injustice* and a *deviation* from honor. A newspaper was supposed to print the truth, Edes believed, without care for popularity or profit.

Governed by these convictions and understandings, Peter Edes published a remarkable series of articles in the pages of the *Newport Herald* reporting on the actions of the Rhode Island General Assembly for the period between the spring of 1787 and January 1790, when the legislature acted to convene a convention to ratify the Constitution of 1787. It is likely that Edes prepared some of these accounts himself over the years, although many were supplied by correspondents who attended the legislative sessions. The point of interest in each article was the paper money conflict and its impact on the constitutional question. Most other activities of the Assembly were excluded. Naturally Edes's accounts were colored by his own prejudices. For him these extensive reports took on the nature of a crusade, a campaign of public edification and documentation concerning the "uncheery labyrinth of a paper money system . . . and the injuries arising from sporting with public faith and infringing upon the sacred rights of private contracts."¹⁷ Nothing could dissuade him from printing these biting accounts, not even threats to bar the *Newport Herald* from receiving payments customarily afforded publishers for printing the statutes and resolutions of the government. Although this was an important source of revenue for the average newspaper,¹⁸ Edes snapped in anger that his descriptions of the Assembly's proceedings were printed "without bribe, Fee, or expectancy of office."¹⁹

Despite his bias Edes's reports still provide the best existing description of the debates in the Rhode Island legislature during the later

¹⁶*Newport Herald*, April 10, 1787.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, Jan. 8, 1789.

¹⁸Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Colonial Printer* (Portland, 1938), 227.

¹⁹*Newport Herald*, June 19, 1788.

years of the Confederation period. The manuscript records of the two houses of the General Assembly never reported the debates that occurred on any matter considered by the legislators. The official journals of each house of government offer only a bare outline of laws and resolutions introduced and discussed, occasionally noting the votes on important issues.²⁰ Bills presented to the legislature were usually filed with the clerk of either house, so that we have copies of the original versions of many statutes and resolutions presented to the Assembly.²¹ In some cases the original bills are annotated with the names of their sponsors, and in those instances where they were altered during the course of lawmaking, the manuscripts show deletions and interlined additions to proposals that gained the consent of the members of the legislature. Once passed by the General Assembly, a statute or resolution was then transcribed into a formal book of laws²² and printed for general circulation in Rhode Island.²³ At no point in the legislative process do the manuscripts supply more than a hint of the debates in the two houses of Rhode Island government. These documents, therefore, provide a guide to laws passed by the Assembly, and only in rare instances an insight into the substance of lawmaking and the legislative process. Besides the official records there is a surprisingly small legacy of historical materials remaining from the Confederation generation, especially from those who favored paper money and antifederalism. As a result Peter Edes's articles on the deliberations of the legislature offer a treasury of knowledge concerning the Confederation period in Rhode Island. The Edes reports show clearly the intimate connection between the paper money controversy and the problem of the Rhode Island state debts and provide additional confirmation of the powerful hold of the antifederalists on the people of the state and the General Assembly.

The reports of Peter Edes on the Rhode Island legislature are of

²⁰The manuscript Journals of the House of Deputies, the most numerous and significant branch of Rhode Island government, and the unpublished Journals of the Senate may be found in the Rhode Island State Archives. Each of these Journals is reproduced with items found in other depositories in William Sumner Jenkins, *et al.*, *Records of the States of the United States of America: A Microfilm Compilation Prepared by the Library of Congress in Association with the University of North Carolina* (1949).

²¹Acts and Resolves of the Rhode Island General Assembly, Mss., Rhode Island State Archives.

²²Rhode Island Records, Mss., Rhode Island State Archives. The familiar published edition of Rhode Island laws by John Russell Bartlett is based on this manuscript collection.

special interest for a second reason: they were frequently reprinted in newspapers everywhere in the United States.²⁴ In this period before the contemporary newspaper was born editors depended on the news columns of their rivals for choice information regarding happenings in the United States and abroad. Without the presence of a large staff of reporters or modern press agencies, newspapers regularly duplicated items that had already appeared in journals in other parts of the nation. In consequence the editorial judgment of an individual editor did not necessarily depend on how he wrote a story or whether he distorted the meaning and content of what he reported. An editorial judgment was exercised whenever a publication selected one among several different pieces that had already been printed elsewhere, often in the same city or town. The reproduction of Peter Edes's news pages, therefore, represented a significant determination on the part of many of America's newspaper editors as to what they considered vital and relevant for their readers. Likewise, reprinting

²³At the conclusion of a legislative session, the laws and resolutions of the Assembly were printed and sent to the respective town clerks. This record of the enactments of the legislature was generally referred to as the "printed schedules" of the General Assembly by contemporaries, although it was given the title of "Acts and Resolves" by printers, confusing this collection with the manuscripts cited in note 21. The best reference for the printed laws of Rhode Island is J. Harry Bongartz, *Check List of Rhode Island Laws, Containing a Complete List of the Public Laws and Acts and Resolves of the State of Rhode Island to Date. With Notes and Pagings* (Providence, 1893). The General Assembly also commonly authorized the publication of individual pieces of legislation in the newspapers or as broadsides. For information about these broadsides a handy guide is John E. Alden, *Rhode Island Imprints, 1727-1800* (N. Y., 1949).

²⁴There were seventeen sessions of the General Assembly between the time when the first of Edes's reports appeared until the legislature voted to call a constitutional convention in January 1790. All but one of these meetings of the legislature were extensively recorded in the *Newport Herald*. Almost all of Edes's articles were subsequently reprinted in newspapers throughout the states. His account of the March 1787 session of the Assembly received the most prominent attention among the sixteen in the series. It was republished in the *American Herald* (Boston), March 26, 1787; *Massachusetts Gazette* (Boston), March 27, 1787; *Independent Gazette* (Boston), March 26, 1787; *Boston Gazette*, March 26, 1787; *Massachusetts Centinel* (Boston), March 28, 1787; *Essex Journal* (Newburyport, Mass.), March 28, 1787; *Connecticut Gazette* (New London), March 30, 1787; *Connecticut Journal* (New Haven), April 4, 1787; *American Mercury* (Hartford), April 2, 1787; *New-York Packet* (N.Y.C.), April 6, 1787; *Daily Advertiser* (N.Y.C.), April 6, 1787; *Pennsylvania Packet* (Philadelphia), April 2, 1787; *Freeman's Journal* (Philadelphia), April 4, 1787; *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), April 4, 1787; *Pennsylvania Journal* (Philadelphia), April 4, 1787; *Columbian Herald* (Charleston, S. C.), April 16, 19, 26, 1787; and the *Gazette of the State of Georgia* (Savannah), April 26, 1787.

