

# THE JEWS OF WORCESTER.

**A  
Population  
Study**

Worcester Jewish Federation, Worcester 8, Massachusetts

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# JEWISH POPULATION STUDY

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on numbers, distribution, and participation, it is now possible to evaluate the many varied and interesting programs offered by the Center, synagogues, Temple Emanuel, Jewish schools, nurseries, camps, and others. In the area of Jewish education the Study has produced a composite picture of those receiving or in prospect of receiving instruction. Follow-up surveys to examine such matters as content, pupil attitudes, post Bar Mitzvah programs, challenge the imagination of the educator and those responsible for development of these programs.

In like manner, it would seem valid to build on the results emerging from the Study regarding congregational affiliation and preference, organizational membership, and military service. A veritable treasure house of related information awaits the community student's curiosity and desire to explore it.

It now becomes practicable to keep some of our present data current. Further, plans are under way for a major follow-up study on the Jewish Community Center under Federation-Center auspices.

In all, for having undertaken the Study, we find ourselves in a more fortunate position to persevere in endowing Jewish life with meaning and substance. There is a mutuality of interest here that bespeaks our total and unequivocal cooperation.

## INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXT

In the fall of 1957 the Worcester Jewish Federation conducted a Study of the Worcester Jewish community to determine its size, composition, Jewish educational participation, religious and organizational affiliation, utilization of some general and Jewish leisure-time services, and mobility. The need for this information had been keenly felt for some time by the Federation, its member agencies, and other groups; and the decision to embark on the Study was motivated by this need. Under the general direction of a community-wide study committee, and the guidance of a smaller technical committee, a corps of about 150 volunteers -- trained in a carefully-developed procedure -- interviewed by telephone every known Jewish family. The average length of each interview with the family head or another adult member was four minutes. The results achieved both in terms of the completeness of responses and family coverage was excellent. The basic source for names of families was the Jewish Welfare Fund listing, which was expanded by cross-checking memberships in the major organizations. Additional sources were used to secure further names.

The final head count represents, in the opinion of those closely associated with the Study, a highly accurate figure. Intensive preparation of the respondent was done through the Anglo-Jewish weekly and by mail. The bulk of the interviews was accomplished during a 3-week period in October and November, and all coding of responses for IBM tabulation was completed shortly after the close of 1957. The small number of families not reached by telephone were contacted personally by home interviewers. The cooperation received from the community in all phases of the project was unusual and most gratifying. Elsewhere in this final report of the Study will be found some of the materials used, including the actual questionnaire.

The technical role of Dr. Morris H. Cohen, associate professor of government at Clark University, who served as Study Consultant, is acknowledged here. Dr. Cohen's consummate skill in the analysis and translation of the statistics into meaningful data, and his seemingly inexhaustible patience and understanding of the special needs and purposes of the Study were invaluable and deeply appreciated. Throughout, he has been a constant, willing, and competent guide in the interpretation of the material. The text and tables appearing in this report, as well as similar sections of the summary report printed in 1958 for community distribution, are his work.

Coming as it does after a lapse of more than two years (an unavoidable delay necessitated by other pressures), the appearance of the complete report at this time provides us with a certain advantage. It affords the opportunity to look in retrospect at what has happened since the conclusion of the Study. We're pleased to note that a number of community developments directly traceable to and made possible by the information gained from the Study have occurred.

Among these have been:

1. The utilization by Jewish education institutions, notably Temple Emanuel, Beth Israel Synagogue, and the Ivriah School, of the Study data.
2. The removal of the Ivriah School from the depopulated East Side to the area of greatest Jewish concentration -- the West Side.
3. The acquisition by the Federation of a parcel of land, to serve as the eventual site of a new Jewish Community Center, in the northwest section of the city--toward which population movement was traced in the Study.
4. The launching of a major survey of leisure time and recreation needs of the Jewish community under Federation auspices, utilizing information gained from the Study.
5. The use our social agencies have repeatedly made of the findings to develop more effective programs to serve all segments of the population.
6. The reference to the data by our social, fraternal, and veterans groups as a guide in strengthening their memberships and programs.
7. The location of newcomers to Worcester to provide them with opportunities, when they so desire, for participating in community activities.
8. The overall knowledge gained from the Study about the Jewish population thus enabling the Federation to move forward on several community fronts with assurance instead of speculation.
9. Finally, and not to be overlooked, the value of these findings to the general community; also the welcoming by the national Jewish community of the data and its utilization in various ways.

Our experience with this process in demography has spurred other communities in this country and abroad --- from whom many requests for the report and other assistance were received --- to proceed with studies of their own.

Melvin S. Cohen  
Study Director

July 1961

SUMMARYNUMBER

There were 9,333 Jews in 2978 households in Worcester in 1957, a very slight gain over 15 years before when the last previous census was taken. Another 95 households with 300 people lived in the suburbs surrounding the city.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

Three-quarters of all Jews lived on the West Side and only one-sixth were on the East Side. The other ten per cent were primarily in the Central area of the city with a scattering on the North and South sides. Half of all Jews were concentrated in only two of the city's 31 census tracts. There had been a tremendous shift from the East Side to the West Side in recent years.

SEX AND AGE STRUCTURE

There were slightly more males than females in the population. About half of the population was below 35 years of age and about one-third was below 20. The smallest five-year age group was that from 20-25 -- i.e. the depression babies. One out of every five people was over 55 and one out of every ten was 65 or over. The East Side contained a far larger proportion of older people than did the West Side.

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD

The average size of Jewish household was 3.13. West Side households were the largest, sixty percent of them having four or more people. East Side households were significantly smaller; two-thirds of them had less than four people.

MARITAL STATUS

Worcester's Jewish community had a relatively low degree of social disorganization. Of those people 20 years or older, 80% were married, 9% widowed, 10% were single and had never been married and only 0.8% were divorced. On the East Side a far greater percentage of the population was single. Depending on the age group, the East Side had from twice as many to five times as many single people in relation to its total Jewish population as did the West Side, where younger married people with children predominated.

ARMED FORCES

Some 1116 men and 24 women had seen service in the United States armed forces by the fall of 1957, primarily in World War II.

JEWISH EDUCATION-- ENROLLMENT AND PLANS

At least 70% of all children aged four through fourteen were receiving some sort of Jewish education in 1957. Another 14% had definite plans for some specific Jewish training. At the most only 13% had no such education and had no plans for such. Two out of three of those getting an education were enrolled at Temple Emanuel, another 20% were at the Beth Israel schools and 10% at Ivriah with the rest receiving Jewish education at the Yeshiyah. Almost all Eastsiders went either to Ivriah or

Yeshivah, while nearly all Westsiders attended either Temple Emanuel or Beth Israel schools. The plans for education among those not yet enrolled were distributed as follows: Temple - 43%, Beth Israel - 20%, and the rest scattered among the other resources. These plans were undoubtedly influenced by the then existing geographical distribution of the school facilities, which have since changed.

