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Edited by

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with the assistance of JOSHUA STARR

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PREFACE

THE Conference on Jewish Relations has concerned itself with population studies on the principle that the communal work of Jewish organizations should be based on facts ascertained by scientific procedure. The demographic analyses of the several communities included in this volume have been utilized by the local organizations and should be found of value by similar agencies in other cities as well. Looking ahead, the data indicate a number of serious problems, such as the declining size of the family and an unusual vocational distribution, with which American Jewry will need to cope while making its adjustment to post-war society.

While each of these studies was conducted under the auspices of the Conference on Jewish Relations, in most instances there have been additional sponsors, so that the focus of community interest, as well as the method of investigation, has varied. Thus, the Minneapolis survey, conducted in 1936, followed the method outlined by the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds for gathering data in small communities, and was well under way before the Committee on Population Research of the Conference on Jewish Relations took it over. The initial interest of the Conference on Jewish Relations was to test the estimates of Jewish population previously made by the Jewish Education Association of New York City on the basis of the "*Yom Kippur* method." There is thus less demographic detail in the Minneapolis study than in those made subsequently.

Inasmuch as in the Trenton census, conducted in the summer of 1937, one of the special aims of the local Federation was to determine whether the demand voiced in certain quarters for a home for the aged was warranted, this report comprises special tabulations of persons 45 years of age and over. The findings indicated no real need for an institution to house persons within this age group.

The Passaic census, initiated in the fall of 1937, was concerned specifically with making adequate provision for Jewish education. Consequently this investigation paid special attention to the youth, in particular to the extent to which this group was provided with or was taking advantage of educational and recreational facilities. In addition, the data which were obtained on the number of wage-earners per family, recency of settlement and citizenship of the foreign-born were of special importance for Passaic, which is dependent chiefly on its textile industry.

The Buffalo study stresses the natural increase and fertility rates of the Jewish population. This study, begun in the fall of 1938, is therefore the only one among those presented here to include tables which relate the size of the family to the duration of marriage, the nativity of the mother and the age at

marriage. An attempt has also been made to compare the size of the average family of the present generation with that of the preceding generation.

The Pittsburgh study is based on a canvass undertaken at the end of 1938 on behalf of the local Federation of Jewish Philanthropies. Its results have been utilized by the Pittsburgh Federation as well as for the testing and comparison of the results of various sampling methods of estimating a population and of analyzing the data thus obtained.

In the studies of the two Connecticut cities, New London and Norwich, carried out in 1938, use was made of techniques developed by the author in a study of ethnic groups in Providence, Stamford and Woonsocket. Rather than a comparison of Jews with the population at large, this study offers a comparison of the Jews with other foreign-born groups. Another problem raised in these studies is that of an area defined as a community or in census terms. In Norwich, for example, the two do not coincide. Norwich, as the center of a farming community, has a considerably different pattern of business activity from that of New London, which is a college town, a naval base and an industrial center.

The Detroit study is based on the schedules of the Census of Population and Unemployment in Detroit of 1935. Use was made of the detailed data from those occupational schedules assumed to refer to Jews. This study is also concerned with the general question of the sociological significance to Jews and to their non-Jewish neighbors of the topographical and occupational distribution of the Jewish population.

The Chicago study, completed in June, 1938, indicates the possibilities of utilizing death certificates as a source for certain demographic data. This method recommended itself because it could be handled by a single individual at relatively low cost. The analysis is necessarily limited to those items recorded in the death certificates, *i. e.*, age, sex, nativity, occupation, length of time in Chicago and the United States and neighborhood distribution. The description of the technique employed and a discussion of the justification for the use of death rates to estimate population constitute the author's special interest.

The San Francisco study, made in 1938, was concerned not only with demography but with the question of extent of affiliation with and use of synagogues, Sunday schools and Hebrew schools. The sponsors were also concerned with the occupational distribution of the Jewish population in relation to vocational guidance programs and to the absorption of refugees from Germany and Austria.

The task of condensing the detailed reports in which each of these studies resulted, was performed by the editor in collaboration with the directors of the surveys and authors of the reports. Due indication of authorship is given in each instance.

The Conference on Jewish Relations invites the consultation of organizations planning to conduct similar studies.

S. M. R.

CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	v
I. METHODS OF GATHERING DATA ON THE JEWISH POPULATION	<i>The Editor</i> 1
II. THE JEWISH POPULATION OF TRENTON, 1937	<i>Sophia M. Robison</i> 10
III. THE JEWISH POPULATION OF PASSAIC, 1937	<i>Sophia M. Robison</i> 22
IV. THE JEWISH POPULATION OF BUFFALO, 1938	<i>Uriah Z. Engelman</i> 37
V. A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE JEWISH COMMU- NITIES OF NORWICH AND NEW LONDON, 1938	<i>Bessie B. Wessel</i> 51
VI. A SAMPLE STUDY OF THE JEWISH POPULATION OF PITTSBURGH, 1938	<i>Maurice Taylor</i> 81
VII. A STUDY OF DETROIT JEWRY, 1935	<i>Henry J. Meyer</i> 109
VIII. A STUDY OF CHICAGO JEWRY (1930) BASED ON DEATH CERTIFICATES	<i>A. J. Jaffe</i> 131
IX. THE JEWISH POPULATION OF MINNEAPOLIS, 1936	<i>Sophia M. Robison</i> 152
X. A STUDY OF SAN FRANCISCO JEWRY, 1938	<i>Samuel Moment</i> 160
XI. CONCLUSION	<i>The Editor</i> 183

TABLES

CHAPTER II.—TRENTON

I. Jewish population, male and female, Trenton, 1937, classified by nativity, each ward	11
II. Foreign-born Jewish population, Trenton, 1937, by number of years in the United States and number of years in Trenton	12
III. Citizenship of the foreign-born Jewish population, male and female, Trenton, 1937, classified by number of years in the United States	13
IV. Gainfully occupied Jewish population 15 years of age and over, male and female, Trenton, 1937, classified by occupation	14
V. Jewish population 15 years of age and over engaged in trade, male and female, Trenton, 1937, classified by kind of trade and status	15
VI. Jewish population 15 years of age and over engaged in professional service, male and female, Trenton, 1937, classified by profession	15
VII. Gainfully occupied Jewish males 15 years of age and over, Trenton, 1937, classified by occupation and nativity	16
VIII. Age distribution of the total population, Trenton, 1930, in percent, and of the Jewish population, Trenton, 1937, classified by age-group and nativity . . .	17
IX. Jewish families with both parents, Trenton, 1937, by nativity of parents and number of children	19
X. Members of Jewish families, male and female, Trenton, 1937, living away from home, classified by residence and occupation	21

CHAPTER III.—PASSAIC

I. Total population, Passaic, 1930, and Jewish population, 1937, classified by nativity, each ward	23
II. Foreign-born Jewish population, Passaic, 1937, classified by number of years in the United States and number of years in Passaic	24
III. Native Jewish population, Passaic, 1937, classified by age and by number of years in Passaic	25
IV. Foreign-born Jewish population, male and female, Passaic, 1937, classified by citizenship status, each ward	25
V. Age distribution of the total white population, Passaic, 1930, in percentage, and of the Jewish population, Passaic, 1937	26

VI. Households in the Jewish population, Passaic, 1937, classified by number of persons and nativity of head	28
VII. Jewish families with both parents, Passaic, 1937, classified by nativity of parents and number of children	29
VIII. Jewish married women, Passaic, 1937, classified by age-group, nativity and number of children	30
IX. Employed persons in the Jewish population 15 years of age and over, male and female, Passaic, 1937, classified by occupation	31
X. Jewish families, Passaic, 1937, classified by size and number of wage-earners	33
XI. Jewish population 15 years of age and over engaged in trade, male and female, Passaic, 1937, classified by kind of trade	33
XII. Jewish population 15 years of age and over, engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries, male and female, Passaic, 1937, classified by kind of industry	34
XIII. Jewish persons engaged in professional service, male and female, Passaic, 1937, classified by profession	34
XIV. Jewish youth, 5 to 19 years of age, male and female, Passaic, 1937, classified by attendance at Jewish schools or membership in Jewish clubs	35

CHAPTER IV.—BUFFALO

I. Estimated Jewish population, Buffalo, 1938, classified by district	38
II. Jewish population, Buffalo, 1938, classified by country of birth	39
III. Jewish population, male and female, Buffalo, 1938, classified by nativity	39
IV. Total population, Buffalo, 1930, and Jewish population, 1938, classified by age-group	40
V. Gainful workers in the Jewish population, male and female, Buffalo, 1938, classified by employment status	41
VI. Employed persons in the Jewish population, male and female, Buffalo, 1938, classified by occupation	41
VII. Skilled workers in the Jewish population, Buffalo, 1938, classified by specific occupation	43
VIII. Jews engaged in professional service, Buffalo, 1938, classified by profession	43
IX. Completed Jewish families, Buffalo, 1938, classified by nativity of parents and number of children	44
X. Incomplete Jewish families, Buffalo, 1938, classified by nativity of parents and number of children	44
XI. Mean and median number of children per family in the Jewish population, Buffalo, 1938, classified by nativity of parents	45

XII. Paternal grandparents of Jewish families, Buffalo, 1938, classified by nativity and number of children	46
XIII. Jewish families, Buffalo, 1938, classified by occupational category of heads and number of children	47
XIV. Paternal grandparents of Jewish families, Buffalo, 1938, by socio-economic grouping and number of children	48
XV. Jewish families, Buffalo, 1938, classified by occupational category of fathers and median marriage age of fathers and mothers	48
XVI. Jewish families, Buffalo, 1938, classified by occupational category of head and interval between marriage and birth of first child	49

CHAPTER V.—NEW LONDON AND NORWICH

I. Population of New London County, 1930	52
II. Nativity of total population (1930) and of Jewish population (1938), Connecticut, New London County, New London City, Norwich City, and Town of Norwich	53
III. Foreign white stock in New London County (1930), classified by country of origin and percent foreign born	55
IV. Foreign white stock, New London City (1930), classified by country of origin	59
V. Foreign-born Jewish population, New London, 1938, classified by number of years in the U. S. and number of years in New London	60
VI. Total population (1930) and Jewish population (1938), New London, classified by age-group and nativity.	61
VII. Single Jewish individuals 15 years of age and over, male and female, New London, 1938, classified by age-group and nativity	63
VIII. Jewish families with both parents living, New London, 1938, classified by number of children and nativity of parents	63
IX. Married Jewish women, New London, 1938, classified by nativity and number of living children	64
X. Married Jewish women, New London, 1938, classified by age-group, nativity, number and average number of children	64
XI. Gainful workers in Jewish population, 15 years of age and over, New London, 1938, classified by occupation and status	66
XII. Jews engaged in professional service, New London, 1938, classified by profession	66
XIII. All school children and Jewish school children, New London, 1938, classified by school	68
XIV. Foreign-born white stock, Norwich City, 1930, classified by country of origin	71

XV. Native Jewish population, Norwich, 1938, classified by age-group and number of years in Norwich	72
XVI. Total population (1930) and Jewish population (1938) of Norwich classified by age-group and nativity, in percentage	73
XVII. Jewish population, Norwich, 1938, classified by age-group and nativity	74
XVIII. Jewish families with both parents living, Norwich, 1938, classified by number of children and nativity of parents	75
XIX. Married Jewish women, Norwich, 1938, classified by age-group, by nativity and by number and average number of children	76
XX. Jewish persons engaged in trade, male and female, Norwich, 1938, classified by kind of trade	77
XXI. Gainful workers in the Jewish population, 15 years of age and over, Norwich, 1938, classified by occupation and status	78

CHAPTER VI.—PITTSBURGH

I. Selected Jewish households, Pittsburgh, 1938, and all Pittsburgh families, 1930, classified by size	85
II. Selected Jewish families, Pittsburgh, 1938, classified by size	85
III. Sample Jewish population, male and female, Pittsburgh, 1938, classified by age-group	87
IV. Percentage distribution by age-groups of sample Jewish population, Pittsburgh, 1938, of total white population of Pittsburgh, 1930, and of sample white population of the U. S. in the National Health Survey, 1935-36	88
V. Percentage distribution by number of children under 10 years of age of selected Jewish families and households, Pittsburgh, 1938, and of all Pittsburgh families, 1930	89
VI. Families having children under 10 years of age classified by number of such children; for selected Jewish families and households, Pittsburgh, 1938, and for all Pittsburgh families, 1930, in percent	89
VII. Percentage distribution by number of children under 21 years of age of selected Jewish families and households, Pittsburgh, 1938, and of all Pittsburgh families, 1930	90
VIII. Families having children under 21 years of age, classified by number of such children; for selected Jewish families and households, Pittsburgh, 1938, and for all Pittsburgh families, 1930, in percent	91
IX. Individuals in selected Jewish households, male and female, Pittsburgh, 1938, classified by status	92