Edes's material was also a subtle token of the political and economic values of the editors and their subscribers. Rhode Islanders knew very well that Peter Edes and his *Newport Herald* were hardly objective observers of the passing scene in Rhode Island. Presumably they might automatically discount his principles and prejudices. Outside of Rhode Island this was not the case. The nation's press copied Edes's series on the proceedings of the General Assembly without proper caution that his indictment of the legislature might in any way be questionable and controversial. Accordingly, there can be little doubt that Edes's views were shared by his professional colleagues and the majority of their readers. Evidence to sustain this conclusion is not difficult to find, because there were occasions when individual editors added their own opinions to support the already strident allegations of Peter Edes. The best instance of this was the case of Francis Childs, the peppery and strong-minded publisher of the *Daily Advertiser*, an influential New York City newspaper. Childs reproduced one of Edes's reports under the heading "Quintessence of Villainy," seeking thereby to eternalize Rhode Island's infamy and warn other states to avoid its fate. Childs asserted that Edes's articles were irrefutable proof of "a State verging into anarchy and ruin from democratic licentiousness, while her Representatives are actuated by the most dangerous sentiments of usurpation and despotism."²⁵ Obviously this was a supposedly shocking record of sin. It has served ever since, unfortunately, to distort the history and meaning of Rhode Island's Confederation experience with paper money and antifederalism.

[to be continued]

²⁵*Daily Advertiser* (N.Y.C.), April 6, 1787. Childs's allegations were so extreme they drew the criticism of Rhode Island's congressional delegation, which included the anti-paper money leader, James Mitchell Varnum. The congressmen complained in a letter to Governor George Clinton of New York that Childs's newspaper should be censured by the New York Assembly. Their protest declared that Childs's publication about Rhode Island was a "daring insult to a sovereign state, [which] they consider as the most SCANDALOUS OF LIBELS." For details on the formal protest to Governor Clinton and the ensuing controversy which resulted regarding the freedom of the press consult Varnum and Peleg Arnold to Gov. John Collins, N.Y., April 7, 1787, *Record of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England*, 10 vols., ed., John R. Bartlett (Providence, R. I., 1856-1865), X, 245-246; *Daily Advertiser* (N.Y.C.), April 9, 1787; *Connecticut Gazette* (New London), April 20, 1787; *Connecticut Journal* (New Haven), April 25, 1787; and the *Massachusetts Centinel* (Boston), April 25, 1787.

AN ARITHMETIC WORKBOOK OF 1827-1828 AS A SOURCE FOR RHODE ISLAND SOCIAL HISTORY

by RIDGWAY F. SHINN, JR.,

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SEVERAL YEARS AGO, an arithmetic workbook of over one hundred pages came into my possession. This workbook was considered a mere curiosity and unworthy of preserving any longer; it was assigned to the trash when a storeroom was to be cleaned. The workbook, fortunately salvaged, proved to be of considerable interest. It is obviously a handmade affair. Some sort of leather forms the cover while the heavy paper pages, folded and tied together in groups of seven to ten sheets, are sewed to the outside cover. Most of the pages have been divided into double columns, each of which is well-filled with problems or with rules.¹ Closer examination of this workbook has indicated a number of clues to the social history of the time and place where it was used, that is, "the daily life of the inhabitants of the land in past ages."²

The workbook belonged to Reynolds C. Crandall who was born February 16, 1810, in Charlestown, Rhode Island, and who died June 21, 1895, in Litchfield, Connecticut. He used this workbook in 1827 and 1828; both dates appear in the manuscript in "corner jottings" within a few pages of each other. Seventeen or eighteen years old when he studied this arithmetic course in Charlestown, he moved to Litchfield in his early twenties.³

Several facets of the life of the times, the federal period in southern Rhode Island, may be examined through this workbook. The arithmetic course itself as it may be deduced from the workbook rather

¹See specimen page 46.

²G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History* (New York and Toronto: Longmans, Green, 1943), p. vii.

³From Charlestown, Crandall moved to Litchfield, Connecticut, where records of the Methodist Church indicate he became a member in 1842. At some point in the early 1850s, he went to California to ply his trade as a carpenter only to return again to Litchfield where he lived and worked the rest of his life.

This sketch of Reynolds Crandall's life is based on information given to me in a letter from his granddaughter, Mrs. Bertha K. Baldwin then of Great Barrington, Massachusetts. Records in the Town Clerk's Office and at the Methodist Church in Litchfield, Connecticut, confirm Crandall's dates as stated in Mrs. Baldwin's letter.

than seen in a printed teacher's manual is of importance, for it indicates the mathematical skills deemed necessary for that time. The space devoted to reduction of currencies and coin as well as the sections given to problems dealing with exchange of commodities indicates the business demands of the times. Some of the marginalia give delightful insights into customary social activities.

The plan of the arithmetic course as it appears from this workbook permits one to determine what a young man was expected to know in arithmetical processes. There is no indication where this course was studied, whether in a town school, private academy, or with some private tutor. The various topics included in this course of study are listed below in the order in which they appear. The titles are those that Crandall wrote in his flowing handwriting at the head of each topic. To indicate some proportion, I have noted the number of pages he devoted to each topic.

TABLE I
CONTENT OF REYNOLDS CRANDALL'S WORKBOOK

Topic Number	Crandall's Title	Number of Pages
1	Reduction of Decimals	6
2	Contractions in Decimals	2
3	Reduction of Currencies	4
4	Reduction of Coin	3
5	The Rule of Three Direct	9
6	The Rule of Three Inverse	1
7	Interest	
	Simple Interest	4
	Commission	$\frac{1}{2}$
	Brokerage	$\frac{1}{2}$
	Insurance	2
	Compound Interest	2
8	Discount	2
9	Annuities	2
10	Equation of Payments	2
11	Barter	2
12	Loss and Gain	4
13	Fellowship	
	Single Fellowship	3
	Compound Fellowship	2
14	Double Rule of Three	2
15	Vulgar Fractions	8

16	Addition of Vulgar Fractions	1
17	Subtraction of Vulgar Fractions	1
18	Multiplication of Vulgar Fractions	1
19	Division of Vulgar Fractions	1
20	Rule of Three Direct in Vulgar Fractions	2
21	Inverse Proportion	1
22	Rule of Three Direct in Decimals	2
23	Involution	1
24	Extraction of the Square Root	2
	To Extract the Square Root of Vulgar Fractions	2
	Extraction of Cube Root	3
25	Alligation	1
	Alligation Medial	2
26	Alternation Partial	2
27	Arithmetical Progression	2
28	Geometric Progression	6
29	Double Position	4
30	A Collection of questions to exercise the foregoing rules	14

The very outline of the course indicates the mathematical content to be mastered. The five most extensively treated topics were: interest (14 pages), vulgar fractions (14 pages), whole number problems dealing with merchants (11 pages), other whole number problems (10 pages), and decimals (10 pages). This distribution may be compared to that reported by Smith and Eaton in their study of arithmetic textbooks used in early nineteenth-century America where they indicated that, in per cent of space, the five most important topics were: whole numbers, vulgar fractions, compound denominate numbers, percentage, and proportion.⁴ Crandall, clearly, was exposed to the most commonly treated arithmetic topics.