RELIGIOUS  
AFFILIATION  
AND  
PREFERENCE

Only 14% of all households were not affiliated with a congregation. Temple Emanuel had 44% of all households, Beth Israel, 17%, and the Orthodox Synagogues something over 25% of all households. Almost all Eastsiders were members of Orthodox congregations. On the West Side most people were members of either the Reform or the Conservative congregation. The 400 non-affiliated heads of household expressed a primary preference for Reform (40%), then Conservative (26%) and Orthodox (18%).

ORGANIZATIONAL  
MEMBERSHIP

The community was apparently divided between "joiners" and "non-joiners". Of those who belonged to any organization, about half were members of only one or two (and this included the congregational memberships). On the other hand, one out of four people belonged to five or more organizations. There was a striking tendency for women rather than men to be "joiners". Also Westsiders were far greater "joiners" proportionately than Eastsiders.

MOBILITY

Seventy-five percent of Worcester's Jewish households had moved since World War II and sixty per cent had moved since 1950. The movement was overwhelmingly to the West Side of town from all the other areas. Within the West Side the flow of Jewish population seemed to be primarily northwesterly from tract 9 to tract 11, to 8 to 7.

NUMBER OF FAMILIES AND INDIVIDUALS

In the fall of 1957 there were 2,978 Jewish households in Worcester containing all together some 9,333 individuals. This compares with a total of 9,230 Jews organized into 2,503 households in August 1942, slightly over 15 years earlier. (1) If the earlier estimate was reasonably accurate, the Jewish population of Worcester has apparently remained stable over recent years rather than showing the growth of some of the other New England communities. Worcester's general population has also remained fairly stable in the last decade, growing from 193,694 in 1940 to only 202,612 in 1955. (2) The Jews thus continue to form between 4½ % and 5% of the total population of the city in recent years. It might be argued that the Jewish population along with the general population has taken part in the trek to the suburbs immediately surrounding the city. However, a rather careful search revealed only some 54 households with 197 people in them in all the suburbs immediately contiguous to the city and another 45 households with 100 people in other nearby suburbs. Apparently, for the present at any rate, the local Jewish community is not a rapidly expanding one.

Important and striking changes have occurred so far as the geographical distribution of the community is concerned. The analysis of the data of this study has been made primarily by census tracts, thirty-one of which have been delineated for the city by professional students of Worcester's population. (3) For the purposes of this survey, these tracts have been grouped into five areas---North, South, East, West, and Central, corresponding to commonly accepted designations for sections of Worcester. (See Figures 1 and 2 and Table A)

TABLE A.            GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH PEOPLE AND HOUSEHOLDS

<u>Area</u>	<u>No. of People</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Percent</u>
North	173	1.8	59	2.0
South	146	1.5	62	2.1
East	1596	17.0	559	18.8
West	6888	73.8	2044	68.6
Central	530	6.0	254	8.5
Worcester	9333	100.0	2978	100.0

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(1) Mopsik, Samuel, "The Jewish Population of Worcester, 1942", Jewish Social Studies, Vol. VII, No. 1.

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(2) According to State estimates in 1955. United States Census preliminary figures for 1960 indicate a population of about 187,000 for the city but a very substantial growth in the suburban areas.

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(3) Census Tracts and Boundaries of Worcester. Typed Mss. Planning Department of Worcester, 1957.

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# City of Worcester Jewish Population

## 9333

*Population by  
Census Tract*

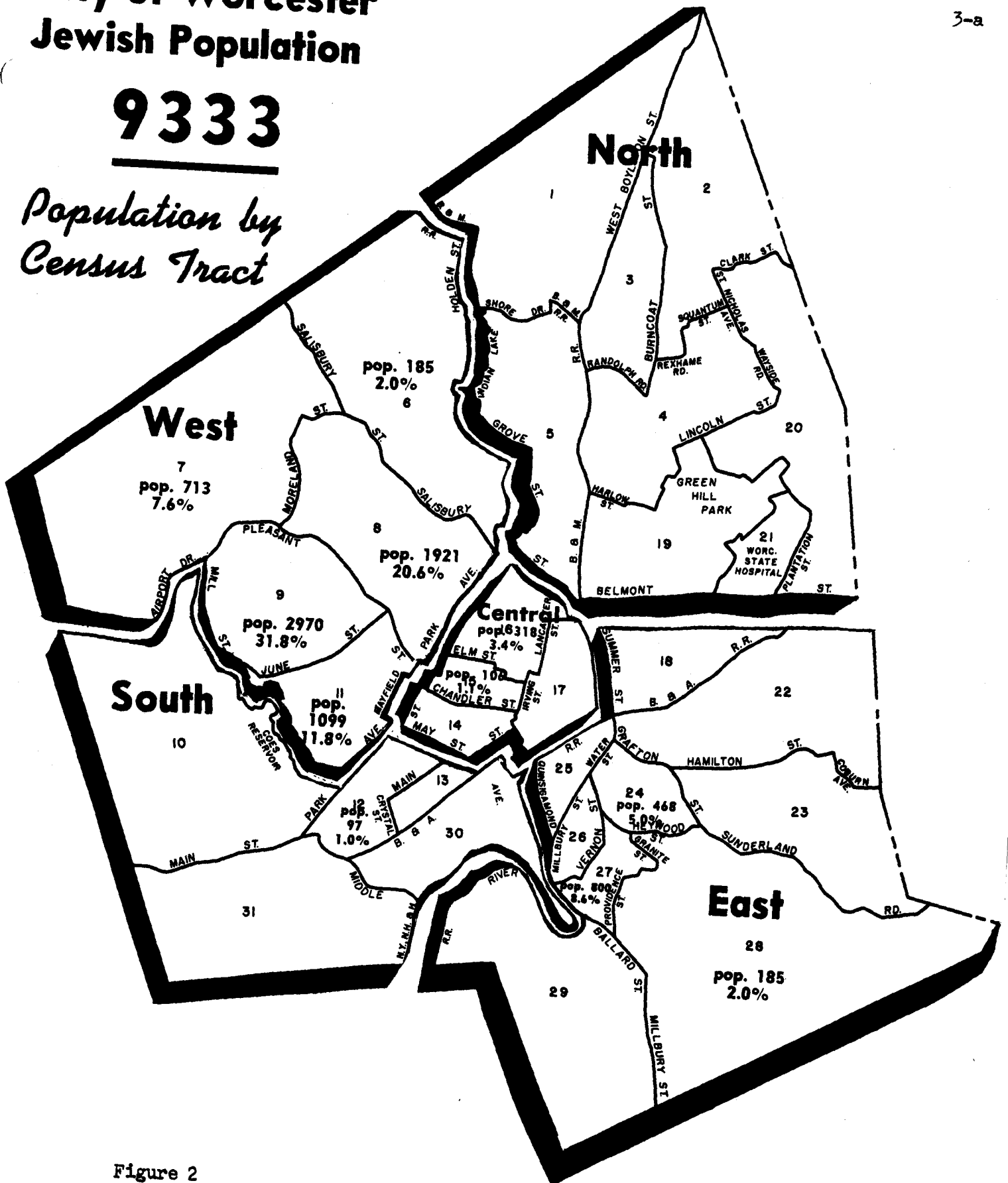
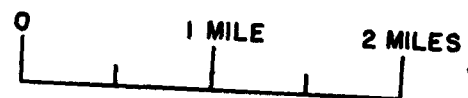


Figure 2

Population of Tracts under 1% not noted.