X. Sample Jewish population, Pittsburgh, 1938, and total population, Pittsburgh, 1930, 15 years of age and over, male and female, classified by marital status, in percent	92
XI. Foreign-born persons in the sample Jewish population, Pittsburgh, 1938, classified by country of birth	93
XII. Parental family units in sample Jewish population, Pittsburgh, 1938, classified by nativity of each parent	94
XIII. Foreign-born persons in sample Jewish population, Pittsburgh, 1938, classified by number of years in the U. S.	94
XIV. Foreign-born persons in sample Jewish population, Pittsburgh, 1938, and in total white population, Pittsburgh, 1930, classified by citizenship status	95
XV. Sample Jewish population, male and female, Pittsburgh, 1938, classified by school attendance	95
XVI. Persons in sample Jewish population attending school, male and female, Pittsburgh, 1938, classified by type of school	96
XVII. Persons in sample Jewish population under 30 years of age not attending school, male and female, Pittsburgh, 1938, classified by extent of schooling	97
XVIII. Boys and girls in sample Jewish population, Pittsburgh, 1938, classified by type of religious instruction	97
XIX. Gainful workers in sample Jewish population, Pittsburgh, 1938, classified by employment status	98
XX. Gainful workers in sample Jewish population, Pittsburgh, 1938, classified by employment status, each ward :	99
XXI. Percentage distribution of gainful workers by age-group, male and female; for sample Jewish population, Pittsburgh, 1938, for total population of Pittsburgh, 1930, and in estimate for cities of 350,000 to 1,000,000, 1937	100
XXII. Percentage distribution of gainful workers in sample Jewish population, male and female, Pittsburgh, 1938, classified by employment status and age-group	101
XXIII. Families in sample Jewish population, Pittsburgh, 1938, classified by number of persons and number of gainful workers	102
XXIV. Gainful workers in sample Jewish population, Pittsburgh, 1938, classified by occupational category and by employment status	103
XXV. Gainful workers in sample Jewish population, Pittsburgh, 1938, classified by industry.	104
XXVI. Persons in selected occupations per 1,000 gainful workers, in sample Jewish population, Pittsburgh, 1938, and in total population, Pittsburgh, 1930	105
XXVII. Percentage distribution by industry of gainful workers in sample Jewish population, Pittsburgh, 1938, in total population, Pittsburgh, 1930, and in the population of the U. S., 1930	106

CHAPTER VII.—DETROIT

I. Total population, estimated Jewish population and ratio of Jewish population, Detroit, 1890-1940	114
II. Ratios of all gainfully occupied males and of selected Jewish names in city directories, Detroit, 1890-1935, by industry, in percentage	114
III. Selected characteristics of the sample Jewish population, Detroit, 1935, by district	117
IV. Total population and sample Jewish population, male and female, Detroit, 1935, classified by age-group, in percentage	117
V. Total population and Jewish population, Detroit, 1935, classified by age-group within each sex, in percentage	118
VI. Estimated number of Jewish workers and percentage distribution of Jewish and of all workers, male and female, Detroit, 1935, classified by employment status	120
VII. Percentage distribution of all families, Detroit, 1930, and Jewish families, Detroit, 1935, classified by number of gainful workers per family	120
VIII. Estimated number of gainfully occupied Jewish workers, male and female, Detroit, 1935, classified by industry	121
IX. Representation of gainfully occupied Jewish workers, male and female, in the industries of Detroit, 1935, by index number	122
X. Median 1934 income of gainfully occupied male Jewish workers, Detroit, 1935, classified by industry	123
XI. Estimated ratio of Jewish gainful workers to all gainful workers, male and female, Detroit, 1935, classified by socio-economic group	124
XII. Estimated number and percentage distribution of gainfully occupied Jewish workers, male and female, Detroit, 1935, classified by socio-economic group	124
XIII. Median 1934 income of gainfully occupied Jewish workers and of all workers, Detroit, 1935, classified by socio-economic group	127

CHAPTER VIII.—CHICAGO

I. Estimated Jewish population 15 years of age and over, Chicago, 1930, classified by nativity and age-group	132
II. Foreign-born Jewish population 35 years of age and over, Chicago, 1930, classified by region of birth and age-group	133
III. Birth rates per 1,000 of all women and of Jewish women, Chicago, 1930, classified by nativity and age-group	135
IV. Death rates per 1,000 of the non-Jewish white and of the Jewish population, male and female, Chicago, 1930, classified by age-group	135

V. Survivors in the non-Jewish white and in the Jewish population, male and female, Chicago, 1930, classified by beginning of selected age	136
VI. Estimated Jewish population, male and female, Chicago, 1930, classified by age-group	138
VII. Estimated Jewish population, Chicago, 1940 and 1950, classified by age-group	138
VIII. Estimated Jewish population, 15 years of age and over, male and female, Chicago, 1930, classified by marital status and age-group	140
IX. Percentage distribution of occupations on death certificates of all males and of Jewish males, Chicago, 1930, classified by age-group	142
X. Percentage distribution of Jews and of non-Jewish whites, Chicago, 1930, classified by median monthly rental of census tracts	144
XI. Estimated Jewish population, male and female, and standard error, Chicago, 1930, classified by age-group	150

CHAPTER IX.—MINNEAPOLIS

I. Jewish population, male and female, Minneapolis, 1936, classified by nativity, each Jewish census district	153
II. Foreign-born persons in the Jewish population, Minneapolis, 1936, classified by number of years in the U. S. and number of years in Minneapolis	154
III. Total population, Minneapolis, 1930, and Jewish population, Minneapolis, 1936, by age-group	155
IV. Jewish families with both parents, Minneapolis, 1936, classified by nativity of parents and number of children	156
V. Unattached persons in the Jewish population, male and female, Minneapolis, 1936, classified by nativity	158
VI. Total families, Minneapolis, 1930, and Jewish families, Minneapolis, 1936, classified by nativity of head and number of persons per family.	158

CHAPTER X.—SAN FRANCISCO

I. Jewish families in master list, and surveyed families and persons, San Francisco, 1938, each census district	163
II. Estimated number of Jewish families and persons by census district, San Francisco, 1938	164
III. Total population, San Francisco, 1930, and Jewish population, San Francisco, 1938, classified by age-group	166
IV. Total population, San Francisco, 1930, and Jewish population, San Francisco, 1938, 15 years of age and over, classified by marital status	167

V. Jewish husbands and wives, San Francisco, 1938, classified by place of birth and period of arrival in San Francisco	168
VI. Native Jewish husbands and wives, San Francisco, 1938, classified by region of birth	168
VII. Foreign-born Jewish husbands and wives, San Francisco, 1938, classified by period of arrival in the United States	169
VIII. Foreign-born Jewish husbands and wives, San Francisco, 1938, classified by country of birth	169
IX. Total foreign-born white population, San Francisco, 1930, and foreign-born Jewish population, San Francisco, 1938, classified by citizenship status . . .	170
X. Jewish persons, 15 years of age and over, San Francisco, 1938, classified by employment status	171
XI. Jewish persons 15 years of age and over employed or seeking employment, San Francisco, 1938, classified by employment status and kind of employment	171
XII. All workers, San Francisco, 1930, and Jewish workers, San Francisco, 1938, classified by occupation, in percentage	172
XIII. Professional persons in the Jewish population, male and female, San Francisco, 1938, classified by profession	173
XIV. Proprietors, managers and officials in the Jewish population, San Francisco, 1938, classified by kind of business or occupation	174
XV. All persons in selected occupations per 1,000 workers, San Francisco, 1930, and Jewish persons in such occupations per 1,000 Jewish workers in San Francisco, 1938, classified by occupation	175
XVI. Members of Jewish families, San Francisco, 1938, classified as Jewish or non-Jewish	176
XVII. Surveyed Jewish families, San Francisco, 1938, classified by composition of household	177
XVIII. Surveyed Jewish families, San Francisco, 1938, classified by number of persons	177
XIX. Jewish children under 5 years of age per 1,000 Jewish women 20 to 44 years of age, San Francisco, 1938, classified by nativity of the women	179
XX. Jewish families, San Francisco, 1938, affiliated with synagogues, each census district	180
XXI. Jewish boys and girls 5 to 14 years old, San Francisco, 1938, receiving religious school instruction, each census district	181

CHAPTER XI.—CONCLUSION

I. Summary Table I	188
II. Summary Table II	189

CHAPTER I

METHODS OF GATHERING DATA ON THE JEWISH POPULATION

BY THE EDITOR

A GREAT many persons believe that the extent of the Jewish population of the United States is reliably known. Some even labor under the illusion that the figures have been determined by a federal census. This false impression is strengthened by the prevailing practice of citing precise totals rather than round numbers regarding the Jewish population of the country or of any particular city. Very few of those who see or hear such estimates stop to consider the nature of the calculations behind them or their degree of accuracy. The United States Census does not inquire into the religious affiliation of individuals. There is, however, a federal Census of Religious Bodies. Let us consider the value of this census as the first of the various methods which have been used to estimate the Jewish population.

1. *The Census of Religious Bodies*

The data covered by the Census of Religious Bodies, taken regularly since 1850, comprise not an enumeration of the members of any sect but a compilation from secondary sources of the number of congregations and churches, the capital investment, the value of church property and, for some churches, the number of members, Sunday school registration, etc. Church membership is, however, a variable concept, having a different connotation in each religious group. Catholics count all infant baptisms; the Protestant sects have varying conditions of membership; and among the Jews synagogue membership is only one of a number of indices of Jewishness. Hence, the Census of Religious Bodies is of little use as an index of the number of Jews in the United States or, for that matter, the number of Protestants or Catholics.

In the 1926 and the 1936 Census of Religious Bodies Dr. H. S. Linfield, the statistician in charge of the enumeration of Jewish religious bodies, endeavored to make the Census serve the purpose of a general census which would cover all Jews living in communities in which congregations were situated. This attempt unfortunately confused synagogue membership with Jewish population and has failed to produce a reliable estimate of the number of Jews in the United States. This confusion of the two categories has been annually renewed in the *American Jewish Year Book*, which has published supposed estimates of the Jewish population. These figures, however, represent nothing more than the data from the

~~Census of Religious Bodies on the number of Jews affiliated with congregations in the various cities. According to the 1906 Census of Religious Bodies, the Year-Book records, the Jews number 4,770,647, or 3.69 percent of the total population of the United States.¹ Such precise figures are misleading and their use is unwarranted.~~

In 1914-15 figures on the Jewish population in the United States and in individual communities were obtained by correspondence with key persons in the larger cities and in those smaller communities in which it was possible to obtain correspondents. Little reflection is needed to prove that a method which consists of adding one guess to another is entirely untrustworthy. Subsequently, instead of attempting direct contact with all of the numerous townships, the device of applying the results of the questionnaires returned from towns of similar size was employed to estimate the number of Jews in many hundreds of towns of the same class. This is clearly a highly questionable procedure, since there is no way of telling whether the sample for which the data on Jewish population were returned is representative of the situation in all the other communities of similar size.

Because the arguments against empowering the government to include the question of religious affiliation in the census blank outweigh those in its favor, statisticians interested in getting accurate and detailed demographic data regarding the Jews have had to resort to the various devices outlined below.

2. *Yom Kippur Absence*

The "*Yom Kippur method*" makes several assumptions, some of which beg the question. Stated briefly, the reasoning behind this technique for calculating the number of Jews in a large city is that *all* Jewish children attend public schools and that all Jewish parents keep their children out of school on *Yom Kippur*.² The number of absences from each public school on that day, corrected for the expected number of absences for each school, it is assumed, will equal the number of Jewish children in each school. The proportion that the school children bear to the total population in a census year is the co-efficient by which the number of Jewish children is multiplied to obtain the estimate of the total Jewish population. The validity of this calculation is dependent on the unproved assumption that the proportion of school children in the Jewish population is identical with that of the school population in the total population.

Aware of the shortcomings in the "*Yom Kippur method*," which at best leads only to a rough estimate of the total Jewish population and of its neighborhood distribution and reveals nothing further of demographic importance, the Jewish Education Association experimented with various devices in an attempt

¹ Linfield, H. S., "Jewish Communities of the United States. Number and distribution of Jews of the United States in Urban Places and in Rural Territory," in *American Jewish Year Book*, vol. xlii (1940-41) 215-66.

² The Day of Atonement, a fast day which falls in the early weeks of the autumn term and which is observed by virtually the entire Jewish community.

to revise the figures obtained by this method.³ Time and pains have been expended on assembling the age-grade distribution of children attending public schools located in neighborhoods which are known to be predominantly Jewish in population. By comparing the proportion of children in each age group in the schools of these neighborhoods with those of children in other districts known to be largely non-Jewish it was hoped to settle the question: Is the age distribution of children in the Jewish population the same as in the non-Jewish population?

Unfortunately, the data available do not permit an authoritative answer to this question. This method assumes that all the children in attendance at any one school live in the same health area as that in which the school is located.⁴ That this is not the case in the New York City school population was revealed by a tabulation of approximately 1,300,000 children attending public schools in 1935, in which the children were distributed according to residence in health areas and according to the location of the school by health areas. It appeared that only a small proportion of the children attended a public school located in the same area as that in which they resided.⁵ This fact makes it impossible to calculate the total population in any health area in New York City on the basis of the number of children attending schools located in that area and consequently invalidates any estimate of the number and characteristics of the Jewish population in the area.