Further implications for social history appear in those sections that deal with the reduction of currencies and coin. It is surprising to find so many problems still stated in terms of pounds, shillings, and pence in the 1820s. The dollar, in regular use as a unit of measure in colonial West Indian trade, had been estimated as the national monetary unit by Congress under the Articles of Confederation in 1784 and again

⁴See Table V, "Per Cent of Space Devoted to Topics by Periods in American Arithmetics, 1710-1880," in John A. Nietz, *Old Textbooks* (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961), pp. 148-149. This course of study that Crandall followed seems to parallel Dilworth's quite closely; see specimen table of contents, *ibid.*, p. 144.

Reduction of Currencies

Examples

1. Reduce 77lb New England & Virginia Currency to federal money

$$\begin{array}{r} 77 \text{ lb} \\ 10 \text{ s} \\ 6 \text{ d} \\ \hline 1540 \text{ cts} \\ 1540 \text{ cts} \end{array}$$

2. Reduce 45lb 15s 7 7/9d New England Currency to federal money

$$\begin{array}{r} 45 \text{ lb} \\ 15 \text{ s} \\ 7 \frac{7}{9} \text{ d} \\ \hline 900 \text{ cts} \\ 900 \text{ cts} \end{array}$$

3. Reduce 105lb 14s 3 3/4d New York and North Carolina Currency to federal money

$$\begin{array}{r} 105 \text{ lb} \\ 14 \text{ s} \\ 3 \frac{3}{4} \text{ d} \\ \hline 2100 \text{ cts} \\ 2100 \text{ cts} \end{array}$$

4. Reduce 241lb New England and Virginia Currency to federal money

$$\begin{array}{r} 241 \text{ lb} \\ 10 \text{ s} \\ 6 \text{ d} \\ \hline 4820 \text{ cts} \\ 4820 \text{ cts} \end{array}$$

5. Borrowed 10 English crowns at 6s 8d each how many Dols at 68 will repay the debt

$$\begin{array}{r} 10 \text{ crowns} \\ 6 \text{ s} \\ 8 \text{ d} \\ \hline 680 \text{ cts} \\ 680 \text{ cts} \end{array}$$

6. Reduce 36lb 11s 8 1/2d New Jersey & C Currency to federal money (3)

$$\begin{array}{r} 36 \text{ lb} \\ 11 \text{ s} \\ 8 \frac{1}{2} \text{ d} \\ \hline 720 \text{ cts} \\ 720 \text{ cts} \end{array}$$

by the new federal Congress in 1792. As a matter of fact state banks in New England issued notes only in dollar units after 1784. Some businessmen, however, still kept their accounts in pounds, shillings, and pence, units to which they were long accustomed. The explanation for these units in arithmetic problems probably lies in curriculum content rather than in law or custom. The most widely used arithmetic manual in this period was written in 1773 by Thomas Dilworth, *The Schoolmaster's Assistant: Being a Compendium of Arithmetic both Practical and Theoretical*.⁵ English-authored, this manual would naturally cite problems in English units. But even the first relatively popular American-authored arithmetic manual, Nicholas Pike's, *A New and Complete System of Arithmetic*, based all currency problems on English monetary units and it was published in 1788. Not until Nathan Daboll's, *Schoolmaster's Assistant* in 1800 were monetary problems cited in both English and American units.⁶ Thus, the likelihood exists that the currency problems with which Crandall labored were based primarily on Dilworth's manual and the continued use of these in the 1820s in Charlestown is a reflection of a time lag in the arithmetic curriculum.

In spite of the curriculum lag certain of the problems show what a young person was, apparently, expected to know about money and its exchange.⁷ And these indicate how federal exchange was appearing as important.

- Reduce 77lb New England and Virginia Currency to federal money
- Reduce 45lb 15s 7 7/9d New England currency to federal money
- Reduce [?]lb 10s 1 1/4d New Hampshire & C currency to Spanish milled dols or federal money
- Reduce 105lb 14s 3 3/4d New York and North Carolina currency to federal money
- Change 241lb New England and Virginia Currency to federal money
- Borrowed 10 English crowns at 6s 8d each how many Dols at 68 will repay the debt
- Reduce 36lb 11s 8 1/2d New Jersey & C Currency to federal money (3)

⁵The text which was reprinted most often and which had by far the widest circulation here of any English authored arithmetic was Thomas Dilworth's . . .", *ibid.*, p. 143.

⁶For comments on Pike's manual, see *ibid.*, pp. 156-157. For comments on Daboll, see *ibid.*, pp. 161-162.

⁷Numbers in parentheses refer to the topic listing in Table I. Spellings are Crandall's!

Reduce \$ 152 — 60cts to New england currency
Reduce \$ 627 into New York currency (4)

An interesting rule is included for changing money: "To reduce Fedrel money to Canada Novascotia curenry Rule Divide the Dollars &c by 4 the quotient will be pounds and Decimals of a pound."
(4) Even with the federal dollar standard, one still had to be able to comprehend a multi-money system and to work out equivalents among various values. The inclusion of a specific rule to deal with Canadian exchanges suggests that this may well have been important knowledge in New England coastal ports.

In addition to the topics on currencies and coins, those that deal with the problems of the merchant are especially interesting for social history. What people bought and sold, the quantities used in these transactions, and, indeed, how they conducted such exchanges are significant aspects of the life of the times. Undoubtedly, some of the problems exaggerate quantities for purposes of drill. The following problems, in any case, indicate some of the goods used in trade.

If 3 cwt of sugar cost 81lb 8s what will 11cwt cost
If one pair of stockings cost 4s 6d what will 19 dozen pair cost
At 10½d per pound what is the value of a firkin of butter weight 56lb
Bought 8 chests of sugar . . .
If 12 lb of Tea cost 6 dollars 78 cts and 9 mills what will 5 lb cost at the same rate
When a tone of wine cost 140 dollars what cost 1 quart
Bought 3 hhd of sugar each weighing 8 cwt 1 gr 12 lb at 7 Dol 38 cts per cwt what come they to
Bought 3 hhd of Brandy containing 61 62 62½ gallons at 1 Dol 38 cts per galon
Bought 50 pieces of kersey each 34 Ells Flemish at 854d per Ell English what Did they all cost
Bought 200 yards of cam-brick for 20 lb . . .
A gentlemen bought 18 pipes of wine at 12s 6d (New Jersey curenry) per galon how many dollars will pay the purchase (5)

Other problems list rice, molasses, chocolate, and tobacco as commodities with which to reckon. One's head fairly spins with the different units of measure, with the currency exchanges, with the variety of commodities, and with the complex arithmetical processes needful to work out the problems. This cluster of problems underscores the importance of trade and the role of the merchant.

Two types of exchange are treated in these problems. Most of the problems deal with direct cash exchange. But barter has its own rules and problems. The rule is stated: "Find the value of the commodity whose quantity is given then find what quantity of the other at the proposed rate can be bought for the same money and it gives the answer." (11) A series of problems then provide practice for the young student in using this rule.

How much rice at 28s per cwt must be bartered for 8½ cwt of raisens at 5d per lb
B delivered 3 hhd of brandy at 658d per gallon to C for 126 yds of cloth what was the cloth per yard
How much tea at 4s 1d per lb must be given in barter for 78 gallons of brandy at 12s 8½d per gallon (11)

The importance of trade appears again in the sections devoted to fellowship. Here it is obvious that varied forms of investment, the risks of loss, and the rewards of gain required a mathematical formulation. Rules are stated, presumably mastered, and numerous problems are set for practice.