# City of Worcester Jewish Population

# 9333

*Population  
by Area*

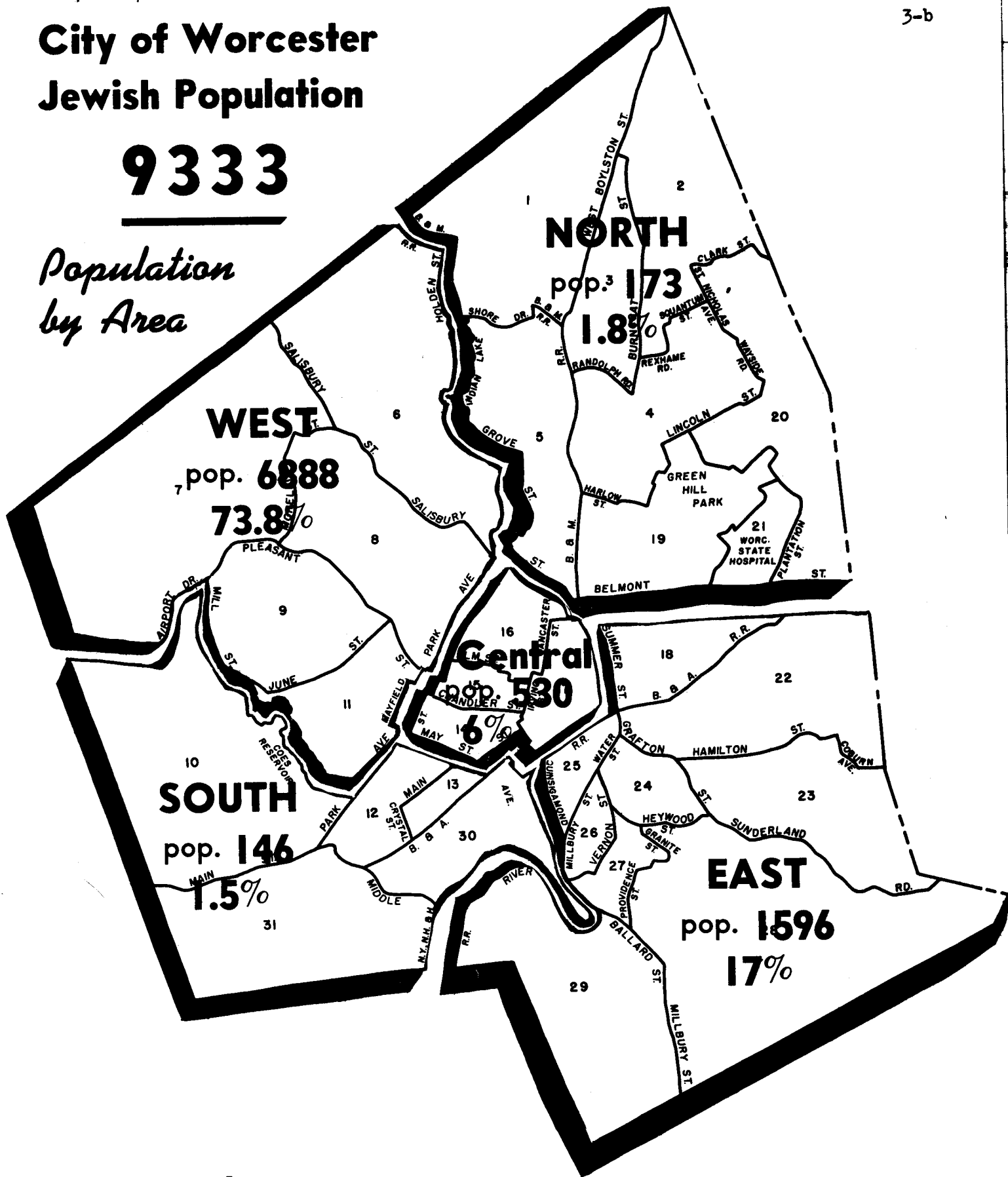


Figure 1





The Jews of Worcester were gathered very definitely in a few sections of the city. Thus there were no Jews living in Tract 18 which had 11,201 people in it, and two-thirds of the census tracts having within them some 60% of the general population of Worcester contained only 5% of the city's Jewish population. On the other hand, the Jews formed 41.3% of the population of Tract 9 and about 30% of the population of Tract 8, and these two tracts contained over one-half of Worcester's Jewish population. (See Table B ).

TABLE B. JEWISH PROPORTION OF POPULATION IN TRACTS WITH OVER 100 JEWS

<u>Tract</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Number of Jews</u>	<u>Percentage of Total Jewish Population</u>	<u>Jewish Percentage of total tract population</u>
9	West	2970	31.8	41.3
8	West	1921	20.6	29.9
11	West	1099	11.8	13.0
27	East	800	8.6	16.7
7	West	713	7.6	16.1
24	East	468	5.0	4.2
16	Central	318	3.4	4.2
28	East	185	2.0	4.1
6	West	185	2.0	4.3
15	Central	106	1.1	1.4

93.9

The most striking datum is revealed by a sectional analysis. Three out of every four Jews lived on the West Side and only about one-sixth of the Jews lived on the East Side. (90% of all the city's Jews lived in these two areas). The East Side at one time comprised almost the entire local Jewish community and as recently as 1942 almost half of this community still lived on the East Side of town.(4) These figures thus confirm what is general knowledge, but it may be a surprise to find just how rapidly this change has occurred and how much more rapidly it may occur in the future. (See later analysis of various aspects of the East Side population).

#### SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD

The average size of Jewish household in Worcester (3.13) was about on the level with that of other Jewish communities studied in the same period.(5) e.g. Des Moines, Iowa (3.11 in 1956) and Canton, Ohio (3.19 in 1955). The household size had grown slightly since 1942 when it was 3.05 in Worcester. Larger households were on the West Side where the younger families tended to be. (Average size there was 3.37). All other sections of the city had less than three people per average household.

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(4) Mopsik, op. cit. p.42

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(5) A household was considered as a group of people living together as a unit under one head. An adult roomer or boarder would be counted as a separate household. The same applied to each individual living at the Jewish Home for the Aged except for a few married couples who were living there. The data on size of Jewish households in other cities is from the American Jewish Yearbook for 1958.

TABLE C.