3. Death Rates

A third method of estimating the Jewish population is based on the assumption that there is a similarity between the birth and death rates of the Jewish and the non-Jewish population. Insofar as it is possible to identify the Jewish births and deaths in a community, it is claimed to be possible, by means of the formula of the United States Census Bureau for estimating the intercensal population, to obtain a reliable estimate of the local Jewish population.

In its study of the inter-borough shifts of Jewish families during the decade 1916-1926, the Jewish Communal Survey of Greater New York attempted to determine the specific death rates of the Jews as an index to the size of the Jewish population. The investigation was based on the New York State Census of 1925, from which statistics were taken for sixteen tracts, chosen as representative of the Jewish population in each of the five boroughs of New York City; the Board of Health made available the death certificates for the year 1925 for those sixteen districts. The Jews in the records of the sixteen census tracts were identified

³ This agency was concerned with determining the number of Jewish children of school age in the various neighborhoods in connection with the problem of adjusting local facilities for Jewish education to the population in question. For the results obtained see Bureau of Jewish Research, N. Y., *Jewish Communal Survey of Greater New York. First Section: Studies in the New York Jewish Population* (New York 1928) p. 1-12.

⁴ Health areas are aggregates of census tracts (in New York City, about 40 acres), each designed to comprise a unit of population of about 25,000. In 1930 the city was divided into 310 such areas.

⁵ *Manhattan Children in Day Schools in 1935*, published by the Research Bureau, Welfare Council of New York City, 1938.

on the basis of the name of the deceased, place of birth, mother's maiden name, nativity of parents, place of burial and undertaker's name. These three sets of figures, total population, Jewish population and number of Jewish deaths in the sixteen census tracts made it possible to determine the rate which was sought as the basis for an estimate of the total Jewish population of the city.⁶ The validity of this estimate depends, of course, on the validity of the assumptions that the areas chosen contain a representative sample of the Jewish population and that name or country of origin is a reliable clue for identifying Jews. While the latter assumption may be generally warranted, one of the major shortcomings of the method is that it would be valid at best for only a very short period because as populations age, their death rates change.

In the Chicago study included in this volume, Mr. A. J. Jaffe used a technique of building up an estimate of the Jewish population, as of 1930, from the known number of deaths in the various age and sex groups and the known specific death rates for each of the age and sex groups.⁷ The following procedures were employed:

1. To obtain a sufficiently large number of cases and to minimize the operation of chance factors, such as epidemics, variation in public health regulations and provision for medical services, death records for the five years 1928-1932, inclusive, were used.

2. To obtain death rates applicable to the Jewish population, a choice was made of what seemed to be the best approximation, *i. e.*, the death rates for the Chicago white population in the same occupational categories and economic levels as those to which the majority of the Jews were assumed to belong.

3. The 10,000 Jewish deaths were selected from the 180,000 records representing the total number of deaths in Chicago during the five years 1928-1932. A canvass of the undertakers and interviews with cemetery officials revealed that practically all Jews who died were buried by twelve firms whose business with non-Jews was negligible. Accordingly, transcripts were made of certificates which bore the signatures of any one of these twelve firms, eliminating those which obviously were for non-Jews. The inclusion of the deaths of non-residents and the exclusion of Chicagoans who died elsewhere was balanced by using as the general death rate a figure obtained in the following manner: the 1930 population was divided by the number of deaths of Chicago residents in Chicago during the five-year period.

Two sets of death rates were used for estimating the Jewish population. The first was based on the population of thirteen census tracts estimated to be at least 90 percent Jewish and to include approximately one-third of the total Jewish population of Chicago. The second death rate was based on the total middle-class white population of Chicago. The estimates of the Jewish popula-

⁶ *Jewish Communal Survey of Greater New York*, p. 13-21. Cf. Jacobs, Joseph, "Jewish Population of New York. A Statistical Study," in *Jewish Communal Directory* (New York 1912) p. 3-14.

⁷ A method previously used to estimate the Jewish population of London; see below, p. 145, n. 11.

tion obtained with the aid of these two rates differ by about 7 percent. Because the internal consistency of the estimate obtained on the basis of the Jewish rate is greater, the estimate of the Jewish population of Chicago resulting from Mr. Jaffe's study is based on the Jewish death rate, the higher of the two.

The computations of the Jewish birth rate followed the procedure developed by P. M. Hauser. This study centered the population on the 1930 figures and the female births on the certificates for 1928 to 1932. The net reproduction rates of the total native and foreign-born Jewish population were computed by an indirect method⁸ which furnishes a ratio of the observed to the expected number of births. This ratio multiplied by the known net reproduction rate gives the net reproduction rate for the population whose specific birth rates were unknown.

4. Sampling Methods

Sampling Combined with Interviewing

Dr. Walter Laidlaw estimated the religious affiliation of the population of New York City in connection with the 1930 census. One hundred twenty thousand families of foreign white stock resident in Manhattan, Bronx and Brooklyn in 1920 were visited and questioned as to their religious affiliations. The proportions of Catholics, Protestants and Jews found in that sample were applied to the 1920 and 1930 population statistics of these boroughs. On the basis of these proportions Dr. Laidlaw offered the figure of 1,876,545 Jews in New York City in 1930,⁹ distributed as follows:

Manhattan.....	432,706
Bronx.....	403,835
Brooklyn.....	794,913
Queens.....	211,124
Richmond.....	33,967

Tentative estimates made by the Jewish Education Association in New York City, based on the "Yom Kippur method," placed the city's Jewish population at 2,025,000 in 1930, distributed as follows:

Manhattan.....	430,000
Bronx.....	550,000
Brooklyn.....	950,000
Queens.....	90,000
Richmond.....	5,000

While the difference between the totals of these estimates is only 48,000 for the entire city, the figures for the individual boroughs reveal wide divergencies in

⁸ The selective specific female birth rates were applied to a population whose specific birth rates are known and the number of expected female births are computed.

⁹ Laidlaw, W., *Population of the City of New York, 1890-1930* (New York 1932) p. 275, Tables 62-63.

Queens and Richmond. It is difficult to reconcile Laidlaw's estimate of 211,124 Jews in Queens with the Jewish Education Association's estimate of 90,000, or Laidlaw's estimate of 33,967 Jews in Richmond with the Jewish Education Association's estimate of 5,000. The sampling on which Dr. Laidlaw's estimates were based did not include families of the various nativity groups from the boroughs of Queens and Richmond in which, obviously, the proportions of the various ethnic stocks were different from those which characterized the other boroughs. However, neither method serves the purpose of those who wish to obtain figures for particular neighborhoods within the city.¹⁰

A complete census is the only way of checking any of these estimates and settling, at least temporarily, the question of the possible differences in the age composition of the total and the Jewish population. Since a complete census is out of the question in large cities, a census based on a representative sample is the best substitute. Two different illustrations of the use of sampling, one of which has been applied in New York City and the other in Detroit, are described below.

Youth Survey

At the request of several organizations¹¹ the Research Bureau of the Welfare Council of New York City in 1935 conducted a study of youths between the ages of 16 and 24 in New York City. Selection of every hundredth residential unit from the street files of the 1934 Real Property Inventory of the City of New York yielded approximately 21,000 households, at whose doors the investigators knocked. Cards were filled out for 19,000 households, including approximately 9,000 families with young people between the ages of 16 and 24. The investigation of this sample indicated that in the city as a whole approximately 30 percent of the young people between the ages of 16 and 24 were Jewish, 50 percent were Catholic and 20 percent Protestant. The proportion of youths in each borough who were Jewish ranged from less than 1 percent in Richmond to almost 50 percent in the Bronx.¹²

However, although the sample on which these estimates of New York City youth who are Jewish, Catholic and Protestant checks in a variety of ways with the general distribution of the population of the city and so lends assurance to estimates based upon it, it should not be inferred that the proportion of households with youths between the ages of 16 and 24 is the same as the proportion of all families for each religious affiliation in the population of the city as a whole. Households in the Youth Study sample in which there was no one between the ages of 16 and 24 were not classified according to religious affiliation.

¹⁰ The availability of census data for estimating the religious affiliations of the population is discussed in Robison, S. M., *Can Delinquency Be Measured* (New York 1936) Appendix B, p. 222 ff.

¹¹ Including the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies of New York City.

¹² McGill, N. P., "Some Characteristics of Jewish Youth in New York City," in *Jewish Social Service Quarterly*, vol. xiv (1937) 251-72; McGill, N. P., and Matthews, E. N., *Youth of New York City* (New York 1940).

Detroit

A combination of the sampling method and determining the unknown statistical data from the known population is illustrated by Mr. Henry J. Meyer's study of the Jewish population of Detroit in 1935. Like the method used by Mr. Jaffe for Chicago, it requires no home visiting and is relatively inexpensive. From the 1935 Michigan Census of Population and Unemployment (which was a sample study of about every fifth residence), every schedule which obviously related to a Jewish household was drawn. No attempt was made to include all the Jews, but a check indicated that a high degree of accuracy was attained.

"Jewish families were identified among the families of Detroit by names of the family and personal names of household members. A preliminary experiment with the 'name method' showed that it was at least ninety percent accurate. In identifying 'Jewish schedules' only obviously Jewish names were included and all doubtful ones excluded. The purpose was to select a sample which contained only Jews rather than to try to identify all the Jews enumerated in the census. . . . The basic assumption upon which this sample may be accepted as representative of the Jewish population in Detroit is that Jewish-sounding names are not selected by age or occupation or any other significant social factor. There are no test studies to determine the validity of this assumption, but informal checks of the names of Jews on membership lists of organizations as diverse as wealthy social clubs and trade unions revealed no visible differences in Jewishness of names."¹³

The number of Jews in the various categories was calculated by applying the sample percentages of the estimated total Jewish population of Detroit in 1935. This estimate of the total Jewish population was based on the assumption that the number of Jewish cases on the Detroit Public Welfare rolls represented the same ratio to the true total of the Jewish population as the proportion of persons receiving relief in the Jewish sample to the total number constituting the sample.

5. Enumeration

The Buffalo survey, which approached a complete census, began with a house-to-house canvass in those districts of the city known to be densely populated by Jews. The city was divided into "enumeration districts"¹⁴ and every household in each block of each district was covered. In the outlying districts in which the Jewish population was assumed to be sparse, three households on each side of the street and all shopkeepers were canvassed as sources of information as to additional Jewish residents in those areas. When this canvass was complete, the names were checked against the combined membership lists of the Jewish organizations, which totalled a much smaller number of households than were

¹³ Meyer, H. J., "The Economic Structure of the Jewish Community in Detroit," in *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. ii (1940) 127, n. 2.

¹⁴ Subdivisions of the census tracts ranging from 2 to 6 blocks each.

found in the canvass. The estimate for the total population of Buffalo in 1938 by this method was approximately 18,000 Jews.

Several variations of the use of the master list as a starting-point for a census of the Jewish population by means of interviews are illustrated by the Minneapolis, Trenton and Passaic studies. In each case the cities were divided into districts for canvassing and tabulation to conform as far as possible with census boundaries. In those sections of the city in which the street files of the master lists indicated a concentration of Jews, a house-to-house canvass was made. In those areas in which (on the basis of the lists) few Jews resided, inquiries were made at each Jewish household for Jewish neighbors. Secondly, one or more households were visited on each side of each street and, thirdly, inquiries were made at neighborhood stores to check or to add the names of their customers to the enumerators' list of Jews in that neighborhood. In Passaic an attempt was made to check the extent of coverage of the canvass by visiting three houses on each side of the 77 streets in the city on which, according to the master list, there were no Jewish families. This device added only 19 families to the total.

In New London and Norwich the master list, supplemented in various ways, was first circulated by mail. The returns comprised about 25 percent and those who failed to reply were visited and were requested to furnish additional names to the enumerators. This list was then checked against the names of families in the communities obtained through a school survey then under way in the two communities. The author of these studies, Dr. Bessie B. Wessel, states that in her opinion the school canvass furnished as good an estimate of the Jewish population as did the master list.

In San Francisco and Pittsburgh, cities in which the Jewish population is large and fairly scattered, it was found impractical to canvass the complete master list. In San Francisco the original intention was to make a complete canvass of the 14,000 households in the master list, but after a canvass of approximately half of the households had been made, it became clear that it would be necessary to cover the remaining families by the sample method; it was therefore decided to interview every third family. In the final tabulations data from this sample were multiplied by three and combined with the non-sample data on the assumption that the sample group being large and the method of sampling random, the main findings of the survey would not be significantly affected.

An attempt was made to check the extent of coverage of this method by a house-to-house canvass of forty blocks, four in each of ten census tracts. Comparison of the number of Jewish families identified in these forty blocks with the number of family cards in the file for the same blocks yielded 16 percent more Jewish families in each block than were contained in the card file. The original estimate was then increased by this percentage of families assumed to have been overlooked, yielding a total of 14,725 Jewish families in San Francisco in 1938.