Three partners A B and C shiped 108 mules for the West Indies of which A owned 48 B 36 and C 24 But in the stress of weather the Mariners were obliged to throw 45 of them overboard I demand how much of the loss each owner must sustain (13)
A captain Mate and 20 seamen took a prize worth 3501 dols of which the captain takes 11 shares and the mate 5 shares the remainder of the prize is equally divided amongue the sailors how much did each man receive (13)
Three persons purchased a West India sloop towards the payment of which A advanced 38 B 37 and C 140£ How much paid A and B and what part of the vessel had C (30)

Shares, loss and gain, were real problems to New England folk in this period.

Along with the arithmetic course itself, the problems on currencies and coin, and the topics on merchant activities, some of the marginalia that Crandall wrote in the corners or on the covers of his workbook furnish insights into some of the activities of the period. The first notation states: "February the 27th A 1827 this day went into the woods helped hicox lode a log." (5) The second reads: "Feb the 20 this night went to Singing School." (5) A bit further along in the workbook, Crandall wrote a more extensive note:

Charlestown Feb 29th A 1828 this afternoon our folks had a quilting and in the evening we hopped around like mice till about one in the morning and I went part of the way along with Elizabeth and she fel down and I run over her. (5)

Perhaps Crandall lacked gallantry! These three marginal notes do confirm knowledge of the place of wood cutting, the singing school, and quilting bees as important aspects of the life of those times. And it is good to know that even then young men found chances to walk young ladies home!

Two other remarks complete the notes that Crandall wrote. At the bottom of a page on reduction of coin and currencies was placed the single word, "Amen." (4) Whether this signifies devotion, a sense of humor, or just plain gratitude that the page was finished is not clear. I suspect he was simply relieved to finish all those complex problems and that he might, could he have spelled it, just as well have written a "hallelujah" before the "Amen." The other notation does suggest that Crandall was a young man who had attended Sunday School and church for he wrote the verse of a hymn.

PETITION

O! for a closer walk with God,
A calm and heavenly frame;
A light to shine upon the road,
That leads me to the Lamb. (30)⁸

This arithmetic workbook, then, which was regarded solely as a curiosity and as fire material, actually contains many clues to the social history of the period in which it was used. Its mathematical content clearly indicates the nature of this aspect of the school curriculum. The regular use of the terms in which people thought about money and commodities, about the issues of trade, and about methods of exchange provides insight into their economic frame of reference. Crandall's incidental notes identify some of the social activities in which people of that time regularly engaged. Reynolds Crandall of Charlestown, Rhode Island, in working his way through a standard arithmetic course in the 1820s, unconsciously provided an interesting source for the social history of his time.

⁸A common hymn included in many collections, it was a poem written by William Cowper in 1772.

THE PROVIDENCE JEWISH COMMUNITY AFTER 125 YEARS OF DEVELOPMENT

by SIDNEY GOLDSTEIN

Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Brown University

ALTHOUGH JEWS settled in Newport as early as the middle of the seventeenth century (thereby becoming one of the earliest Jewish communities in Colonial America), they did not arrive in Providence until almost two centuries later. In 1838 Solomon Pareira, a native of Holland, moved to Providence with his wife.¹ Within the next decade the nucleus of a Jewish community was formed. From 1850 until after the Civil War Providence attracted only few additional Jewish families: there were only eighteen Jewish names listed in the 1870 city directory. After 1870 the number of Jews in the area increased considerably, so that by the following decade about 150 Jewish families lived in the Providence-Pawtucket area. Many were merchants of various kinds, but they also included a physician, an optician, and a librarian. Most of these early arrivals came from the countries of Western Europe.

The significant growth of the Jewish community began after 1880 as immigrants from Eastern Europe poured into the city. By 1885 the city directory listed about 250 Jewish names; by 1900 it contained 1,607 Jewish names. With greater numbers came greater occupational diversity. By the turn of the century merchants, tailors, and peddlers were still numerous, as were shoemakers and jewelry workers, but there were also two lawyers, five physicians, seven rabbis, fourteen teachers, four musicians, and a bartender. Jews could in fact be found throughout the occupational structure.

As the community's size grew, so did its formal organizations and institutions. The first synagogue building in Providence was erected in 1891. By that time four other congregations catering to various ethnic segments in the community had appeared and were meeting in homes or rented halls. In the ensuing 50 years no fewer than twenty-three separate synagogues had received charters, although not all of these existed simultaneously. Many assistance and benevolence

¹The history of the Jewish community is based on material found in *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, Vols. I-III (Providence: Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association, June 1954-May 1962).

societies traditionally associated with Jewish life also sprang up during this time. As early as 1870 a lodge of B'nai B'rith was organized for "Mutual benefit and for benevolent and charitable purposes."² Not all of the organizations founded by members of the Jewish community during these years concerned themselves with their members' religious or physical welfare. The large number of Jews who were naturalized during this period indicates both the huge inflow of immigrants and their desire to become good citizens of their adopted country. There were organizations to help them. In 1890 the Wendell Phillips Educational Club stated as its purpose not only to provide beneficial aid to its members but also to "educate the members in the English language."³ Fifteen years later the United Hebrew Citizens Association of Rhode Island organized "to qualify men of the Hebrew faith in the highest duties of citizenship, and to inspire them with such a proper regard for American institutions and ideals as will tend to make them a valued factor in society."⁴ The institutional structure of the Jewish community of Providence was well established.

World War I and the curbs on immigration in the 1920s eliminated a major source of growth for the Jewish community. As a result the Jewish population has become increasingly American-born and further removed from its European origins. Contacts with the larger non-Jewish community increased in schools, on jobs, and in general social situations. In Providence, as in all of the United States, Jews have been achieving a much more integrated status in the general American community. Yet exact information on the Jewish population, or for that matter, on any other religious group in the community, is lacking because of the omission of any question on religion in the decennial federal census. To obtain information on the size, distribution, and characteristics of the Jewish population, the General Jewish Committee of Greater Providence (the central agency of the Jewish community) undertook a population survey of the Jewish community in the summer of 1963. The area encompassed by the survey included Providence, Pawtucket, Cranston, Central Falls, Warwick, East Greenwich, West Warwick, East Providence, Barrington, Warren, and Bristol. This report summarizes some of the major

findings of that survey.⁵

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Distribution: In 1963 there were 19,695 Jews living in Greater Providence, with slightly more than half of the total living in the city of Providence itself. Providence and Pawtucket together accounted for two thirds of the total Jewish population; the remaining one third was distributed among the various suburbs, the largest concentration being in the city of Cranston, with one fifth of the total Jewish population. The Warwick area contained eight per cent of the total, and the remaining two per cent were located in the East Providence-Barrington area. Like the total population of Greater Providence the over-all size of the Jewish population has not changed markedly during the past ten years. However, the distribution of the population has changed considerably. The older areas of Jewish settlement in the city, namely the South Side and the North End, both lost more than half of their Jewish population between 1951 and 1963. The East Side and adjoining Pawtucket areas were the only sections of the central cities to gain population in this interval. The most striking change has been the growth of the proportion of Jews living in the suburbs; from 11.8 per cent in 1951 to 30.9 per cent in 1963. In fact, Jews have participated in the suburban movement to a greater extent than has the general population.