AVERAGE SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD BY AREA

North -	2.93
South -	2.35
East -	2.85
West -	3.37
Center -	2.09

One out of eight Jewish households was a person who lived alone. Most of these people were middle-aged or older, in fact, 4/5 of these people living alone were 65 or more. These single-person households tended to be found in the less Jewish areas of the city (North Side, South Side and Center) where they made up almost a third of all Jewish households in those areas. On the other hand, in the highly Jewish West Side, a quite small proportion of the households were single persons (8.5%) and this is actually very much smaller since the figure includes the 90 to 100 people living at the Home for the Aged. Clearly the rule on the West Side is that of Jewish families. In fact, half of the households in that area contained four or more people, while only a third of East Side households fell into that category, and only 15% of the rest of the city contained such populous units. The pattern, then, was for the younger couples with children to live where a Jewish community with its institutions, -- synagogues, Jewish schools, etc.-- were located.

Single people and older married couples with no children at home scattered in the non-Jewish areas to a greater extent. The East Side fell somewhere between these two groups. It still had a large enough number of Jewish institutions so that it was possible to give a child a Jewish environment there. Nevertheless, the tendency was for the younger couples with young children to move to the new center of Jewish population. (See Table D below).

At the other end of the scale, it appeared that the very large household was a thing of the past. Only one per cent of all Worcester Jewish households contained more than six people and the largest household was a single family which had nine people.

TABLE D.

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD BY AREASELECTED GROUPINGS

Number of Persons	<u>West</u>		<u>East</u>		<u>Rest of City</u>		<u>Worcester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1 person	123	8.5	89	16.0	111	29.5	374	12.6
2 or 3	858	32.0	286	51.3	206	54.8	1350	45.4
4 or more	1012	59.5	183	32.7	59	15.7	1254	42.0
Total	2043	100.0	558	100.0	376	100.0	2978	100.0

AGE

The differences by section or neighborhood in Worcester's Jewish population were especially marked when the age structure of the community was analyzed. About half of the city's Jewish population was below 35 years, and one-third below twenty.

(The Jewish community contained a somewhat larger proportion of young people than did the city as a whole -- 34% below twenty, compared to 28% for the general population in the same age bracket). However, while the median age among West Side Jews was around 33 or 34, the median for East Siders and South Siders was around 44, and that for the group living in the Central area was 49. Table E, below, indicates just how great was the difference in the makeup of the various sections of the community.

TABLE E. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH POPULATION BY AREA  
SELECTED AGE GROUPS -- WORCESTER 1957

Age Group	North		South		East		West		Center		Worcester	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Below 10	42	24.3	13	9.1	193	12.3	1388	20.3	43	8.2	1735	18.0
Below 15	57	33.0	20	14.0	314	20.0	2091	30.6	64	15.0	2620	27.2
60 & Over	9	5.2	38	26.5	409	26.1	752*	11.0	118	24.4	1374	14.2
65 & Over	6	3.5	28	19.2	300	19.6	477*	8.0	77	14.6	927	9.6

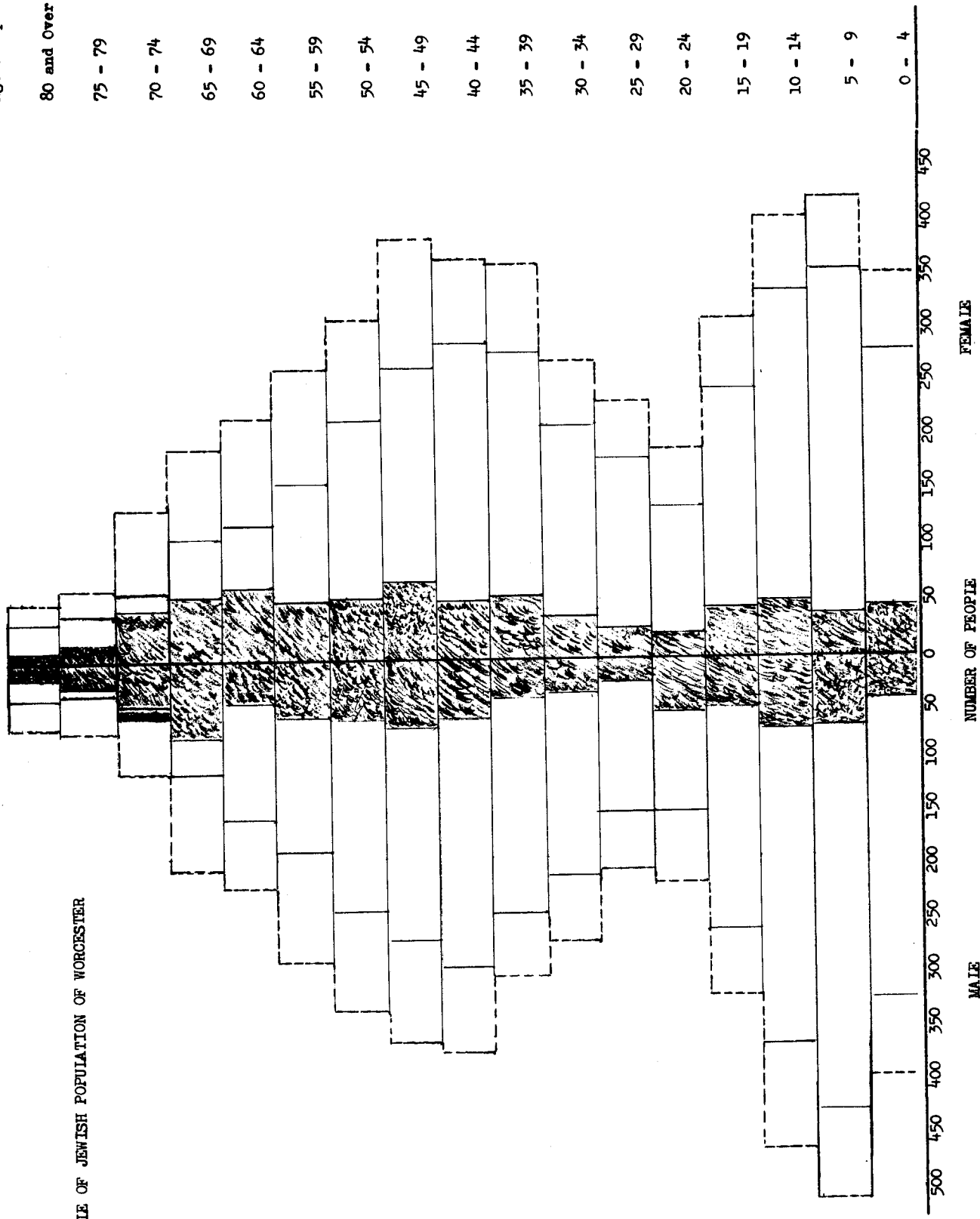
\* Including 93 people in the Jewish Home for Aged

One out of every five Jews on the East Side was 65 or over and one out of four was 60 or over. On the West Side, even including the residents of the Home for the Aged, only 8% was over 65 and one out of ten was 60 or over. At the other end of the scale, one out of every five West Side Jews was a child below ten, while the corresponding figure for the East Side was one out of eight. Putting it another way, despite the fact that the East Side contained only 17% of the total community population, it had over 30% of all those who were 60 and over in the community. These data, combined with what appears elsewhere in the study concerning marital status, seemed to point to a fairly rapid dwindling of the East Side Jewish community.