The original Pittsburgh plan contemplated a complete canvass of the master list, which included the following features not found in the other studies: (1) the

names of Jewish children in the public schools and (2) the names of the registrants for the American Jewish Congress elections who signed in the late spring of 1938. Among them were found several thousand names not appearing on any membership list. A dot representing each Jewish household on the master list was placed on the appropriate block in each ward on maps furnished by the City Planning Department. Since the limitations of time and money made it impossible to canvass all the households, it was decided to sample the households in each of the thirty-two wards. Wards in which there were less than 16 percent of the Jewish population according to the master list were excluded, with the exception of wards 16 and 17, in which it was assumed that the dots underestimated the Jewish population. The final selection narrowed down to the canvass of 119 blocks in 78 census tracts, the blocks chosen so as to distribute the sample as widely as possible throughout the ward and to represent the various economic levels.

The enumerator was instructed to canvass every house on each one of these chosen blocks and to include all except the temporary residents. Ratios between the number of individuals and families listed on the master list and the total number found were computed for each block. These ratios formed the basis of five different estimates which yielded an average of approximately 54,000 Jews in Pittsburgh in 1938. The attempt to supplement the data obtained by this block sampling by canvassing all of the remaining households in the original file miscarried and consequently the conclusions of the Pittsburgh study are based solely on the sample population survey.

Each of the ten studies which follow has collected more data than appear in this volume. Inasmuch as the focus of the present volume is primarily on techniques of securing Jewish population data and, secondarily, on the actual demographic data obtained, rather than on an understanding of the sociological significance of the traits of the Jewish population in each of the cities, the individual chapters are necessarily limited to those aspects of the complete studies which fit this double frame of reference. The details of the original reports are available in manuscript or mimeographed form for those concerned with the local situations.

CHAPTER II

THE JEWISH POPULATION OF TRENTON, 1937

BY SOPHIA M. ROBISON

IN THE summer of 1937, under the joint auspices of the Conference on Jewish Relations and a number of other organizations, an attempt was made to determine the number of Jews residing in Trenton, New Jersey.¹ The size of the population, its occupational structure and ward distribution were of interest to the Jewish Federation of Trenton² in planning for the raising and the allocation of community funds, while for the naturalization program of the National Council of Jewish Women it was essential to know how many non-citizens were included in the Jewish population. The Committee on Population Research of the Conference on Jewish Relations was particularly interested in investigating family size and the age distribution for the purpose of testing the validity of the "Yom-Kippur absence" method³ as a basis for estimating the number of Jews in the population of a large city.

On the basis of experience gained in the census of Jews in Minneapolis and in view of the fact that Trenton is about one-quarter the size of Minneapolis and that its area is about one-eighth that of Minneapolis, it was thought that a canvass of the master list should produce reasonably reliable figures. The bulk of the master list was derived from the membership list of the Jewish Federation of Trenton. Additional names, which were checked to eliminate multiple membership and duplication of business address and residence, were obtained from the following sources: (1) the membership lists of the thirty-two Jewish organizations and six congregations; (2) Jewish names in street and telephone directories; (3) the check-lists of ward leaders indicating the Jewish names in their voters' lists; (4) suggestions obtained in the households visited as to the presence of other Jewish residents on the block; and (5) married sons and daughters of Trenton Jewish residents who were listed on their parents' cards as living elsewhere in Trenton. When the household cards were finally allocated to the appropriate wards, 7,191 Jews were accounted for in the fourteen wards of the city.

¹ Supervised by the writer with the assistance of Mrs. Zelma Ploscowe. See the writer's summary, "Some Characteristics of Trenton and Passaic Jews," in *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. ii (1940), 249-54.

² The census committee consisted of Sidney Goldmann, President of the Jewish Federation, Judge Phillip Forman, Joseph Fishberg, Mrs. Rose Gilinsky, Mrs. Fannie Popkin, Louis Rudner and Louis B. Shipper.

³ See above, chapter I.

Sex Ratio and Nativity

The 7,191 Jews enumerated in the summer of 1937 represent approximately 6 percent of the 123,356 individuals enumerated in the 1930 Census of the United States.⁴ While Jews resided in each of the fifteen wards, as Table I below indicates, the Jewish population was concentrated in wards 3 and 4, in which 1,385 and 1,100 Jews were enumerated, respectively. Males and females appeared in approximately equal numbers in the Jewish population of Trenton. Among the foreign-born Jews the excess of males, 6.3 percent, suggested a family population. This difference was slightly larger than the excess of males over females in the total foreign-born population (6 percent) of Trenton in 1930.⁵ Almost two-thirds of the Jews in Trenton in 1937 (65.7 percent) were born in the United States, which is only 6 percent less than the proportion of the native group in the total population of Trenton in 1930 (71.7 percent). However, the proportions of native and foreign-born Jews varied in the individual wards: ward 4 had the lowest ratio of native Jews (55.2 percent), while in wards 2, 6 and 14 three-fourths of the Jewish population was native.

TABLE I
JEWISH POPULATION, MALE AND FEMALE, TRENTON, 1937, CLASSIFIED BY NATIVITY, EACH WARD

Ward	All classes				Native				Foreign born			
	Total		Male	Fe-male	Total		Male	Fe-male	Total		Male	Fe-male
	Num-ber	Per-cent			Num-ber	Per-cent			Num-ber	Per-cent		
Total	7,191	100.0	3,678	3,513	4,730	65.7	2,370	2,360	2,461	34.2	1,308	1,153
Ward 1	260	100.0	139	121	187	71.9	95	92	73	28.1	44	29
Ward 2	784	100.0	392	392	584	74.4	290	294	200	25.6	102	98
Ward 3	1,385	100.0	704	681	844	60.9	415	429	541	39.1	289	252
Ward 4	1,100	100.0	577	523	608	55.2	332	276	492	44.8	245	247
Ward 5	319	100.0	169	150	183	57.3	93	90	136	42.7	76	60
Ward 6	60	100.0	36	24	45	75.0	28	17	15	25.0	8	7
Ward 7	241	100.0	123	118	148	61.4	75	73	93	38.6	48	45
Ward 8	79	100.0	39	40	53	67.0	25	28	26	33.0	14	12
Ward 9	145	100.0	79	66	87	60.0	48	39	58	40.0	31	27
Ward 10	395	100.0	197	198	263	66.5	124	139	132	33.5	73	59
Ward 11	361	100.0	175	186	243	67.3	116	127	118	32.7	59	59
Ward 12	715	100.0	367	348	512	71.6	257	255	203	28.4	110	93
Ward 13	422	100.0	207	215	284	67.3	138	146	138	32.7	69	69
Ward 14	810	100.0	419	391	610	75.3	301	309	200	24.7	118	82
Ward 15	115	100.0	55	60	79	68.7	33	46	36	31.3	22	14

⁴ In 1940 the Trenton population was 124,697.

⁵ *Fifteenth Census of the U. S., 1930, Population Bulletin: New Jersey, Table 12.*

Number of Years in the United States and in Trenton

On the basis of Table II, 50 percent of the foreign-born Jews for whom these data were recorded had been in the United States 31 years and in Trenton 23 years. More than half of the Jews came to Trenton in the early 1900's and only 5 percent migrated subsequent to 1922. Approximately 15 percent of the foreign-born Jews (363) had lived in Trenton 35 years or longer.

TABLE II
FOREIGN-BORN JEWISH POPULATION, TRENTON, 1937, BY NUMBER OF YEARS IN THE UNITED STATES AND NUMBER OF YEARS IN TRENTON

Years in United States	Total	Years in Trenton							
		Less than 5 years	5-9 years	10-14 years	15-19 years	20-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45 years and over
Total.....	12,461	169	184	220	327	352	759	257	106
Less than 5 years....	9	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5-9 years.....	35	2	33	..	..	..	..	..	..
10-14 years.....	84	15	17	52	..	..	..	..	..
15-19 years.....	209	20	17	33	139	..	..	..	..
20-24 years.....	*240	22	17	16	34	148	..	..	..
25-34 years.....	*996	54	61	81	96	127	566	..	..
35-44 years.....	*500	29	29	26	39	54	129	191	..
45 years and over....	*282	14	7	6	17	15	48	60	103
Unknown.....	*116	4	3	6	2	8	16	6	3

Footnotes refer to cases in which length of residence in the city was not recorded.

¹ 87.

² 3.

³ 11.

⁴ 2.

⁵ 68.

Citizenship

The citizenship status of the foreign born varied with sex and bore a direct relation to residence in the United States. Table III relates these two factors for the foreign-born men and women separately. Approximately 10 percent (115) of the foreign-born Jewish males for whom citizenship data were noted were reported as aliens, whereas 20 percent of the foreign-born Jewish women reported themselves as aliens. This difference in citizenship among Jewish foreign-born men and women bears out the general observation that a larger proportion of the foreign-born men acquire citizenship than of the foreign-born women. However, while it is possible that some men and women may have reported citizenship incorrectly, the significant fact, from the point of view of the participation of the Jews in the duties and obligations of citizenship, is that the proportion of aliens among Jewish males is only half that recorded in the total foreign-born male

population of Trenton in 1930, and the proportion of Jewish foreign-born women who remained aliens is one-third less than that of foreign-born alien females in the local population.⁶

TABLE III

CITIZENSHIP OF THE FOREIGN-BORN JEWISH POPULATION, MALE AND FEMALE, TRENTON, 1937, CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF YEARS IN THE UNITED STATES

Years in United States	Total	United States citizen		Alien		Citizenship not reported	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total	12,461	1,042	762	115	188	173	181
Less than 5 years	9	..	1	4	3	1	..
5-9 years	35	4	9	10	6	4	2
10-14 years	84	26	22	7	12	7	10
15-19 years	209	63	53	14	34	23	22
20-24 years	240	104	67	19	23	8	19
25-34 years	996	430	320	36	83	68	59
35-44 years	500	249	162	17	17	25	30
45-54 years	247	120	100	4	4	7	12
55-64 years	25	10	12	1	..	1	1
Not reported	116	36	16	3	6	29	26

¹ Includes 35 under 21 years of age.

Occupations

The question as to occupation was asked in the form, "What work do you do and in what industry do you do it?" The results, presented in Tables IV, V, VI and VII, show some interesting contrasts to the occupational structure of the total population of Trenton in 1930.

With regard to the gainfully occupied male population, the following differences were noteworthy (Table IV):

(1) Trade accounted for 59 percent of the gainfully occupied male Jewish population of Trenton. This ratio is more than three and one-half times the proportion of males in the city's total population engaged in trade in 1930.⁷

(2) In contrast to the concentration of Jews in trade, the largest group of the gainfully occupied male population of Trenton was engaged in the manufacturing and mechanical industries. Building, clay, glass and stone industries, blast furnaces and steel rolling mills alone employed about 10,000 men, almost one-fourth of all men employed in 1930. Among the Jews, on the other hand, only 13.3 percent of the men in 1937 earned their livelihood in the manufacturing or mechanical industries.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, Table 15.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, Table 20. About 14 percent of the total employed males in 1930 were classified as engaged in wholesale and retail trade, exclusive of automobiles.

(3) Inasmuch as the federal census classification of "professional" includes both professional and semi-professional workers, no complete comparison between the proportions of Jews and non-Jews in this category can be made. However, the fact that 12.3 percent of the Jewish males were in the professional group indicates a greater preference for professional careers than that found in the total population, in which in 1930 professional and semi-professional occupations together accounted for 5 percent of all gainfully occupied males.⁸

(4) Agriculture, extraction of minerals, transportation, public service, domestic and personal service provided employment for only 284 Jews.

TABLE IV
GAINFULLY OCCUPIED JEWISH POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER,
MALE AND FEMALE, TRENTON, 1937, CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATION

Occupation	All workers		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
All occupations	3,061	100.0	2,423	100.0	638	100.0
Agriculture	3	0.1	3	0.1	..	..
Extraction of minerals	1	*	1	*	..	..
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	354	11.7	323	13.3	31	4.9
Transportation and communication	90	2.9	87	3.6	3	0.5
Trade	1,644	53.7	1,428	59.0	216	33.8
Public service	28	0.9	24	1.0	4	0.6
Professional service	377	12.3	298	12.3	79	12.4
Domestic and personal service	162	5.3	138	5.7	24	3.8
Clerical occupations	381	12.4	101	4.2	280	43.9
WPA	21	0.7	20	0.8	1	0.1

* Less than 0.1 percent.

Like the occupational distribution of the men, that of Jewish women showed a decided contrast to that of the gainfully occupied women in Trenton's total population: (1) Whereas among the Jews in 1937 women comprised 20.8 percent of the gainfully occupied group, among all gainfully occupied persons in 1930, women accounted for 26.3 percent of the total.⁹ (2) Almost 20 percent of all gainfully occupied women (about 2,500) in Trenton were engaged in domestic and personal service, while this category gave employment to only 3.8 percent (24) of the gainfully occupied Jewesses in 1937. (3) Like the men, the gainfully occupied Jewish women were concentrated in trade, which accounted for 33.8 percent of this group, or three times the corresponding proportion in the total population in 1930.

The category "trade" as well as that of "professions" comprises several

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

different fields. Tables V and VI, which indicate the distribution of the Jews in the subdivisions of these two categories, contain some noteworthy facts. According to Table V, only 84 percent of the Jewish men in the mercantile field were engaged in wholesale trade. The most important subdivision was the retail branch, which accounted for 776 men, or 54.3 percent of the total number of Jewish men in trade. In wholesale trade proprietors (62) and employes (58) were about evenly divided, whereas in the retail division of trade more than two-thirds of the men owned their own business.