Age: On the average the Jewish population of Greater Providence is somewhat older than that of the total population. This difference does not stem from a larger proportion of Jews in the very oldest age groups, but rather from a higher concentration of the Jewish population in the middle age range. At both extremes of the age pyramid the proportion of Jews is less than the proportion in the total population; this is particularly true of the very youngest age group, reflecting the lower fertility of the Jews.

Nativity: For Rhode Island as a whole the foreign-born decreased from a high of about one third of the population in 1910 to exactly ten per cent of the state's population in 1960. The Jewish population followed this same pattern; however, since almost all of the Jewish

⁵For a full discussion and the detailed statistical analysis, see Sidney Goldstein, *The Greater Providence Jewish Community: A Population Survey* (Providence: The General Jewish Committee of Providence, Inc., 1964).

²*Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, II (1), p. 22.

³*Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 39.

arrivals in Providence were born abroad, the percentage of foreign-born within the Jewish population was somewhat higher than that in the general population, and this has continued until the present time, so that only 17 per cent of the 1963 Jewish population was foreign-born. Yet more significant is the fact that the Jewish population of Greater Providence, like almost every other American Jewish community, is becoming increasingly third and fourth generation American. *Marriage and Fertility:* The survey documents the positive value placed by Jews on the institutions of marriage and family. Compared to the general population proportionately more Jews were married and fewer were divorced or separated. Moreover, the great majority of both men and women marry at some point in their lifetime. The stability of Jewish marriages is evidenced not only in the comparatively low proportion of divorced and separated persons in the Jewish population but also in the low proportion of both Jewish men and women who have been married a second time.

Over the long run Jewish fertility patterns have changed in the same direction as have those of the general population; but although the over-all patterns have been similar, the actual level of Jewish fertility has been below that of the general population. As measured by the fertility ratio (that is, the number of children under five years of age per 1,000 women aged 20-44) the fertility of the Jewish population of Greater Providence, 450, was only three fourths as great as the fertility ratio of 620 characterizing the total population living in the area. The low level of Jewish fertility is a key factor in accounting for the relative stability in the over-all size of the Jewish population. *Education, Occupation, and Veteran's Status:* Among the greatest differentials between the Jewish and the total populations are those of education and occupation. Most striking is the high educational achievement of the Jewish population. On the average Jews had three years more schooling than did the total population, but even this differential masks the very sharp difference with respect to the proportion who have had a college education; 40 per cent of the adult Jews had attended college compared to only 13 per cent of the general population. Data on current enrollment suggest that the rate of drop-out of Jewish students from high school is very low and the proportion enrolled at the college level is very high, to the point that almost 90 per cent of all Jewish youth can be expected to attend

college in the near future.

Jews also differ from the general population with respect to participation in the labor force and in specific occupational affiliation. For younger age groups the proportion in the labor force is considerably below that of the total population because of the much stronger tendency of Jewish youth to remain in school longer. On the other hand, at the other end of the age hierarchy, the proportion of Jews, and particularly of Jewish males, in the labor force is considerably higher than that of the total population. This stems from the fact that proportionally more Jews are self-employed and are therefore not subject to involuntary retirement at age 65. The labor force participation rate of Jewish women is below that of the total population.

Despite increased heterogeneity in the occupational composition of the Jewish labor force, there is a heavy concentration in white-collar occupations, with approximately 90 per cent of both the employed men and women so classified, compared to 42 per cent of the total population. This, coupled with the very high educational achievement of the Jewish population, represents the major respects in which the Jewish population differs demographically from the total population of the community. Together, these differences reflect the traditionally high value placed by Jews on education, partly as a result of the intellectual content of Judaism and partly as a result of the perception of education as a means of social mobility. In combination these factors account for the very high proportion of Jews in white-collar occupations. As increasing proportions of the general population receive college educations and as a larger percentage of the labor force becomes white-collar, these differentials between the Jewish and non-Jewish groups will undoubtedly diminish.

The survey also determined the number of Jewish veterans in the population. The results show a very close similarity in veterans' status between Jews and the total population. Among males 20 years old and over in the total population, 49 per cent are veterans; among Jewish males, 45 per cent are veterans.

Migration Patterns: In the past a major factor in the growth of the Jewish population of Greater Providence had been the large influx of persons from abroad and to a lesser extent from other parts of the United States. Moreover the changing pattern of population distribution within Greater Providence has resulted from the movement of

people from the older to the newer areas of settlement. Not only is 83 per cent of the current Jewish population American born, but a large majority were actually born in Rhode Island. In addition a considerable proportion of those who were born elsewhere has been resident here for at least 25 years. Within the area, Jews, like the total population, have a strong tendency to be residentially mobile. Fewer than one in five persons are living in the same house now as in 1940. This is particularly true in the suburbs. Over half of the Jewish population residing in the suburban communities has moved there since 1955, whereas well below ten per cent of the population living in the two oldest sections of settlement in Providence has moved into these areas as recently as 1955.

IDENTIFICATION AS JEWS

Attention thus far has been focused on the demographic characteristics of the population. This review has shown that in many respects the Jewish population of Greater Providence closely resembles the total population, but that in certain categories there are still relatively sharp demographic differences. Yet as the Jewish population becomes more fully integrated into the larger community and as the larger community itself continues to undergo change (including rising levels of education, increasing proportions of workers in white-collar jobs, and greater control of fertility), it is likely that the demographic distinctions between the Jewish and the total population will diminish further. As a step in the direction of measuring the degree of social integration information was collected on a variety of behavioral factors associated with the practice of Judaism and participation in the organized life of the Jewish community.

Religious Identification: Ninety-five per cent of the Jewish population identified themselves with one of the three branches of Judaism—Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform. The majority of the population is Conservative, approximately one quarter is classified as Reform, and only 16 per cent is Orthodox. A number of studies has shown a rising level of affiliation for various religious denominations throughout the United States. Consistent with these findings the Jewish community is characterized by a high level of affiliation, with over three fourths of the population reporting membership in a synagogue or temple. Yet the data suggest that membership does not stem necessarily from an increased concern with religious practice. Only a small

minority of the adult population reported attendance at synagogue services with any degree of regularity. Rather, synagogue or temple membership for many persons seems to represent the mechanism by which the individual identifies himself as Jewish in the larger community. For many, too, it stems from the desire to provide their children with a Jewish education. Three fourths of all children between 5 and 14 years of age are currently enrolled in a program of Jewish studies. *Organizational Affiliation:* Identification with the Jewish community also evidenced itself through a high proportion of persons reporting membership in one or more Jewish organizations; in fact, almost two thirds of the total population and at least three quarters of the adult population reported having one or more memberships in Jewish groups. The older the person, the larger was the number of groups with which he was affiliated. The level of participation by Jews in non-Jewish organizations is below that of participation in Jewish groups. However, the data point to a general narrowing of differentials among the younger segments of the population and suggest that in time the different patterns of participation in Jewish and non-Jewish organizations will greatly diminish.