Several interesting trends appeared so far as the entire community was concerned. One-fifth of Worcester's Jews were over 55 and one in ten was 65 or over. Clearly the community is getting a larger proportion of older people and more attention will have to be given to facilities for this older group. Furthermore, the smallest 5-year age group in the groups between 20 and 50 was that from 20-25, that is the "depression babies". This means that in the near future a large increase in the population cannot be expected unless there should be a great influx from areas outside Worcester since an unusually small number of people are now at the greatest child-bearing ages. Incidentally, the statistics on the Worcester community bear witness to the differences in the birth rate today as compared to a generation ago. In 1957 there were alive in Worcester 64 people born in 1933 and 67 people born in 1934. The decade of the 1950's saw such numbers born as 170 or 160 a year and there were actually 224 youngsters in Worcester in 1957 who were born in 1947 just after World War II. Making all due allowance for attrition in the group born in the early 1930's as the result of moving or death there is still a tremendous difference in the numbers of children born in the early thirties as compared to the post World War II period. All other things being equal, this should be reflected in a gain in population in another decade or so. (See Figure 3 for age - sex distribution).

Age Groups  
80 and Over  
75 - 79  
70 - 74  
65 - 69  
60 - 64  
55 - 59  
50 - 54  
45 - 49  
40 - 44  
35 - 39  
30 - 34  
25 - 29  
20 - 24  
15 - 19  
10 - 14  
5 - 9  
0 - 4

PROFILE OF JEWISH POPULATION OF WORCESTER



Note: All lines start from zero so that, e.g., any bar for West Side includes the shaded East Side bar as well.

LEGEND  
 SHADED PORTION REPRESENTS EAST SIDE  
 SOLID LINE REPRESENTS WEST SIDE  
 DOTTED LINE REPRESENTS CITY OF WORCESTER

Figure 3

## MARITAL STATUS

There was a relatively low degree of social disorganization in the Worcester Jewish community. About 78% of adults 20 and over were married, 12% of this group was single, 9% widowed and only 0.8% was divorced -- a very low proportion compared to the general population.

Demographers have indicated that Jews tend to get married later than non-Jews in the United States, perhaps because they postpone marriage in order to get a higher education, achieve a professional position or attain a higher economic status. At any rate, the pattern occurs in Worcester as well. Almost two-thirds of those of 20 to 24 were still single in the Jewish community, and over one-fifth of those 25-29 were not yet married. However, this category fell precipitously to 10% of those 30 to 34 and less than 6% of those 35 to 39.

There were only 50 divorced people in Worcester, 3/4 of whom were women, and most of whom were in the 40 to 60 age bracket. Even if the group separated but not divorced were included, it would add only 10 more people to this category of broken homes. The traditionally strong family ties of European and especially Eastern European Jewish life may account for this low level of social disorganization. It remains to be seen how much the pattern will be altered as increasing numbers of third and fourth generation American Jews appear in the community. To what extent will the general pattern of American family life be assimilated by the Jewish community as well?

548 adults in the community had lost their spouse by death. There were almost four times as many widows as widowers in this group, again going along with the pattern that women tend to live longer than men in the United States. (See Table F). As might be expected very small proportions of the younger age groups fell in this category. Not until the group 55-59 did the proportion rise to over 5%. However, over one-fourth of those 65 to 69 were widowed, and a bit less than half of those in their seventies had lost their spouse---around 43%. This situation might raise problems with which several of the organizations of the community would want to concern themselves.

As was true in almost every aspect of Worcester's Jewish Community there was a strong difference between the East and West Side in the marital pattern. There was a far less stable pattern of family make-up on the East Side. For instance, 22% of those aged 30 to 35 were single. The corresponding percentage for the West Side group was 7%. One-fifth of those 25 to 29 on the East Side were still single compared to one-tenth of the same group on the West Side. The pattern was even more striking among middle aged people. Out of 460 people between 40 and 60, 66 or 14% were still unmarried on the East Side. Only 84 or 14% of the 1,912 West Siders aged 40 to 60 were still single.

TABLE F.PER CENT NEVER MARRIED OF TOTAL NUMBER IN THE AGE GROUP

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>East Side</u>	<u>West Side</u>
20-24	71.6	64.0
25-29	40.4	19.1
30-34	21.9	7.4
35-39	15.2	3.6
40-44	20.2	2.9
45-49	19.5	5.1
50-54	11.7	5.3
55-59	4.7	4.6
60-64	4.6	2.5
65-69	1.5	5.0
70-74	0.9	4.6

TABLE G.MARITAL STATUS BY SELECTED AGE GROUPS - WORCESTER AND SUBURBS, 1957FOR JEWISH POPULATION 20 and OVER

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Single</u>		<u>Married</u>		<u>Widowed</u>		<u>Divorced</u>		<u>Separated</u>		<u>Status Unknown</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
all over 20	745	11.7	4988	78.5	557	8.8	53	0.8	10	0.2	4	0.1
20-24	260	62.5	156	37.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
25-29	100	21.9	352	77.1	1	0.2	3	0.7	1	0.2	0	0.0
30-34	57	9.6	490	82.6	1	0.2	2	0.3	3	0.5	0	0.0
35-39	39	5.7	626	92.2	8	1.2	6	0.9	0	0.0	0	0.0
60-64	18	4.0	365	81.7	61	13.7	1	0.2	2	0.5	0	0.0
65-69	14	3.2	296	69.2	116	27.1	2	0.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
70-74	8	3.2	134	53.8	106	42.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.4

SERVICE IN THE ARMED FORCES

A total of 1,116 men and 24 women had seen service in the United States armed forces by the fall of 1957. As would be expected, the bulk of these were people who had served during World War II. Almost 80% of all men between 30 and 40 years of age had seen service. These were, of course, the men who had been in their late teens and in their twenties during the period of that war.

### ENROLLMENT AND PLANS FOR JEWISH EDUCATION

There were about 1,955 children aged four to fifteen in the city in 1957. Of these, 1,340 were currently enrolled in some form of Jewish educational activity. Another 40 were listed as having already graduated. There were another 369 youngsters whose families had definite plans for giving them some formal religious training. Some 206 children thus remain unaccounted for by these figures. Attempts have been made, without success, to find the source of this discrepancy. About 75% of those involved are in the age groups 4 - 6 and 13 - 14. It is suspected that the mistake lies in the answers concerning those who already had had some form of Jewish education as well as those not yet going to school. It is possible that some of these people are among those who were actually attending the Yeshivah and not correctly reported, since there was some protest in the community that the figures which the survey had developed on this group were on the low side.