TABLE V

JEWISH POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN TRADE, MALE AND FEMALE, TRENTON, 1937, CLASSIFIED BY KIND OF TRADE AND STATUS

Kind of trade	All workers		Male				Female			
	Number	Percent	Total		Em- ployes	Self- em- ployed	Total		Em- ployes	Self- em- ployed
			Number	Percent			Number	Percent		
Total.....	1,644	100.0	1,428	100.0	837	591	216	100.0	184	32
Clerks in stores.....	84	5.1	47	3.3	47	..	37	17.1	37	..
Commercial travelers.....	62	3.8	62	4.3	57	5	..	..	..	..
Insurance.....	45	2.7	45	3.2	44	1	..	..	..	..
Proprietors and managers.....	14	0.9	14	1.0	10	4	..	..	..	..
Real estate.....	35	2.1	35	2.4	30	5	..	..	..	..
Retail trade.....	823	50.1	776	54.3	274	502	47	21.8	17	30
Salesmen.....	356	21.6	248	17.4	245	3	108	50.0	107	1
Wholesale trade....	120	7.3	120	8.4	58	62	..	..	..	..
Others.....	105	6.4	81	5.7	72	9	24	11.1	23	1

TABLE VI

JEWISH POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN PROFESSIONAL SERVICE, MALE AND FEMALE, TRENTON, 1937, CLASSIFIED BY PROFESSION *

Profession	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total.....	377	100.0	298	100.0	79	100.0
Dentists.....	40	10.6	40	13.4	..	..
Lawyers and judges.....	77	20.4	74	24.8	3	3.8
Pharmacists and chemists.....	21	5.6	21	7.0	..	..
Physicians and surgeons.....	80	21.2	78	26.2	2	2.5
Teachers.....	73	19.4	25	8.4	48	60.8
Social workers.....	4	1.1	..	..	4	5.1
All others.....	82	21.7	60	20.2	22	27.8

* Excludes several unemployed social workers.

The fact that ~~the majority of Jewish~~ in the professions were teachers (10, or 60.0 percent) was not surprising. On the other hand, the number of Jewish physicians and surgeons (80) and of members of the bar (77) was surprising (Table VI). ~~The Jewish physicians and surgeons comprised two-thirds of the 122 persons practicing medicine in Trenton, while among the 190 lawyers and judges the Jews constituted 40.5 percent.~~¹⁰

Occupation and Nativity

The differences in the occupational pattern of the native as compared with the foreign-born Jewish men are brought out by Table VII. ~~The foreign born Jews tended to concentrate in trade to a much greater extent than the native group.~~ Even more striking differences appeared in the professions, manufacturing and mechanical industries and clerical occupations, which are no doubt attributable to differences in age, opportunities for special training and the ability to

TABLE VII
GAINFULLY OCCUPIED JEWISH MALES 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, TRENTON, 1937,
CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATION AND NATIVITY

Occupations	All workers		Native		Foreign born	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
All occupations	2,423	100.0	1,234	100.0	1,189	100.0
Agriculture	3	0.1	1	0.1	2	0.2
Extraction of minerals	1	*	1	0.1	..	..
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	323	13.3	110	8.9	213	17.9
Transportation and communication	87	3.6	55	4.4	32	2.7
Trade	1,428	59.0	662	53.6	766	64.4
Public service	24	1.0	18	1.5	6	0.5
Professional service	298	12.3	227	18.4	71	6.0
Domestic and personal service	138	5.7	63	5.1	75	6.3
Clerical occupations	101	4.2	81	6.6	20	1.7
WPA	20	0.8	16	1.3	4	0.3

* Less than 0.1 percent.

read and write English. In precise terms the outstanding facts were as follows: (1) the proportion of native Jews engaged in professional service (18.4 percent) was three times that of the foreign born (6.0 percent); (2) 6.6 percent of the native and 1.7 percent of the foreign born were reported in clerical occupations; (3) the proportion of native Jewish workers in the manufacturing and mechanical industries (8.9 percent) was just half that of the foreign-born group (17.9 percent).

¹⁰ *Medical Directory of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, 1937*, p. 689-92. *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory, 1937*, vol. i, p. 598-600.

~~In the main, the adult Jewish male population in Trenton was engaged in small business, 41 percent of this group was self-employed. A smaller percentage of Jewish than of non-Jewish men was working and a larger percentage of Jewish than of non-Jewish males were members of the professions, with lawyers and physicians predominating.~~ When classified by nativity, a trend away from both trade and manufacturing and mechanical industries toward the professional and clerical occupations was seen.

Age-distribution

Strictly speaking, a comparison of the age-distribution within the Jewish population in 1937 with that of the total population in 1930 may lead to error. However, no other comparison was possible. From Table VIII it may be seen that there were marked differences in the age-distribution of the Jewish and the total white population.

TABLE VIII
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION, TRENTON, 1930, IN PERCENT, AND OF THE JEWISH POPULATION, TRENTON, 1937, CLASSIFIED BY AGE-GROUP AND NATIVITY

Age-group	Total population in percent (1930) ¹			Jewish population (1937)					
	Total ²	Native white	Foreign-born white	Total		Native		Foreign born	
				Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent
All ages.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	7,191	100.0	4,730	100.0	2,461	100.0
Under 5.....	7.8	9.9	0.1	357	4.9	357	7.6	0	..
5-9.....	9.5	12.0	0.7	498	6.9	496	10.5	2	0.1
10-14.....	9.8	12.7	0.8	573	8.0	564	11.9	9	0.4
15-19.....	9.7	11.9	2.5	650	9.0	634	13.4	16	0.7
20-24.....	8.6	10.0	4.4	725	10.1	682	14.4	43	1.7
25-34.....	15.6	14.4	17.5	1,342	18.7	1,041	22.0	301	12.2
35-44.....	15.8	11.6	29.7	1,207	16.8	653	13.8	554	22.5
45-54.....	11.1	7.8	22.6	939	13.0	188	4.0	751	30.5
55-64.....	7.0	5.5	12.9	516	7.2	57	1.2	459	18.7
65-74.....	3.7	3.0	6.7	194	2.7	11	0.2	183	7.4
75 and over.....	1.3	1.1	2.0	48	0.7	2	*	46	1.9
Unknown.....	0.1	0.1	0.1	142	2.0	45	1.0	97	3.9

¹ From *Fifteenth Census of the U. S., 1930, Population Bulletin: New Jersey.*

² Including 34,877 non-white persons.

* Less than 0.1 percent.

Table VIII reveals, in the first place, that the assumption made by the "Yom Kippur absence" method as to the equal proportions of children in the total and

the Jewish populations is unjustified in Trenton. Children of school age were relatively less numerous among the Jews in Trenton in 1937 than among the total population in 1930. Comparing the distribution of Jews and of the total population in the age-group 5 to 14 (the nearest approach to the compulsory school age for which figures were available), it appears that within the Jewish group children accounted for less than 15 percent of the total population in 1937, whereas 19.3 percent of all of Trenton's population in 1930 was within that age-span. The total Trenton population was approximately five times the school enrollment, whereas the total Jewish population was approximately *seven* times the number of Jewish school children. Hence, if the number of Jews would have been calculated by the "*Yom Kippur* absence" method as *five* times the number of Jewish children of school age, the result would have been too low a figure.

The difference in the proportions of the various age-groups within the two populations suggests that the birth rate among the Jews was lower than that of the non-Jews. The following is the evidence: (1) Only 4.9 percent of the Jewish population was under 5 years of age in 1937, while 7.8 percent of Trenton's population fell within that span in 1930. (2) Approximately equal proportions of the total population were in the age-groups 5 to 9, 10 to 14 and 15 to 19 (9.5, 9.8 and 9.7 percent, respectively), whereas the corresponding proportions in the Jewish population showed considerable variation (6.9, 8.0 and 9.0 percent, respectively). The Jewish group was ageing more rapidly than the non-Jewish population. (3) Among the total population in Trenton in 1930 persons between 20 and 35 years of age comprised 24.2 percent as compared with 28.8 percent among the Jews in 1937, a difference of 4.6 percent.

Since the native and foreign-born Jewish groups differed as to age distribution, and since immigration has virtually ceased, a more telling comparison is one between the age-distribution of the Jews and of the non-Jews in the native category alone. There were 2.3 percent fewer native Jewish children aged 5 to 14 in 1937 than there were native children among all Trenton children in 1930. While this brings the proportions of the Jewish and non-Jewish groups aged 5 to 14 closer together than does the broader comparison given above, a calculation by the "*Yom Kippur* absence" method would nevertheless result in an underestimation of the total number of Jews in Trenton.

Size of Family

Closely related to the age-distribution of the population is the size of the families. In order to account for those families in which some children had already left the parental roof, householders were asked to give the names, ages and whereabouts of all their living children. These data are included in the two tables which follow. Table IX presents the data for 1,724 families in which both parents were accounted for (broken families numbered 224).

The difference in the number of children in families headed by native and foreign-born persons raises the question of the extent to which Jewish families follow the prevailing pattern of smaller families characteristic of the non-Catholic urban population. The calculated median number of children in Trenton Jewish families with both parents was below 1.5. Classifying the families by parent nativity, the calculated median number was less than 1.0 for the families in which both parents were native, approximately 1.3 for families of mixed parentage, and slightly more than 2.0 for those families in which both parents were foreign born.

TABLE IX
JEWISH FAMILIES WITH BOTH PARENTS, TRENTON, 1937, CLASSIFIED BY
NATIVITY OF PARENTS AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN¹

Number of children ¹	All classes		Nativity of parents					
			Both native		One native, one foreign born		Both foreign born	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	1,724	100.0	571	100.0	370	100.0	783	100.0
None	282	16.4	159	27.8	65	17.6	58	7.4
1 child	381	22.1	203	35.5	79	21.3	99	12.6
2 children	501	29.1	153	26.8	133	35.9	215	27.5
3 children	273	15.8	49	8.6	61	16.5	163	20.8
4 children	148	8.6	4	0.7	20	5.4	124	15.8
5 children	60	3.5	1	0.2	5	1.4	54	6.9
6 children	32	1.8	1	0.2	2	0.5	29	3.7
7 or more	36	2.1	1	0.2	4	1.1	31	4.0
Not reported	11	0.6	..	..	1	0.3	10	1.3

¹ Including children living away from home.

A more adequate comparison would have to take into consideration the age of the mothers and compare the families in which the mothers had passed the child-bearing age in each nativity group. However, inasmuch as less than 6 percent of the native Jewish women were 45 years of age or over, such a comparison was not undertaken. However, the fact that almost 60 percent of the foreign-born Jewish women were 45 years old or over would seem to indicate that the families of the foreign born were complete in at least 60 percent of the cases, while those of native Jewish mothers might still be incomplete.

The 224 Jewish families in which there was only one parent had a much larger average number of children (2.7), whether headed by a native or a foreign-born person, than the 1,724 families with both parents (below 1.5). Among the broken families it appears that only 160, or 8 percent, had 5 or more children, and 145 of these families had parents born abroad.

Mixed Marriages

In Trenton there were recorded 27 instances of mixed marriage, in 22 of which the wife was reported as gentile. In approximately half of these families (14 of the 27) there were no children.

Unattached Persons

In addition to the 1,948 Jewish families there were 455 unattached persons, some of whom resided with families but not as an integral part of them and were not counted with the family groups. These unattached persons constituted 6.3 percent of the Jewish population of Trenton. With the exception of Wards 2, 3, 4 and 14 there were less than 50 unattached persons in any one ward. Men outnumbered the women in both nativity groups. Among the unattached native Jews there were more than twice as many men as women, while among the foreign born there were approximately one-third more women than men. These findings were similar to those regarding unattached persons in the Jewish population of Minneapolis, both in respect to relative number and to distribution according to sex and nativity.

Because of the special interest of a group in the Trenton community in the feasibility of establishing a home for the aged, a tabulation was made of the 224 unattached Jews, 45 years of age and over, classifying them as living alone or with relatives. It was found that 138 persons (49 men and 89 women) were living with relatives and 96 (48 men and 48 women) were living alone. On the basis of eligibility for old-age assistance (65 or over), there were only 12 in the unattached group living alone, while those living with relatives numbered 60, including 46 women. Before a decision to establish a home for aged Jews in Trenton is made, it would obviously be necessary to determine what proportion of those living with relatives or living alone needed or desired different living arrangements.¹¹

Children Living Away from Home

Inasmuch as it was believed that the Jewish population of Trenton was undergoing a decline, partly due to its proximity to New York and Philadelphia, data as to the residence of children who left home were gathered and are presented in Table X. Almost 900 children left their parental homes (484 males and 409 females), the majority (521), however, continuing to reside in Trenton. Of those who moved to other cities, 117 went to New York and 30 to Philadelphia. More than 75 percent of the girls who left home (331) were reported as housewives. Of the men, 17 percent (83) were engaged in the professions.