Intermarriage: Until recently studies of intermarriage in the United States have shown that the Jewish groups have been remarkably successful, compared to other groups, in maintaining religious endogamy. Yet several recent studies suggest that the rate of intermarriage may be higher than has generally been assumed.⁶ In contrast to these the data for Greater Providence point to a relatively low rate of intermarriage; just under five per cent of the units in which the head of the household was married represented mixed marriages. Of these the largest number by far involved a Jewish husband and a wife who was born non-Jewish. Among the married couples almost four out of every ten of the non-Jewish spouses had converted to Judaism.

The data by age suggest that the rate of intermarriage tends to be higher among the youngest persons, but that the proportion of non-Jewish partners who are converted to Judaism is also higher among the younger groups. Similarly the rate of intermarriage increases as one moves from the foreign-born to the second and third generation Americans, but the rate of conversion of the non-Jewish spouse to

⁶Cf. Eric Rosenthal, "Studies of Jewish Intermarriage in the United States," *American Jewish Yearbook, 1963* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1963), pp. 3-53.

Judaism is also higher among the third generation than among the foreign-born. Finally, the data indicating the religious faith in which children of mixed marriages were being raised suggest that in a majority of cases the children were being raised as Jews. The comparatively low rates of intermarriage for Providence probably reflect the relatively strong and long established Jewish communal life which characterizes the area.

CONCLUSION

The Providence Jewish community has undergone several stages in its development. From 1840 to 1880 the basis for the community was established and the first institutions were formed. The next four decades — 1880 to 1920 — were years of enormous growth and change. These years of heavy Eastern European immigration left their greatest mark on the structure and character of the community. Then began a period of consolidation and maturation, as the immigrants and their offspring built upon and molded the earlier structure to meet their changing needs.

By mid-twentieth century the Providence Jewish community seemed quite stable. Yet, although it had changed little in size, there were significant changes taking place in both the demographic structure and the behavioral patterns. The Jewish community is entering a new stage in its development as Jews become more dispersed among the larger population and as they become increasingly third and fourth generation Americans. In many respects Jews are becoming increasingly like the general population, and many of the differentials that are now evident will greatly diminish in the future. At the same time the Jews of Providence maintain strong ties within their own religious community. These patterns both of change and of persistence must be viewed within the broader context of the American social structure. Religion has become the socially acceptable way of perpetrating group differences; unity in the United States today is a unity in multiplicity, but along a religious dimension. Recognition of religion has become a basis for self-identification, and to belong to a religious group is to belong within American society.⁷ The analysis suggests that a new type of Jew is developing, one who feels equally comfortable in being both a Jew and an American.

⁷Will Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew, An Essay in American Religious Sociology* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955).

BOOK REVIEW

Thomas Smith Webb, Freemason, Musician, Entrepreneur, by Herbert T. Leyland, Dayton, Ohio, Otterbein Press, 1965, xv, 465 p.

With both the bicentennial of the birth and the sesquicentennial of the demise of Thomas Smith Webb near at hand, a biography of this distinguished gentleman — "freemason — musician — entrepreneur," — is especially timely. The work of Herbert T. Leyland, distinguished Mason, lawyer, and historian, published under the sponsorship of The Chapter of Research of the Grand Chapter, Royal Arch Masons, of Ohio, is monumental. One is soon aware of the vast amount of research involved and is impressed with the painstaking accuracy of detail. Extensive footnotes at the end of each chapter document all statements of fact. In breadth of dimension and attention to detail the study is without equal.

It was the author's avowed intent to pay attention to Webb *the man*. By attempting to portray all phases of his life, the author entertains "the hope that the reader may find thereby *the man* who was named Thomas Smith Webb." How admirably he has succeeded can be discovered only by reading the book at firsthand.

The biography is a delineation of the chronological sequence of the events in Webb's life. One of the interesting aspects of the book is that the reader is oriented to each new community to which Webb goes: to its geography and to the business, social, and political life as it existed at the time.

Born in Boston and named for his great uncle, a Congregational minister, Webb attended Boston Latin School. He was graduated at fourteen and served an apprenticeship as a bookbinder under his father.

The biographic thread of Webb's business activities takes one first to Keene, New Hampshire, and then back to Boston — in two false starts. He then went to Hartford and enjoyed brief success. Moving to Albany, he formed a partnership in wallpaper manufacturing and experienced six years of success, advancing from an artisan of little means to a businessman of modest financial resources. In 1799 came the decision to settle in Providence. Here Webb had fifteen years of intense activity and substantial business success in the operation of a bookstore, a wallpaper manufactory, a cotton mill, and a fire insurance company. With retirement at forty a possibility, he made the ill-fated decision to own and operate a cotton mill in Walpole.

The unforeseen impact of the lifting of the embargo of 1807 and the dumping of English stockpiles at prices below American costs of manufacture, resulted in the shut-down of the mill because of the lack of orders and precipitated Webb's decision to settle in Ohio and engage in activities of the Worthington Manufacturing Company with machinery moved from Walpole. Difficulties in selling properties in Providence, Walpole, and Boston intensified the acute need for readily usable assets. Finally the devastating blow came with the financial panic of 1818-1819. The Worthington Company went into decline and potential collapse with Webb as its general agent. This, together with court action by creditors in Boston and sheriff sales in Walpole, provided ample causes for hypertension, which medical science could not detect (much less

treat) and resulted in Webb's untimely death in Cleveland on his trip to take up residence in Ohio. The reader cannot fail to sense the tragedy of the anticlimax of a highly successful business career and to wonder what might have been had Webb remained in Rhode Island.

The biographic thread of Webb's community activities began as a slender strand in Hartford: church attendance, community dances, and service in the militia. In Albany other strands were added: opening a circulating library at his bookstore; director and vice-president of the Albany Mechanics Society, artisans desiring to assist members in financial distress. In Providence the thread attained its greatest diameter as Webb entered largely into civic affairs. He was a member of the Rhode Island Militia becoming lieutenant colonel commandant 2nd Reg.; repeatedly selected to school committee; member of The Fire Company; member of the choir of the First Congregational Church, later transferring membership to St. John's Episcopal Church; part owner and director of the Providence Library Company; several years on the committee for the Independence Day Celebration; working first with Hewitt and then with Shaw, professional musicians, in promoting community interest and participation in music; charter member and first president of the Psallonian Society, dedicated to promote knowledge and practice of sacred music. Moving to Boston in 1814, Webb's activities were concentrated in music: member of the Boston Philharmonic Society; associated with Brattle Street Church Choir and the Second Baptist Church Singing Society; promoter, organizer, and first president of the Handel and Haydn Society and later becoming its conductor and vocalist in several large and highly acclaimed concerts. With only brief residence in Columbus and Worthington, Webb had little opportunity to engage in civic affairs. The reader will be impressed by the extent of participation and quality of leadership which Webb gave to community affairs. The golden strand in the biographic thread will be identified as music, begun in Boston as a boy taking lessons from William Billings, the American composer; continued in Providence in association with Shaw as attested by the cover-liner of this book, and ended in triumph among the elite in his native city.