In order to be on the conservative side, all figures have been tabulated with the larger 1,955 total as the basis, although this certainly minimizes the number of those actually receiving some Jewish education. What is striking is that even with this margin for error, at least 69% of all children aged four through fourteen were receiving some sort of Jewish education in 1957. There were another 14% whose parents had definite plans for sending them to some specific type of Jewish education program. At least 2% more had already graduated from some program and another 2% had parents who had not definitely decided on the type of Jewish education they planned for their children. At the very most, then, there were some 275 children (13%) concerning whom it cannot be said that they had or were planning to have a Jewish education. Of these, there were definite statements from the parents of 75 indicating that they planned no Jewish education for their children. The rest are among those unaccounted for. As has been indicated, a large proportion of this entire group was made up of youngsters thirteen or fourteen years old. In other words, the overwhelming majority of children in the community had some sort of Jewish education under way or in prospect.

Tables H and J below indicate the enrollment for Jewish education in Worcester in 1957. As might be expected, geographic proximity of the school had much to do with enrollment figures. Thus only 7% of all East Siders went to either the Temple Emanuel or the Conservative Beth Israel schools and 73% went to Ivriah with another 18% at the Yeshivah. Both of the latter schools were at the time located on the East Side, more readily accessible as well as perhaps closer in spirit to the religious orientation of their parents. On the West Side, over 95% of all children receiving a Jewish education went to the two schools (at that time the only ones) located on the West Side -- Temple Emanuel School - 73% and Beth Israel School - 24%.

TABLE H.

#### ENROLLMENT FOR JEWISH EDUCATION OF CHILDREN 4 to 15 YEARS OF AGE - BY SEX - WORCESTER 1957

	Beth Israel		Temple		Ivriah		Yeshivah		Private		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Females	108	17.7	435	71.3	55	9.0	12	2.0	0	0	610	100.0
Males	171	23.4	446	61.1	75	10.3	31	4.3	7	0.9	730	100.0
Total	279	20.8	881	65.7	130	9.7	43	3.3	7	0.5	1340	100.0

TABLE J.

ENROLLMENT FOR JEWISH EDUCATION OF CHILDREN  
4 to 15 YEARS OF AGE -- BY AREA

Area	Beth Israel		Temple		Ivriah		Yeshivah		Private		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
East	1	0.7	8	5.7	101	72.7	25	18.0	4	2.9	139	100.0
West	274	23.8	839	72.8	19	1.6	18	1.6	2	0.2	1152	100.0
Center	4	12.9	21	67.7	6	19.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	31	100.0
North	0	0.0	7	70.0	2	20.0	0	0.0	1	10.0	10	100.0
South	0	0.0	6	75.0	2	25.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	8	100.0

Data exists on 369 children not enrolled or graduated from a Jewish school in 1957. There were definite plans for a Jewish education for 70% of this group. If the plans were carried through, the Temple would receive 43% of these non-enrolled children (half of all of this group which lived on the West Side and about ten per cent of that part of the group who were East Siders). Beth Israel was slated to receive about 20% of this group and Ivriah School, another 8%. There were no plans at all for 75 youngsters (some 20% of the total not enrolled on whom data was available) but 27 of these people were already 13 years old -- a bit late to be starting to plan for Jewish education. It is also noteworthy that two-thirds of these children without plans were girls and that twice as large a proportion of East Siders had no plans as did West Siders. (See Tables K and L ).

TABLE K.

PLANS FOR JEWISH EDUCATION, CHILDREN AGES 4 to 15,  
NOT ENROLLED OR GRADUATED FROM A JEWISH SCHOOL

	B.I.		Temple		Ivriah		Yeshivah		Private		No Plans		NotSure		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Males	39	21.2	83	45.1	12	6.5	2	1.1	2	1.1	28	15.2	18	9.8	184	100.0
Females	33	17.8	76	41.1	16	8.6	3	1.6	1	0.5	47	25.4	9	4.9	185	100.0
Total	72	19.5	159	43.1	28	7.6	5	1.4	3	0.8	75	20.3	27	7.3	369	100.0

TABLE L.

PLANS FOR JEWISH EDUCATION (BY SELECTED AREAS)

	B.I.		Temple		Ivriah		Yeshivah		Private		No Plans		NotSure		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
East	0	0.0	6	10.0	21	35.0	3	5.0	1	1.7	19	31.7	10	16.6	60	100.0
West	72	24.6	144	49.3	3	1.0	1	0.3	2	0.7	47	16.1	23	7.9	292	100.0

In general then, it would appear that some sort of Jewish education was under way or in prospect in 1957 for well over 90% (at the most conservative estimate) of Jewish youngsters of pre-confirmation or pre-bar-mitzvah age, with well over half of these people receiving or planning to receive an education with a Reform orientation. Movements of some institutions to the West Side from the East Side may have modified this latter trend but it still appears to be the dominant one.



### CAMPING EXPERIENCE

There were 1,311 children between the ages of six and twelve in Worcester in the fall of 1957. Almost 60% of these youngsters had had some sort of camping experience in the previous summer. One out of five had gone to the Jewish Community Center Day Camp, a similar proportion had gone to some overnight camp and 14% had attended some day camp other than that of the Center. Two out of five youngsters in this age group had had no camping experience at all during that summer. When the figures are further broken down by area, the great difference between the East Side and West Side populations again becomes evident. Over 60% (61.7%) of the East Side young people had gone to no camp compared to 38.5% of the West Siders. Furthermore, only 11.4% of the East Siders had attended the Jewish Center camp, while one out of four (24.3%) of the West Siders had gone to this camp sponsored by the Worcester Jewish Federation. Apparently there was a greater tendency for parents to send their boys rather than their girls to camp. Almost half (47.5%) of all Worcester Jewish girls aged six through twelve had had no camping experience in the summer of 1957 compared to 38.5% of the boys. On both the East Side and the West Side a greater proportion of boys than of girls had had some type of camping experience. It would appear that a sizeable number of Jewish children in Worcester in 1957 who might have benefited from camping experience did not have such an opportunity during the year under study.

### ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP

Very few of Worcester's Jews in 1957 were taking part in courses in such non-Jewish organizations as the YMCA, YWCA, Craft Center, etc. (See Table M). It should be emphasized that these data do not refer to membership which was, of course, much greater.

TABLE M. PARTICIPATION IN NON-JEWISH ORGANIZATION ACTIVITIES.

<u>Non-Jewish Organizations</u>	<u>No. of Jewish Participants in Courses</u>
Art Museum	53
Public Library courses	22
Craft Center	47
YMCA	60
YWCA	44

The community appeared to be divided between "joiners" and "non-joiners". Of those who belonged to any Jewish organization, about half were members of only one or two organizations, of which one was probably a synagogue. On the other hand, one out of four of those who were members of Jewish groups belonged to five or more organizations. (See Tables N and O).

TABLE N. ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP BY SEX (WORCESTER ONLY)

1957

Number of Organizations to which individuals belonged.