Inasmuch as the data on the size of Jewish families in Trenton are not com-

¹¹ Whether those arrangements should be congregated or individual should be decided after consideration of the recent tendency toward foster-home care for the aged as well as for dependent children.

parable with those available in the 1930 census,¹² no comparison of the size of the average family in the total population with that of the average Jewish family can be made. However, with the cessation of immigration the proportion of Jewish families in which the heads are native will increase, so that in all likelihood the size of the Jewish family will continue to decrease unless a reversal in the mores occurs. Consequently, the method of estimating the total Jewish population on the basis of the school population is bound to lead to ever greater errors.

TABLE X

MEMBERS OF JEWISH FAMILIES, MALE AND FEMALE, TRENTON, 1937, LIVING AWAY FROM HOME, CLASSIFIED BY RESIDENCE AND OCCUPATION

Residence	All classes	Male			Female			
		Total	In professional service	Others	Total	Housewives	In professional service	Others
Total.....	1893	484	83	396	2409	331	14	58
Trenton.....	1521	301	52	244	2220	184	4	26
New York.....	117	57	8	49	60	40	6	14
Philadelphia....	30	11	1	10	19	18	1	..
Elsewhere.....	225	115	22	93	110	89	3	18

¹ Including 5 of unknown occupation.

² Including 6 of unknown occupation.

Summary

The tables above, which record the data on the age, sex, nativity, citizenship, family composition, occupations and ward distribution of the Jews enumerated in Trenton in 1937, lead to the following conclusions:

1. While almost half of Trenton Jewry resided in two of the city's fifteen wards, there was none without some Jewish residents.

2. The Jewish group comprised almost as large a native element as the corresponding ratio in the total population.

3. The ratio of aliens among the Jews was about half that recorded for all foreign-born males in the city. Of the foreign-born Jews half had lived in Trenton 23 years and in the U. S. 31 years.

4. The occupational distribution of the Jewish population differed widely from that of the total population, the former being concentrated in trade and the latter in manufacturing and mechanical industries.

5. If the ratio of children of elementary school age were assumed to be the same among the Jews as among the Trenton population and the assumption used as a basis for estimating the total Jewish population, the result would be an under-estimate.

¹² The 1930 census classifies families by number of children under 10 and under 21.

CHAPTER III

THE JEWISH POPULATION OF PASSAIC, 1937

BY SOPHIA M. ROBISON

THIS study was undertaken under the joint auspices of the Jewish Community Council of Passaic and the Conference on Jewish Relations in the fall of 1937.¹ The immediate interest of the Passaic group was the extent to which the facilities for Jewish education were being used by the Jewish youth of Passaic, while the Conference on Jewish Relations wished to obtain demographic data. The initial step was the preparation of a master list composed of Jewish names from the City Directory² and the list of contributors to the Jewish Welfare Fund. These names were then filed according to street address. Jewish families were located and visited on 123 streets and new names were obtained by asking each family visited for the names of additional Jewish families on the same block and by canvassing two or three addresses at which no Jewish family was listed. On the 77 streets on which, according to the master list, no Jewish families resided, three houses on each side of the block were canvassed and inquiry made in the stores; this resulted in the addition of 19 families to the Jewish total.

Some Characteristics of Passaic

In 1930 Passaic had a population of 62,959, some 57,000 more than were enumerated in the census of 1880. In each of the decades from 1880 to 1920 there was approximately a 100 percent increase in the population. From 1920 to 1930, however, this trend was reversed and the population decreased by 883.³ ~~Although~~ Passaic is only twelve and one-half miles from New York City, it is ~~not a commuting town.~~⁴ The community is largely industrial; the largest plants, ~~woolen mills,~~ were located in wards 2 and 4. Ward 3 was the residential section. At the time of the census, the fall of 1937, general business conditions were poor; the majority of the large plants were working only part time. As would be anticipated, the Jews in Passaic shared in the generally depressed conditions.

~~Many Jews were affiliated with orthodox organizations, most of which were~~

¹ The enumeration was directed by Mr. Morris Novitsky, executive director of the Jewish Community Council of Passaic. In the preparation of the report the writer was assisted by Dr. Hannah Stern.

² It is interesting to note that only 77 names of those taken from the City Telephone Directory proved to be non-Jewish.

³ The 1940 Census returned a population of 61,341.

~~According to current estimates, no more than 200 commuters (to New York City) lived in~~

~~There was one orthodox synagogue in ward 2. The Jews who were in better circumstances lived in ward 3.~~ There was one orthodox synagogue in ward 2. The Jews who were in better circumstances lived in ward 3.

Neighborhood Distribution

~~About 10,000 Jews were found by the enumerators in Passaic in 1937. In relation to the total population of that city in 1930, Jews accounted for about 16 percent of the inhabitants.~~

As is evidenced by Table I, Jews tended to concentrate in certain sections of Passaic. The population of ward 1, which is chiefly a business district, was less than 4 percent Jewish, whereas in ward 2 (industrial) and ward 3 (residential) Jews accounted for approximately one-fifth of the total population of each ward. About 60 percent of the Jewish population of Passaic was native, as compared with 63.1 percent of the entire white population in 1930.⁵

TABLE I
TOTAL POPULATION, PASSAIC, 1930, AND JEWISH POPULATION, 1937,
CLASSIFIED BY NATIVITY, EACH WARD

Wards	Total population, 1930 ¹	Jewish population, 1937				
		Total		Native	Foreign born	Nativity not reported
		Number	Percent of total population			
All wards . . .	62,959	10,066	16.0	6,215	3,790	61
Ward 1	13,547	507	3.7	268	239	..
Ward 2	14,915	3,400	22.8	2,092	1,298	10
Ward 3	14,867	3,078	20.7	2,154	893	31
Ward 4	19,630	3,081	15.7	1,701	1,360	20

¹ From *Fifteenth Census of the U. S., 1930, Population Bulletin: New Jersey.*

When distributed by wards it appears, however, that the proportions of the native and foreign-born Jews varied widely. Thus, in ward 1 half the Jewish residents were native as compared with two-thirds of those living in ward 3. This is undoubtedly to be attributed to the fact that native Jews were on the whole engaged in more lucrative occupations.

Number of Years in the United States and in the City

Measured in terms of the size of the city in 1910, a considerable number of the Jews in Passaic were residents of long standing. Table II classifies the foreign-born Jews according to number of years in the United States and in Passaic. From this it appears that:

1. While one-half of the 3,790 foreign-born Jews in Passaic in 1937 had

⁵ *Fifteenth Census of the U. S., 1930, Population, vol. ii, p. 87.*

been in the United States less than 30 years, approximately one-third of them had been in the United States less than 25 years. Thus the Passaic foreign-born Jews were relatively recent immigrants.

2. About one-third of the foreign-born Jews (1,194) had lived in Passaic between 25 and 34 years, and within this group almost three-fourths (936) had settled in Passaic within the five-year period of arrival in the United States.

3. Although at least half of the foreign-born Jews had been in America since 1912, Passaic was not their first residence. The median number of years in Passaic for these foreign-born Jews was approximately 21.

TABLE II
FOREIGN-BORN JEWISH POPULATION, PASSAIC, 1937, CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF YEARS IN THE UNITED STATES AND NUMBER OF YEARS IN PASSAIC

Number of years in United States	Total	Number of years in Passaic							
		Less than 5	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45 and over
Total	13,790	353	321	521	542	401	1,194	342	76
Less than 5	20	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5-9	79	21	58	..	..	..	..	..	..
10-14	231	28	23	180	..	..	..	..	..
15-19	402	45	35	78	244	..	..	..	..
20-24	354	45	34	51	52	170	..	..	..
25-34	1,606	116	116	140	144	152	936	..	..
35-44	752	62	37	52	79	61	189	270	..
45 and over	282	12	15	17	16	12	64	71	75
Unknown	64	4	3	3	7	6	5	1	1

¹ Including 40 the length of whose residence in Passaic was not recorded.

² Including 34 the length of whose residence in Passaic was not recorded.

It should not be assumed that all the native Jews in Passaic have always lived there. Table III indicates the extent to which the native Jewish population was born in Passaic. When the age of the Jews within this category is related to their years of residence in Passaic, the following interesting facts emerge: (1) Less than half of the native Jews 35 to 44 years of age reported that they had lived in Passaic all their lives. (2) Almost one-fourth of the 1,416 native Jews 25 to 34 years of age had lived in Passaic less than 10 years. (3) In all, approximately 20 percent (625) of the native Jews 20 years of age and over had been in Passaic less than 10 years, and of these, 265 arrived after 1932.

If these recent arrivals among the native Jews are added to the 437 foreign-born Jews who reported that they had been in Passaic less than 10 years (Table II), it appears that 1,062 persons, more than one-sixth of the adult Jewish popu-

TABLE III
NATIVE JEWISH POPULATION, PASSAIC, 1937, CLASSIFIED BY AGE-GROUP AND BY
NUMBER OF YEARS IN PASSAIC

Age-group	Total	Number of years in Passaic							
		Less than 5	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45 and over
All ages.....	16,215	1,073	988	1,030	921	854	914	318	44
Less than 5.....	479	479	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5-9 years.....	696	83	612	..	..	..	..	..	..
10-14 years.....	822	84	46	689	..	..	..	..	..
15-19 years.....	879	65	57	80	676	..	..	..	..
20-24 years.....	1,015	93	46	81	82	711	..	..	..
25-34 years.....	1,416	186	147	99	76	77	830	..	..
35-44 years.....	645	71	60	65	62	43	50	291	..
45 and over.....	172	10	12	13	21	17	28	25	39
Unknown.....	291	2	8	3	4	6	6	2	5

¹ Including 73 whose period of residence was not recorded.

² Including 54 whose ages were not recorded.

lation, came to Passaic after 1927. Almost half of all the foreign-born Jews came to Passaic after 1932, a reflection, no doubt, of industrial conditions as well as an important consideration for Jewish communal organization.

TABLE IV
FOREIGN-BORN JEWISH POPULATION, MALE AND FEMALE, PASSAIC, 1937,
CLASSIFIED BY CITIZENSHIP STATUS, EACH WARD

District	All classes	United States citizen		Alien	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
All wards....	13,790	1,610	1,263	277	594
Ward 1.....	239	99	88	18	34
Ward 2.....	1,298	532	428	93	223
Ward 3.....	895	430	332	45	79
Ward 4.....	1,358	549	415	121	258

¹ Including 20 males and 26 females whose citizenship status was not recorded.

Citizenship Status

Table IV indicates that among the foreign-born Jewish men and women in Passaic differences in citizenship status similar to those in the total population appear. Thus, of the Passaic Jews who reported themselves as aliens, almost 70 percent (594) were women. Of the 1,857 foreign-born Jewesses for whom data on

citizenship status were available in 1937, approximately one-third reported themselves as aliens, in contrast to one-seventh (277) of the 1,877 foreign-born males. These proportions compare very favorably with the proportions of aliens in the total foreign-born population of Passaic in 1930 (30 percent for males and approximately 50 percent for females).⁶ In comparison, however, with the foreign-born Jewish population of Trenton, in which only 10 percent of the males and 20 percent of the females were aliens, a larger proportion of Passaic's foreign-born Jewish population were candidates for citizenship instruction; the recruiting for this purpose should be concentrated in wards 2 and 4.

TABLE V
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE TOTAL WHITE POPULATION, PASSAIC, 1930, IN PERCENTAGE, AND OF THE JEWISH POPULATION, PASSAIC, 1937

Age	Total population, 1930 ¹ in percentage			Jewish population, 1937					
	All classes	Native white	Foreign-born white	All classes		Native		Foreign born	
				Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
All ages..	100.0	100.0	100.0	210,066	100.0	6,215	100.0	3,790	100.0
Under 5....	7.8	11.6	0.2	480	4.8	479	7.7	1	*
5-9.....	9.9	14.7	1.0	698	6.9	696	11.2	2	*
10-14.....	11.0	16.7	0.8	837	8.3	822	13.2	15	0.4
15-19.....	10.7	15.3	2.5	922	9.2	879	14.1	43	1.1
20-24.....	9.3	11.6	4.8	1,085	10.8	1,015	16.3	70	1.8
25-34.....	16.3	13.8	20.4	1,930	19.2	1,416	22.8	514	13.6
35-44.....	15.8	7.4	31.4	1,614	16.0	645	10.4	969	25.6
45-54.....	10.3	4.2	21.7	1,248	12.4	143	2.3	1,105	29.2
55-64.....	5.6	2.8	11.1	697	6.9	24	0.4	673	17.8
65-74.....	2.5	1.4	4.6	261	2.6	4	0.1	257	6.8
75 and over	0.8	0.5	1.5	91	0.9	1	*	90	2.4
Unknown..	*	*	*	203	2.0	91	1.5	51	1.3

¹ From *Fifteenth Census of the U. S., 1930, Population Bulletin: New Jersey*; including 1,877 non-white persons.

² Including 61 persons whose nativity and age were not recorded.

* Less than 0.1 percent.