The biographic thread of Webb's Masonic activities began in Keene, New Hampshire, at age of nineteen when made a member of Rising Sun Lodge and continued until the day of his death when he was serving as Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Encampment of Knights Templar of the United States.

Although it was Capitular Masonry that sponsored Leyland in his research and publication, the author was motivated to include all areas of Webb's Masonic activities. This he does with remarkable finesse. Leyland gives substantial attention to the classic publication, *The Freemason's Monitor, or Illustrations of Masonry*, first appearing in 1797 when Webb was only twenty-six and running into seven editions prior to his death. Contents of the first edition and the improvements in each succeeding edition are given in detail.

The significance of the impact of *The Monitor* upon the development of Freemasonry and the quality of its ritualistic work is indicated. Webb was a perfectionist who saw the dangers of impairment by word of mouth transmission

from generation to generation. He preferred to transfer to writing to insure quality and excellence. Many of the prayers, lectures, hymns, and charges found in Masonic ritual together with ceremonies for the consecration of a lodge, the dedication of Masonic Halls and the Masonic funeral service were written or refined and recorded by him.

Webb's superior bent for organization is described: the taking of the Scottish, the English, and the Irish features of Freemasonry in early America and fusing them with an Americanized version of the English craft degrees to form the system now designated as the York Rite, which includes the degrees of the Chapter and of the Commandery.

This done, Webb foresaw the need of central control to preserve uniformity. Leyland describes how he proceeded to develop Grand Chapters and Grand Commanderies within states, and for still broader communication, a General Grand Chapter and a Grand Encampment. Webb's ability to work amiably with others, his great persuasive power, and his success in reconciling differences are noted.

Webb's extensive travels in the interests of Freemasonry are recorded with great care. The local reader will find much interest in the account of Webb's multiple Masonic affiliations and activities in Rhode Island and will discover the appropriateness of memorializing the name of Thomas Smith Webb in one of our Lodges and one of our Commanderies.

Leyland provides the details of Webb's sudden death in Cleveland and of his burial there. He describes how Webb was three times buried: first he was interred in Cleveland, then a few months later his body was brought to Providence by Masonic friends and placed in a vault in the West Burying Ground. Several years later the city vacated this cemetery and provided a lot on the brow of a hill in the North Burying Ground, where may be seen a marble obelisk arising from an underground vault, the work of the Webb Monument Association.

It is fitting that Leyland should enumerate in the last section of the final chapter some of the personal characteristics of Thomas Smith Webb *the man*. Freemasonry should be ever grateful to Herbert T. Leyland for this most comprehensive biography of one of its most illustrious members.

HAROLD W. BROWNING

Vice-president emeritus
University of Rhode Island



THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

One Hundred and Forty-Fourth Annual Meeting

The One Hundred and Forty-Fourth Annual Meeting of The Rhode Island Historical Society was held Sunday, January 16, 1966, at 2:30 p.m. at the Society's library, 121 Hope Street, Providence, Rhode Island.

President Reuben C. Bates, M.D., called the meeting to order, and the secretary read the call of the meeting and declared a quorum present. The minutes of the last annual meeting were approved.

Nathaniel M. Vose, Jr., treasurer, read his report, which is printed in this issue.

Walter R. Martin, chairman of the Membership Committee, announced a net gain of 174 members during the past year. On December 31, 1965, membership stood at a new high of 2,442. As the members stood in respect, Mr. Martin read the necrology. Members of the Society who died during the previous year were:

Prof. C. Raymond Adams	Miss Anna L. Dennis
Mr. Francis O. Allen	Mr. Walter F. Farrell
Mrs. Colt Anthony	Miss Eleanor Gifford
Mr. Robert R. Arzouyan	Mr. Ralph L. Griffith
General Harold R. Barker	Mrs. Milton W. Hamolsky
Mrs. Francis E. Bates	Mr. Henry C. Hart
Mr. W. Chester Beard	Prof. James B. Hedges
Mr. Ralph D. Berry	Miss Agnes M. Herreshoff
Mrs. Cornelia Metcalf Bontecou	Mr. John F. Higgins
Mrs. Edward C. Bowen	Mrs. John S. Holbrook
Mr. Harold G. Breul	Mr. Albert W. Howard
Mr. Peter W. Brouwers	Mr. E. Harris Howard, Jr.
Mr. Walter S. Bucklin	Mrs. Donald E. Jackson
Mrs. Ruth A. Budlong	Mr. Howard Knight
Mrs. William P. Buffum	Mrs. Webster Knight II
Mrs. John P. Cady	Mrs. George H. Lumb
Mr. Hugh A. Cameron	Mrs. William B. MacColl
Mr. Kip I. Chace	Mr. Paul B. Metcalf
Mr. Nathaniel B. Chase	Mr. Rowe B. Metcalf
Miss Bertha W. Clark	Miss Mary H. Parsons
Mr. George N. Cook	Mr. Raymond S. Penza
Mr. Raymond A. Creegan	Mr. Earle P. Perkins
Honorable Patrick P. Curran	Wilfred Pickles, M.D.
Mrs. Hope G. Curtis	Edgar S. Potter, M.D.
Mr. C. Coburn Darling	Mrs. Frederic B. Read

Mr. Wilbur L. Rice	Mr. Albert E. Thornley
Prof. Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr.	Mr. William C. Touret
Mr. Clifford M. Slinkard	Howard K. Turner, M.D.
Miss Hope Smith	Mrs. Ashbel T. Wall
Mrs. Bradford F. Swan	Mr. Frederick B. Wilcox
Mrs. Frank H. Thayer	Miss Vera Willis
	Mrs. Richard A. Young

O. Griswold Boynton, chairman, reported for the Lecture Committee that a program of six lectures had been arranged for the 1965-66 season.

For the Publications Committee, Henry B. Cross, chairman, reported that *The John Brown House Loan Exhibition of Rhode Island Furniture . . .* was the most important publication of the year. Four issues of *Rhode Island History* and eight numbers of the *President's Letter* were also published.

Norris G. Abbott, Jr., chairman of the Committee on Grounds and Buildings, told of the completion of the Shakespeare Room in the basement of John Brown House and the plans for decorating a room on the third floor as a memorial to Zachariah Allen, made possible by the generosity of the Manufacturers Mutual Fire Insurance Company. Mr. Abbott expressed the Society's gratitude to the Primrose Garden Club for its landscaping and planting of the courtyard garden.

For the Museum Committee, Robert S. Allingham, chairman, reported on the work being done in John Brown House, and listed the many items given during the year.

The librarian, Clarkson A. Collins, 3rd, reported that at last the Society has the library space it has so long needed. He listed a number of the outstanding gifts and purchases of the year.