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Over	Totals
M	2490	695	501	371	263	162	103	54	14	3	4661
F	2156	556	477	404	283	225	223	146	97	37	4672
T	4646	1251	978	775	546	387	326	200	111	40	9333

Of the 4687 who were members of one or more organizations, the following is the distribution:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Over
26.7%	20.8%	16.5%	11.5%	8.3%	7.0%	4.3%	2.4%	.9%

(1/2 were members of either 1 or 2 organizations, a little over 1/4 of only 1 organization, and 1/4 belonged to 5 or more organizations)

Males--of the 2171 who were organization members, the distribution was as follows:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Over
32.0%	23.0%	17.2%	12.1%	7.6%	4.7%	2.5%	0.6%	0.1%

Females--of the 2516 who were organization members, the distribution was as follows:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Over
22.1%	19.0%	16.1%	11.2%	8.9%	8.9%	5.8%	3.8%	1.5%

i.e. Women tended far more to be joiners of large numbers of organizations.

53.4% of males belonged to no organizations 22.7% of women were members of at least 6 organizations

46.1% of females belonged to no organizations 8.1% of men were members of at least 6 organizations

(Although there were almost equal numbers of 41% of women were members of 1 or 2 organizations only Males and Females in Worcester) 55% of men were members of 1 or 2 organizations only

TABLE O.

ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP BY SELECTED AREAS (WORCESTER ONLY)

1957

EAST SIDE

60% of Men belonged to NO organizations  
52% of Women belonged to NO organizations  
- - - - -  
3% of Men who belonged to organizations belonged to 5 or more.  
11.1% of Women who belonged to organizations belonged to 5 or more.  
  
54% of all East Siders belonged to NO organizations --- i.e. 862 of 1595

WEST SIDE

52.3% of Men belonged to NO organizations  
46.5% of Women belonged to NO organizations  
- - - - -  
19% of Men who belonged to organizations belonged to 5 or more.  
38.1% of Women who belonged to organizations belonged to 5 or more.  
46.5% of all West Siders belonged to NO organizations  
  
West Siders were far greater joiners than East Siders.  
Women were far greater joiners than Men.  
  
In the Suburbs - no one belonged to more than 4 organizations.

Women tend to be "joiners" to a far greater extent than do men. About 8 per cent of the men who had Jewish affiliations belonged to six or more Jewish groups, while the corresponding figure for women was 23 per cent.

Again, there was a distinct difference between East and West Sides in this area. About 70% of East Side affiliated people belonged to only one or two Jewish groups and only 4% belonged to six or more. For the West Side the corresponding figures were 40% belonging to only two and 20% belonging to six or more organizations. Table O is additional evidence of the breakdown of community organization on the East Side.

#### CONGREGATIONAL AFFILIATIONS AND PREFERENCES

Worcester's Jews were overwhelmingly members of synagogues or temples in the fall of 1957. Only 13.5% of the heads of households were unaffiliated with some congregation.

TABLE P. CONGREGATIONAL MEMBERSHIP OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

	<u>Households</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
Temple Emanuel (Reform)	1298	43.6
Beth Israel (Conservative)	490	16.5
Both T.E. and B.I.	42	1.4
Orthodox Synagogues	878 *	29.5 *
Non-Affiliated	<u>401</u>	<u>13.5</u>
Total	3109 *	104.5% *

\* There were 2978 households in Worcester in 1957. These figures contain a duplication of 131 households who must have been members of Beth Israel or Temple Emanuel as well as an orthodox synagogue, or perhaps had memberships in several orthodox synagogues. Probably something over 25% were members of orthodox synagogues only. The percentages given are of the 2978 households.

Again the expected geographic differentiation appeared. On the East Side, where almost all the Orthodox synagogues had been located, over 90% of all affiliated households belonged to an Orthodox congregation and this was true of almost every age group. On the West Side, only 16% or 17% of all affiliated households belonged to Orthodox congregations, while about 60% were members of Temple Emanuel, and 25% were members of the Conservative congregation, Beth Israel. In the rest of Worcester, about half of the congregation members belonged to the Reform Temple, another third were in Beth Israel, and the rest adhered to Orthodox Synagogues. Among the Orthodox congregations, Shaarai Torah had almost half of all members, another 17% belonged to Sons of Jacob, 8% were in Sons of Israel, and the rest were scattered among a number of small congregations.

There was a clear differentiation on the basis of age among adherents of the three branches of Judaism. About 70% of congregation members aged 20 to 40 belonged to Temple Emanuel and the rest were about equally divided between Beth Israel and the Orthodox Synagogues. The Orthodox Synagogues drew about half of their members from those over 60 and had only about 9% of their affiliated heads of households who were below 40. On the other hand, only 17% of Temple Emanuel's family heads were over 60 and 28% were less than 40. The Conservative congregation appeared to fall somewhere between these two groups in its appeal to the different age groups.

The Table below presents the significant details:

TABLE Q.

CONGREGATIONAL MEMBERSHIP BY AGE OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

<u>Age</u>	<u>Temple</u>		<u>Beth Israel</u>		<u>Orthodox</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
20-39	361	27.8	83	16.9	86	9.8
40-59	694	53.4	256	52.2	358	41.7
60 & over	232	17.8	143	29.1	425	48.4
Unknown	11	1.0	8	1.8	9	.1
Total	1298	100.0	490	100.0	878	100.0

\* The same remarks about duplication that are appended to the previous table apply here also.

The trend appeared to be rather strongly toward Reform and to a lesser extent toward Conservative affiliation, and definitely away from Orthodoxy. Geography, of course, played a part here, and the development of new Orthodox synagogue structures and congregations on the West Side that has occurred has modified this trend. The differentials in age structure, however, seem to argue that affiliation differences were connected with other motivations in addition to geography and these motivations appeared to be away from an Orthodox orientation.

The preferences of the 401 non-affiliated heads of households support this position. The summary of the data on these is as follows:

TABLE R.

CONGREGATIONAL PREFERENCES OF NON-AFFILIATED HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS.

WORCESTER 1957

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Reform	158	39.4
Conservative	106	26.4
Orthodox	71	17.7
Other *	43	10.7
No Data	23	5.8
Total	401	100.0 %

\* "Other" consists of all who did not fit into one of the three religious categories. In all cases, these households did identify themselves in some way as members of the Jewish community.

An analysis by age groups indicates that in every group of unaffiliated up to 60 year olds, the preference was for Reform. (Usually about 45% of these people leaned toward Reform although in the 40-49 category this percentage fell to 36%). About a third of those below 60 preferred the Conservative orientation and about 12% inclined toward Orthodoxy. Putting it another way, of the 100 men aged 30 to 39 who were not congregation members (and these comprised a quarter of all the non-affiliated), 9% were Orthodox oriented, 32% preferred Conservatism, and 44% liked the Reform group. If these unaffiliated should be brought to membership in some congregation, the chances are that they would reinforce the Reform and to some extent the Conservative congregations.