Age Distribution

Almost 80 percent of Passaic Jewry consisted of persons 15 years of age and older, a distribution which will be found important in considering the occupational structure of this population. In making comparisons of the age distribution of the total population of Passaic with that of the Jewish population (Table V) it is necessary to note that there was an interval of seven years between the

⁶ *Fifteenth Census of the United States. Population Bulletin: New Jersey, Table 15, p. 29.*

two enumerations and there are no data to indicate the significance of this interval. With this reservation, the following comparative observations are offered:

1. A larger proportion of the Jewish population was in the older age groups in 1937 than in the total population in 1930. Comparing the proportions of both the total and the Jewish population over 20 years of age, it appears that approximately seven-tenths of the Jewish population was over 20 years of age in 1937, whereas six-tenths of the total population was in that category in 1930.

2. Although part of this difference between the Jewish and the total population disappears when nativity and age are related, more than 9 percent of the total foreign-born population in Passaic was under 25 years of age in 1930 as compared with only 3.3 percent of the foreign-born Jews in 1937.

The assumption that the ratios of children in the Jewish and the total population, respectively, are identical would be erroneous for Passaic, as it was for Trenton. The Jewish children 5 to 14 years of age comprised only 15 percent of the Jewish population, whereas 5 to 14-year-old children in the total population of Passaic in 1930 comprised 20.9 percent of the total population of the city. Hence, any statistician using the proportion of 5 to 14-year-old children in the Passaic population as a basis for estimating the total Jewish population would be bound to under-estimate considerably the number of Jews in Passaic.

Sex Ratio and Nativity

There was almost an equal number of males and females (5,036 and 5,030) in the Jewish population of Passaic in 1937. However, in the age-group 20-24 the women outnumbered the men (592 to 493). This numerical equality of Jewish males and females held in general, for both the native and the foreign-born groups, and contrasted with the excess of men over women found among the foreign-born Jews of Trenton. Among the total foreign-born white population of Passaic there were 103.6 males to 100 females.⁷

Not until these data are viewed separately for the various groups is the balance upset. Among the foreign-born group 20 to 35 years of age the females outnumbered the males by 64. If data were available on the occupational status, marital condition and length of stay in Passaic for this group, an explanation of this unexpected excess of young women over men would no doubt be forthcoming.

Of interest in connection with the provision for old-age assistance is the fact that there were only 352 persons among the 10,066 Jews enumerated in Passaic in 1937 who were 65 years of age or over, and 120 of these were unattached persons.

Unattached Persons

There were 331 Jews in Passaic recorded as unattached to the households in which they were living. While there was an equal sex ratio among the unattached

⁷ *Fifteenth Census, Population*, vol. ii, p. 125.

native Jews, among the foreign born there were almost twice as many men as women and the majority of them were 55 years of age and over. To discover how many of these women were servants, widows living alone, or grandmothers in the homes of married children would require a special tabulation.

Size of Households

Four-person households accounted for the largest single group (810), comprising about one-third of all households. When the households are classified according to the nativity of the head, it appears that in two-thirds of the Passaic Jewish households in 1937 a foreign-born person was the head. The calculated median number of persons in this group was 3.3, appreciably higher than the corresponding median among Jewish households headed by a native, which was 2.6. Of all the households headed by a native only 6 had six or more persons, and of those headed by a foreign-born person less than 10 percent (177) had six or more persons. On the whole, the Jewish households were smaller than those of the total population, in which in 1930 the calculated median number of persons was 3.3.

TABLE VI
HOUSEHOLDS IN THE JEWISH POPULATION, PASSAIC, 1937, CLASSIFIED
BY NUMBER OF PERSONS AND NATIVITY OF HEAD

Number of persons	All classes	Native head	Foreign-born head	Nativity not reported
Total	2,704	823	1,864	17
2 persons	602	262	333	7
3 persons	719	269	447	3
4 persons	810	234	574	2
5 persons	389	52	333	4
6 persons	128	6	122	..
7 persons	36	..	36	..
8 persons	16	..	15	..
9 persons	1	..	1	1
10 persons	1	..	1	..
11 persons	2	..	2	..

Further light on the ratios of the child population in the Jewish and total population (discussed above) is obtained when these households are classified as families with both parents and families with one parent only. For the 2,410 households in which data were obtained for both parents (Table VII), considerable difference in the number of children in the families headed by foreign-born and native persons appears, pointing to an expectancy of smaller families among Jews.

Great differences in the calculated median number of children per family are evident in Table VII for families headed by native or foreign-born parents; for example, in families in which both parents were native the median number of children was 0.5, less than one child per family, whereas in the families in which both parents were foreign born the median was 2.4. Although slightly more than one-fifth (21.1 percent) of all Jewish families in Passaic in 1937 reported no children living at home (a proportion similar to that in Minneapolis in 1936), more than one-third (33.6 percent) of the families in which both parents were native reported no children. Families with four or more children accounted for only 172 of the 2,410 families, and of this group only 4 families were headed by persons born in the United States.

TABLE VII
JEWISH FAMILIES WITH BOTH PARENTS, PASSAIC, 1937, CLASSIFIED BY NATIVITY OF PARENTS AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Number of children	All classes		Nativity of parents							
			Both native		Father native, mother foreign born		Mother native, father foreign born		Both foreign born	
	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent
Total.....	2,410	100.0	669	100.0	111	100.0	310	100.0	1,306	100.0
None.....	2507	21.1	225	33.6	20	18.0	66	21.3	189	14.5
1 child.....	615	25.5	219	32.7	36	32.4	78	25.2	281	21.5
2 children.....	748	31.1	183	27.4	41	37.0	111	35.8	411	31.5
3 children.....	368	15.3	38	5.7	13	11.7	43	13.9	270	20.7
4 children.....	121	5.0	4	0.6	1	0.9	9	2.9	107	8.2
5 children.....	33	1.4	..	..	..	..	2	0.6	31	2.4
6 to 9 children...	18	0.6	..	..	..	..	1	0.3	17	1.2

Footnotes refer to cases in which nativity was not recorded.

¹14.
²7.
³1.
⁴2.
⁵4.

When the number of children in the family is related to the age and nativity of the mothers, it appears (Table VIII) that only 80 of the 989 native Jewesses in Passaic were 45 years of age and over in 1937, whereas 1,019 of the 1,748 foreign-born Jewesses had already passed that age in 1937, indicating that the majority of the Passaic Jewish families in which both parents were foreign born were complete, whereas the majority of the families in which the mothers were native might still be incomplete. The number of children in families headed by foreign-born parents is not as large as it should be because some of the older children had, no doubt, left home to marry or to work. Data on these children were not available in the Passaic study.

TABLE VIII
 JEWISH MARRIED WOMEN, PASSAIC, 1937, CLASSIFIED BY AGE-GROUP,
 NATIVITY AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Number of children	All mothers	Native mothers	Foreign-born mothers	Age of native mothers					Age of foreign-born mothers						
				16 to 19	20 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 and over	16 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	Over 75
Total	2,737	1989	1,748	5	185	495	196	80	12	214	472	525	315	129	50
None	403	330	4 73	1	137	144	37	4	7	27	16	13	8	1	..
1	532	308	2 24	4	42	176	63	18	4	70	65	44	24	7	2
2	666	211	4 55	..	6	145	32	23	1	95	188	120	32	11	2
3	465	96	3 69	..	..	28	49	14	..	19	130	129	61	19	8
4	282	21	2 61	..	..	2	11	8	..	3	47	111	67	22	6
5	150	8	1 42	..	..	..	1	7	..	..	16	58	47	15	3
6	92	2	90	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	7	23	34	19	7
7	33	1	32	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	6	15	5	3
8	22	..	22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	13	1	1
9	11	1	10	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	3	3	3
10 to 14	9	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	5	1	..
Not reported	72	11	61	..	..	..	1	4	..	..	2	10	6	25	15

Footnotes refer to cases in which ages were not recorded.

¹ 28.

² 31.

³ 7.

⁴ 1.

⁵ 5.

⁶ 8.

⁷ 6.

⁸ 3.

⁹ 2.

Broken Families

To obtain data on the family composition, a separate tabulation was made in Passaic for those families in which only one parent was enumerated. In 238 of the 294 broken families mothers were listed as living with children and, as would be anticipated on the basis of the age distribution of the native and foreign-born women, foreign-born mothers predominated. In only 53 instances the fathers provided households for their children, and of these 48 were foreign born. About one-third of all broken families (95) had only one child at home. All the evidence points to smaller Jewish families when the ratio of native to foreign-born mothers is reversed, which should happen during the ensuing decade unless immigration suddenly increases.

Occupations

The data on occupations in Table IX, based on the answers to the two queries, (1) "What do you do?" and (2) "In what industry do you do it?" present some interesting contrasts not only to that of Passaic's population as a whole, but to the occupational distribution of the Jews in Trenton.

The following differences between the Jewish and total population are to be remarked:

1. Regarding the ratios of the employed group, in 1930, 87.6 percent of the total male population of Passaic 15 years of age and over were employed;⁸ in 1937, 82.0 percent of the Jewish males 15 years of age and over were enumerated as employed. Among the females, 34.6 percent of the female population of Passaic 15 years of age and over in 1930 were employed as compared with 29.0 percent of the Jewish females in 1937. In view of the depression these differences are not as great as they may seem because the 1930 census includes "Persons usually working at a gainful occupation but temporarily unemployed at the time of the census . . . in the number of gainful workers."⁹

TABLE IX
EMPLOYED PERSONS IN THE JEWISH POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER,
MALE AND FEMALE, PASSAIC, 1937, CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATION

Occupation	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
All occupations	4,370	100.0	3,238	100.0	1,132	100.0
Agriculture	1	*	1	*	..	..
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	982	22.5	858	26.5	124	10.9
Transportation and communication	99	2.3	98	3.0	1	0.1
Trade	1,886	43.2	1,544	47.7	342	30.2
Public service	18	0.4	18	0.5	..	..
Professional service	538	12.3	411	12.7	127	11.2
Domestic and personal service	200	4.6	155	4.8	45	4.0
Clerical occupations	639	14.6	149	4.6	490	43.3
WPA	4	0.1	2	0.1	2	0.2
NYA	3	*	2	0.1	1	0.1

* Less than 0.1 percent.

2. About two-fifths (43.2 percent) of the Jews employed in Passaic in 1937 were engaged in trade. While a complete comparison with the occupational structure of Passaic is not possible because of the difference in the classification and the interval between the two enumerations, the proportion of Passaic Jews in trade was probably four times that of the total population of Passaic engaged in wholesale and retail trade.

3. Second to trade was the number of persons employed in the manufacturing industries. These industries accounted for 22.5 percent of the total employed

⁸ Fifteenth Census of the United States. Population Bulletin: New Jersey, Table 12, p. 19, and Table 20, p. 41.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

~~Jewish population in Passaic, in contrast to 18.8 percent of the employed Jews in Trenton.~~

4. Approximately equal proportions of Passaic and Trenton Jews (more than 25 percent) were engaged in professional and clerical occupations combined. Even when the differences in the census categories and year of the census are taken into account, ~~there was a concentration of Jews in the professional groups far greater than that in the total population.~~

~~5. Both in Trenton and in Passaic there was a negligible number of Jews in public service, more striking perhaps in the case of Trenton because it is the state capital.~~

About two-fifths (490), the largest single group of employed Jewish women in Passaic, as in Trenton, were engaged in clerical occupations. As Table XII shows, almost one-fourth of the employed Jewish population in Passaic in 1937 consisted of women, slightly higher than the corresponding ratio in Trenton (20.8 percent) and slightly lower than the ratio of women in the total working population in Passaic in 1930 (28.6 percent). The considerable proportion of Jewish women occupied in trade in both cities (30.2 percent in Passaic and 33.5 percent in Trenton) follows from the concentration of Jewish men in trade. It is a well-known practice for the husbands, wives and other members of the family to work together in small business enterprises.

Only 4 Jews in Passaic and 20 in Trenton reported WPA employment. This may be due either to the failure to report WPA employment or to a rather remarkable lack of public dependency in the two Jewish communities. Either explanation could be checked against the number of Jews on home and work relief in the communities.¹⁰

Number of Wage-earners

The fact that the Passaic Jewish community was peculiarly self-sustaining seems to be borne out by the data in Table X, in which Jewish households are classified according to the number of wage-earners. More than 40 percent of the 2,704 households reported two or more persons working. There was a close correlation between the size of the households and the number of workers. More than half of the families which reported only one person working were composed of three or fewer members. The calculated median number of persons in the 1,089 families with two or more persons working was 3.5.

The 124 families with 4 persons working were evenly distributed among those of more than 6 and less than 6 persons. The explanation of the considerable number of persons in any one household who were working is probably to be sought in the concentration of the Jewish population in petty trade. Like all classifications, however, "trade" and "professions" conceal many subdivisions;

¹⁰ Of the 1,089 families in Table X in which two or more persons were employed, 61 were not working, 23 of them with known training and 38 with no training.

Table XI shows some of the details. Almost two-thirds of the men (67.4 percent) and 96.5 percent of all the women classified as in trade were found in the categories of retail trade and salespersons. Less than 10 percent of the men employed (8.9 percent) reported their occupation as wholesale trade.