Clifford P. Monahan, in his report as director, emphasized the steady growth of the Society over the years and expressed the hope that the next achievement might be provision of a lecture hall. He expressed his appreciation of the fine work done by Mr. Joseph K. Ott and his committee in arranging the John Brown House Loan Exhibition, and of the accomplishments of the committee headed by John Nicholas Brown entrusted with refurbishing John Brown House.

The president, Dr. Bates, spoke of the fine volunteer efforts of many members and expressed his appreciation of the work of the committees and the staff.

The report of the Nominating Committee for officers for the ensuing year was then submitted by M. Randolph Flather, chairman.

There being no other nominations and upon motion duly made and seconded, the nominations were closed and the secretary was instructed

to cast one ballot for the slate as read.

Reuben C. Bates, M.D.	<i>president</i>
Stuart C. Sherman, Benjamin L. Cook, Jr.	<i>vice presidents</i>
Frank L. Hinckley, Jr.	<i>secretary</i>
Mrs. Norman T. Bolles	<i>assistant secretary</i>
John H. Wells	<i>treasurer</i>
Townes M. Harris, Jr.	<i>assistant treasurer</i>

MEMBERSHIP

Walter R. Martin, *chairman*
Robert O. Anthony
Donald S. Chase
Charles E. Gross
Mrs. Carroll M. Silver
Mrs. Herbert F. Tucker

GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS

Norris G. Abbott, Jr., *chairman*
James D. Graham
Mrs. John A. Gwynne
Lloyd W. Kent
Kenneth B. Sherman

LIBRARY

Bradford F. Swan, *chairman*
Thomas R. Adams
H. Glenn Brown
Mrs. Axel A. Christensen
Richard S. Nutt

MUSEUM

Robert S. Allingham, *chairman*
Hugh J. Gourley, 3d
Mrs. Clifford P. Monahan
J. Kevin O'Neill Ott
Mrs. Kenneth Shaw Safe

LECTURE

O. Griswold Boynton, *chairman*
Mrs. Bruce M. Bigelow
Mrs. Herbert N. Couch
Mark S. Hough
Roger W. Shattuck

FINANCE

Bayard Ewing, *chairman*
Foster B. Davis, Jr.
Michael P. Metcalf
John Simmen
William W. White

PUBLICATION

Henry B. Cross, *chairman*
Francis H. Chafee, M.D.
Robert H. George
Houghton P. Metcalf, Jr.
Paul C. Nicholson, Jr.

AUDIT

John H. Drury, *chairman*
F. Morris Cochran
Robert H. Goff

The officers being duly elected, the meeting adjourned at 3:45 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK L. HINCKLEY, JR., *Secretary*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

for 12 months ending June 30, 1965

Income

Dues	\$13,356.00
Investments (net)	34,089.57
John Brown House Fund	274.89
State of Rhode Island	21,000.00
City of Providence	2,000.00
Contributions	105.00
Patriotic Societies	250.00
Library Sales	811.00
Outside Services	893.30
Miscellaneous	1,963.12

\$74,742.88

Expenses

Salaries	\$29,974.00
Social Security Taxes	944.22
Director's Discretionary Fund	670.46
Supplies	1,788.69
Telephone	967.78
Membership	649.66
Library	2,797.47
Museum	893.90
Lectures	632.49
Publications	6,172.71
Heat, Light, Housekeeping	2,278.14
Grounds	2,132.67
Building	2,922.31
Insurance	1,248.57
Group Insurance and Blue Cross	1,006.35
Special Insurance	2,000.00
Miscellaneous	2,936.30
Microfilm Expense	5,000.00
Hope Street Building	4,120.70

\$69,136.42

Net operating gain \$ 5,606.46

BALANCE SHEET

<i>Assets</i>	<i>Liabilities, Reserves, and Special Funds</i>
Cash \$ 11,703.29	John Brown House Fund . . \$ 8,142.50
Special Funds . . 32,924.46	Jonathan Chace Fund . . . 24,781.96
Investments . . 660,160.59	Life Membership Reserve . . 2,950.00
Fixed Assets . . 182,880.50	Roelker Memorial Reserve . . 373.19
Other Assets . . 6,222.90	Publication Fund Reserve . . 2,504.24
Bldg. & Dev. Fund 58,795.84	Library Book Fund Reserve . . 932.10
	Quaker Material Purch. Res. . 500.87
	Hist. Material Purch. Reserve . 3.01
	General Purpose Reserve . . 13,600.00
	Bldg. & Dev. Fund Balance . . 47,251.54
	\$101,039.41
	General Endowments . . \$725,895.91
	Special Use Bequests . . . 56,057.24
	781,953.15
	Operating Surplus (Deficit) -11,397.54
	Investment Account Surplus 81,092.56
	69,695.02
	\$952,687.58

NATHANIEL M. VOSE, JR., *Treasurer*

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY



NEW MEMBERS

January 1, 1966 to March 25, 1966

- | | |
|--|---|
| Mrs. David C. Anthony
Rumford, R. I. | Mrs. Herbert T. Leyland
Dayton, Ohio |
| Mr. Harold F. Ballou
West Barrington, R. I. | Mrs. Surin Manzigan
Rehoboth, Mass. |
| Mrs. George E. Bond
Kingston, R. I. | Mr. Albert J. McAloon |
| Mr. Merrill P. Budlong, Jr.
Latham, N. Y. | Mr. David W. Melei
Cranston, R. I. |
| Mr. Francis S. Cole, Jr. | Mrs. Bertha Mitchell
Riverside, R. I. |
| Mr. Nickolas Cottrell
Ashaway, R. I. | Mr. Francis C. Moore |
| Mr. Francis J. Crozier
Cumberland, R. I. | Mrs. Dorothy Wade Noyes
Carmel, N. Y. |
| Mrs. Philip Davis | Mr. Leonard J. Nyberg, Jr.
East Providence, R. I. |
| Miss Jeannine DeFalco | Miss Anna Wharton Phillips |
| Mr. Jean Girard | Mr. Peter Reardon
Memphis, Tenn. |
| Mrs. Scebert J. Goldowsky | Mrs. Charles R. Robinson |
| Mrs. William A. Greenlees
Warren, R. I. | Mr. Clinton W. Sellew
Rumford, R. I. |
| Mr. Pickett M. Greig
Jamestown, R. I. | Mrs. Clinton W. Sellew
Rumford, R. I. |
| Miss Cornelia C. Howell | Mrs. Joseph C. Smith
North Kingstown, R. I. |
| Mr. Harry K. James | Mr. Jonathan Carroll Stapleton
Little Compton, R. I. |
| Miss Jean F. Judge
Fall River, Mass. | Mr. John L. Thomas |
| Mr. Harold A. Kirby
Greenville, R. I. | Miss Primrose A. Tirocchi
Cranston, R. I. |
| Mrs. C. Prescott Knight, Jr. | Mr. G. Irving Tomey |
| Mr. Edwin B. Krause | Mrs. M. Davis Wray
Rehoboth, Mass. |
| Mr. Harold Leavitt | |
| Mrs. Priscilla K. Lewis
Barrington, R. I. | |