An analysis by geographic area merely confirms the picture already drawn. Only on the East Side was there a fairly even division of preference among the three branches of Judaism so far as the unaffiliated were concerned, and here, it was the older men who supplied the strength of the Orthodox preference. Incidentally, the largest proportions of Worcester's unaffiliated (as might be expected) were in the younger age groups, e.g. over a third of all heads of households in their "twenties" were not members of any congregation, while only about 10% of those over 40 years of age had not joined a temple or synagogue.

Apparently, there was little cause for fear that people were leaving the Jewish fold -- at least so far as congregational affiliation is concerned. There was apparently a very high degree of identification with Jewish religious institutions in the 1950's.

### MOBILITY

Worcester's Jewish community was very much aware that there was a great movement taking place from the East Side to the West Side over the last decades. The census brought out the magnitude and specific details of this migration. For instance, about one fourth of the East Siders who moved after 1950 found another residence still within the East Side, but most of them, (64%) went over to the West Side of town. Similar patterns appeared in every other area -- e.g. seventy per cent or more of the people who moved from homes on the North Side, South Side or Center of the city in this period ended up on the West Side.

An analysis of the sources of the households which moved into the West Side in the 1950's indicates that about 38% of these 1285 households were already living in West Side homes previously. (See Table S).

A quarter of the households which found new homes on the West Side came from the East Side, 13% came from the Central area, and another 12% came from outside Worcester. The latter group were primarily from the rest of Massachusetts and the other New England states with a sizeable group as well, from New York state.

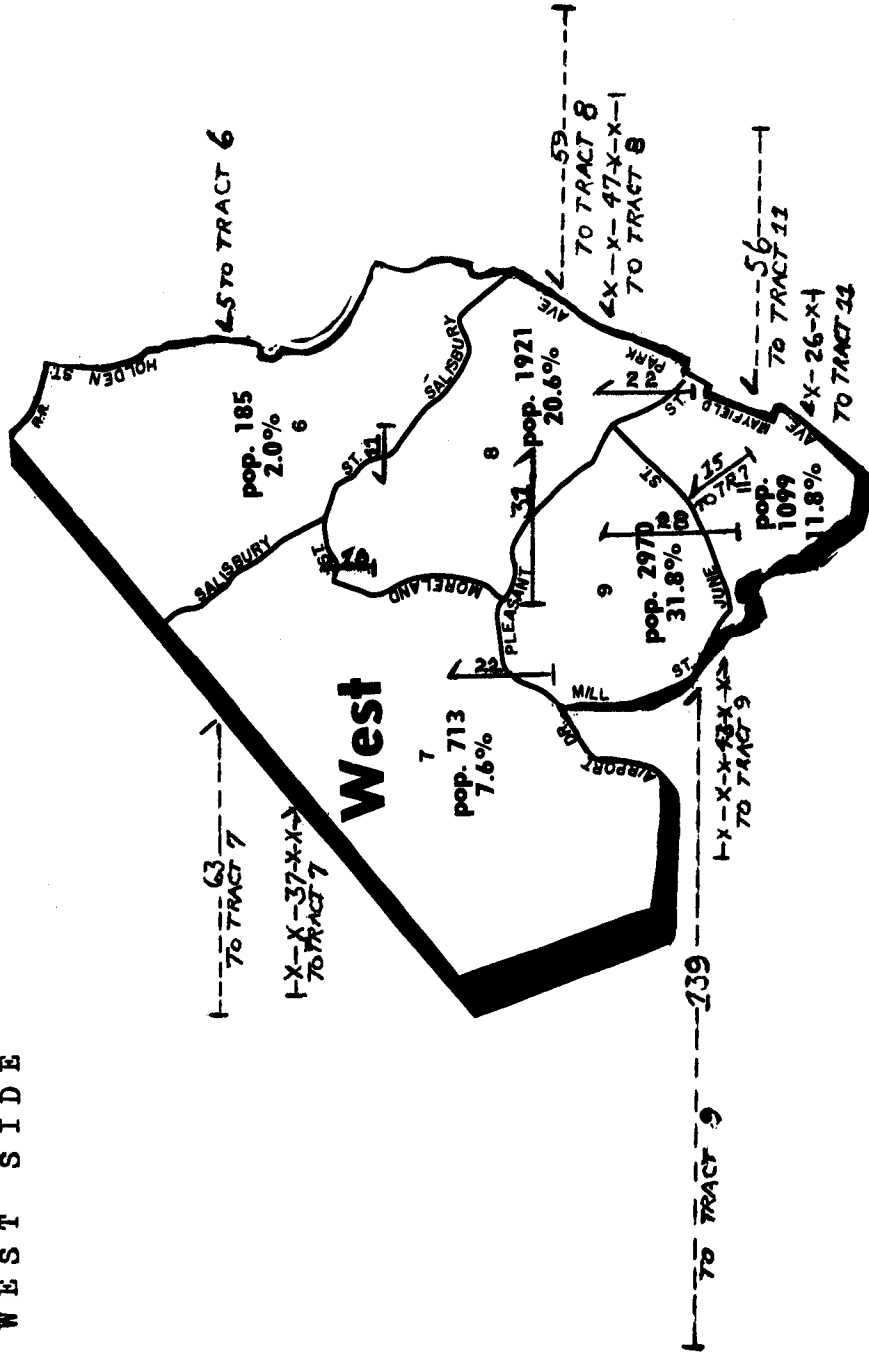
TABLE S.                    SOURCES OF MOVEMENT TO OR WITHIN THE WEST SIDE - 1950-1957

<u>Moved From</u>	<u>Number of Households</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
East Side	323	25.3
South Side	54	4.1
North Side	48	3.8
Center	172	13.5
West Side	482	37.8
Mass. outside		
Worcester	80	6.3
Other N.E.states	22	1.7
New York State	22	1.7
Rest of the U.S.	26	2.0
Unknown	48	3.8
Total	1277	100.0

This movement to the West Side was unevenly distributed among the census tracts of that area. Tracts 9 and 8 received the bulk of the movement (2/3 of the total) followed by Tracts 7 and 11 each receiving roughly 15% and Tract 6, the least popular, having only 3% of the total movement. An attempt was made to discover the trends of population movement within the West Side. This was done by studying the exchange of populations between any two tracts since 1950. Thus 43 families moved from Tract 11 to Tract 9, and 15 households moved from Tract 9 to Tract 11. There was a net movement of 28 households toward Tract 9 from Tract 11. The same comparisons were made between every two tracts on the West Side. The results of this detailed analysis revealed a general tendency for a flow of Jewish population from Tract 11 to 9 to 8 to 7. (See Figure 4).

NET MOVEMENT OF JEWISH POPULATION TO AND WITHIN WEST SIDE, 1950-1957

WEST SIDE



LEGEND

- - - - - Net movement from East Side
- X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X Net movement from Central
- \_\_\_\_\_ Inter-tract net movement within West Side

Figure 4

Scale 1/8" = 5 people