TABLE X
JEWISH FAMILIES, PASSAIC, 1937, CLASSIFIED BY SIZE AND NUMBER OF WAGE-EARNERS

Persons per family	Total families	Number of wage-earners in family					
		One person	More than one person				
			Total	2	3	4	5 to 7
All families..	2,704	1,615	1,089	617	301	124	47
2.....	602	1,476	126	126	..	..	..
3.....	719	472	247	212	35	..	..
4.....	810	482	328	176	139	13	..
5.....	389	155	234	82	93	51	8
6.....	128	24	104	16	19	49	20
7.....	36	6	30	5	12	4	9
8.....	16	..	16	..	3	7	6
9 to 11.....	4	..	4	..	..	..	4

¹ Includes some two-person families in which the men were retired.

TABLE XI
JEWISH POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN TRADE, MALE AND FEMALE, PASSAIC, 1937, CLASSIFIED BY KIND OF TRADE

Kind of trade	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total.....	1,886	100.0	1,544	100.0	342	100.0
Clerks in stores.....	45	2.4	42	2.7	3	0.9
Commercial travelers.....	61	3.2	61	3.9	..	..
Insurance.....	77	4.1	77	5.0	..	..
Proprietors, managers of advertising agencies.....	5	0.3	5	0.3	..	..
Real estate.....	41	2.1	40	2.6	1	0.3
Retail trade.....	634	33.6	557	36.1	77	22.5
Salesmen.....	736	39.0	483	31.3	253	74.0
Wholesale trade.....	137	7.3	137	8.9	..	..
Others.....	150	8.0	142	9.2	8	2.3

The manufacturing and mechanical industries (Table XII) accounted for 982 employed Jews. Of the 124 women, almost half (54) worked in the clothing and textile industries. The men were scattered over a number of industries. Less than 50 were employed as bakers, butchers, carpenters or builders, respectively.

In the Passaic professional group (Table XIII) the situation was the reverse of that found among the Trenton Jews, where physicians outnumbered lawyers.

~~In Passaic, lawyers and judges (116) accounted for almost 21 percent and the 61~~

TABLE XII
JEWISH POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, ENGAGED IN
MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES, MALE AND
FEMALE, PASSAIC, 1937, CLASSIFIED BY KIND OF INDUSTRY

Industry	Total
Total	1982
Builders	40
Carpenters	49
Manufacturers	131
Painters and glaziers	100
Plumbers	50
Printers and compositors	18
Tailors	81
Bakers	42
Butchers	48
Leather	4
Clothing	64
Textile	49
Others	306

¹ Consisting of 858 men and 124 women, of whom 54 were in the clothing and textile industries.

TABLE XIII
JEWISH PERSONS ENGAGED IN PROFESSIONAL SERVICE, MALE AND FEMALE, PASSAIC,
1937, CLASSIFIED BY PROFESSION

Profession	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
All professions	723	100.0	596	100.0	127	100.0
Dentists	45	6.2	43	7.2	2	1.6
Lawyers and judges	148	20.5	144	24.2	4	3.1
Pharmacists and chemists	29	4.0	28	4.7	1	0.8
Physicians and surgeons	61	8.4	59	9.9	2	1.6
Teachers	111	15.4	24	4.0	87	68.5
Social workers	7	1.0	..	..	7	5.5
Others	322	44.5	298	50.0	24	18.9

~~physicians and surgeons for approximately 8.5 percent of all those engaged in the~~
~~professions. Since the physicians and surgeons in the city numbered 119, every~~
~~other member of the medical profession in Passaic was Jewish. The Jewish~~

~~members of the bar comprised 64 percent of all lawyers and judges (174).
Among the women in the professional category, as would be expected, more than
60 percent were teachers.~~

It is of interest to relate the number of Jews in the professions to the occupations of the other working members of their families. When the cards were sorted in this fashion, there were only 26 households in which all the persons working were practicing some profession. The fact that there were 213 households in which one member was employed in trade and the other in the professions bears out the general observation that in the majority of instances it was possible for Jews to enter the professions only if some member of the family had a small business with an assured income. As has been noted, in the case of Jews the source of income is much more apt to be retail than wholesale trade.

The data in these occupational tables indicate a general similarity in the occupational distribution of Jews in Trenton and in Passaic, in spite of smaller proportions of Jews in trade in Passaic and a correspondingly larger proportion in the manufacturing and mechanical industries. When the differences in occupational distribution are related to the larger proportion of Jewish women working in Passaic than in Trenton, the smaller proportion of naturalized citizens and the larger proportion of foreign-born in Passaic than in Trenton, they point to Passaic as the more industrialized Jewish community.

Membership in Jewish Clubs and Attendance at Jewish Schools

In view of the interest of the Passaic Community Council in the extent to which the Jewish children were receiving Jewish education or had membership

TABLE XIV
JEWISH YOUTH 5 TO 19 YEARS OF AGE, MALE AND FEMALE, PASSAIC, 1937,
CLASSIFIED BY ATTENDANCE AT JEWISH SCHOOLS OR MEMBERSHIP IN
JEWISH CLUBS

Age-group	Total	Male				Female			
		Member		Non-member		Member		Non-member	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
5-9 years..	698	88	25.7	254	74.3	86	24.2	270	75.8
10-14 years..	836	199	48.0	216	52.0	128	30.4	293	69.6
15-19 years..	922	98	20.3	384	79.7	109	24.8	331	75.2

in clubs, Table XIV was prepared. As would be expected, for the group 5 to 9 years of age, whether boys or girls, almost 75 percent had no affiliation with either Jewish schools or clubs. The largest percentage of affiliation was found in

¹¹ *Medical Directory of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, 1937*, p. 675-79. *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory, 1937*, vol. i, p. 591-92.

the age group 10 to 14 years of age: 48 percent of the boys and about 30 percent of the girls. When the age group from 15 to 19 years of age is considered, the ratio reverses itself, with approximately 25 percent affiliation among the girls and 20 percent among the boys.

The affiliation among the group 10 to 14 years of age was largely with Jewish schools, no doubt in preparation for the Bar Mitzvah ceremony, and is very closely related to the relatively large number of orthodox schools in Passaic and the mores of the orthodox group which lays stress on religious education. Affiliation of the group 15 to 19 years of age, in the main, took the form of membership in Jewish recreational and cultural clubs. These facts should be of use to those interested in education of and club work for Jewish youth.

As for the interest of the Conference on Jewish Relations in demographic studies, this study of the Jewish population in Passaic brings to the foreground a special aspect of the use of the ratio of school population to the total population as a basis for estimating the total number of members of any one group. The influx of young Jewish workers in Passaic in 1927 and thereafter changed the proportions of the various age groups in the population. This provides another objection to the supposition that the ratio of the school population to the total population in any one city holds for the constituent ethnic groups or that it would apply to all cities or from one enumeration to the next.

CHAPTER IV

THE JEWISH POPULATION OF BUFFALO, 1938

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BUFFALO covers an area of 42 square miles and in 1940 ranked fourteenth in size in the United States with a population of 575,901, an increase of about 3,000 since 1930. It has a large industrial and commercial population. ~~Its principal manufacturing industries are in the automotive, airplane and related fields, in flour and grain products and in chemicals. The city is one of the greatest chemical centers, has some of the largest grain elevators and is the second largest railroad center in the United States. Buffalo is the largest inland port in the United States, measured in terms of commerce, and one of the ten largest ports in the world.~~

The enumeration of the Jewish population of Buffalo was conducted from November, 1937 to February, 1938 with the aid of a score of Jewish college students. For the purposes of this enumeration the official Buffalo census tracts were subdivided into smaller enumeration areas, covering from two to six blocks. Each canvasser was furnished with a map of the enumeration area assigned to him, indicating the streets and house numbers he was responsible for canvassing. The enumerators were instructed not to cross the boundaries of their areas and to report to the office the families missed on the first visit. Daily progress of the canvass was recorded on a duplicate map in the office.

In districts known to have a considerable Jewish population there was a house-to-house canvass. In districts where the population was known to be predominantly non-Jewish the enumerators asked the persons they canvassed whether their neighbors were Jewish, and in addition visited every store and every third or fourth home and asked where in the neighborhood Jews lived.

The enumerators located 4,162 Jewish households and recorded data for 15,193 individuals in these households. An estimated 766 Jewish households were missed by the enumerators: 424 homes known to be Jewish were visited twice and no one was found at home; 92 new names were found when the filled-in schedules were cleared against a list of "shekel" payers and subscribers to the Jewish Federation and other Jewish organizations in the city; and an additional 250 families were assumed to have been missed in the incomplete canvass of the outlying "non-Jewish" districts. The average size of the Buffalo Jewish household, found in this study to be slightly less than 3.7, applied to the 766 non-canvassed households yields roughly 2,800 persons to be added to the enu-

merated Jewish population of 15,193. ~~The estimated number of Jews in Buffalo in 1930, based on a survey of 10,000, or approximately 8 percent of the city's total population.~~ With the exception of Table I, the figures presented below refer to persons or households actually interviewed, *i. e.*, to about 85 percent of the estimated total number of Jewish households.

Neighborhood Distribution

Table I, which distributes the estimated 18,000 Jews in Buffalo by district, indicates that over 80 percent of the Jewish population resided in four districts of the city, Humboldt Park, North Park, East Side and Upper West Side, and that almost half had their residence in Humboldt Park and North Park.¹

TABLE I
~~ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION, BUFFALO, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY DISTRICT~~

District	Number	Percent
All districts	18,000	100.0
Humboldt Park	4,431	24.6
North Park (Hertel Avenue)	4,015	22.3
Amherst and Parkside	766	4.3
East Side	3,578	19.9
Upper West Side	2,896	16.1
Lower West Side	693	3.8
Others	1,621	9.0

Nativity

Of the 14,457 persons for whom data on nativity were gathered (Table II), 9,264 (64.1 percent) were native and more than half (5,615 or 60.6 percent) of this group were born in Buffalo. The foreign born accounted for 35.9 percent of the Jewish population. The ratio of foreign born in the Jewish population was high compared with the corresponding ratio in the city's total white population in 1930 (20.6 percent). However, the Jewish population fell to a large extent in the category of foreign stock, that is, first- and second-generation Americans. A fairer comparison, then, would be with the foreign white stock in the total population, in which the distribution of native and foreign born comes very close to the distribution in the Jewish population, *viz.*, 65.8 percent native and 34.2 percent foreign born.

When the foreign-born Jewish population is distributed according to country of origin, Russia and Poland together appeared as the birthplace of three out of every four of Buffalo's foreign-born Jews. Among the foreign born, about 1 in 10 gave Germany or Austria-Hungary as their birthplace. The city's proximity

¹ Figures for each tract are available in unpublished tables.

to Canada no doubt accounts for the fact that one out of every 25 foreign-born Jews gave Canada as their birthplace.

TABLE II
JEWISH POPULATION, BUFFALO, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY COUNTRY
OF BIRTH

Country of birth	Number	Percent
Total	14,457	100.0
Native	9,264	100.0
Born in Buffalo	5,615	60.6
Born elsewhere	3,649	39.4
Foreign born	5,193	100.0
Russia	3,134	60.3
Poland	795	15.3
Austria	310	6.0
Canada	202	3.9
England	171	3.3
Germany	171	3.3
Rumania	149	2.9
Hungary	98	1.9
Lithuania	73	1.4
Other countries	90	1.7

Sex Ratio and Age Composition

The ratio of men to women was 100 to 96.8 (Table III), or slightly lower than in the total population of Buffalo in 1930 (100 to 98.6). Among the foreign-born Jews, however, the ratio of men to women was 100 to 99.0, compared with 100 to 109.2 for the total population. On the basis of this comparison it appears that the usual excess of men over women in a foreign-born population did not hold for Buffalo's foreign-born Jews.

TABLE III
JEWISH POPULATION, MALE AND FEMALE, BUFFALO, 1938,
CLASSIFIED BY NATIVITY

Nativity	Male	Female	Ratio of males to females
Total	7,472	7,721	96.8
Native	4,493	4,771	94.2
Foreign-born	2,583	2,610	99.0
Nativity not reported	396	340	..

The age composition of the population is important because it bears on the size of the future Jewish population. Table IV compares the age distribution of the Jewish population of 1938 with that of the total population of Buffalo in 1930. In a normal population pyramid the base step is larger than any step above it, large enough to be reduced by the expected number of deaths without becoming smaller than the step above it when the lapse of time has moved it to that step. However, in Buffalo the Jewish population is represented by a pyramid whose base has shrunk. Below the age group 20-24 each five-year group was considerably smaller than the one above it.

TABLE IV
TOTAL POPULATION, BUFFALO, 1930, AND JEWISH POPULATION, 1938,
CLASSIFIED BY AGE-GROUP

Age-group	Total population in percent ¹	Jewish population, 1938	
		Number	Percent
All ages	100.0	^a 13,631	100.0
Under 15	26.4	3,180	23.2
Under 5	8.3	857	6.3
5-9	9.1	1,072	7.7
10-14	9.0	1,251	9.2
15-29	25.9	4,127	30.3
15-19	8.7	1,429	10.5
20-24	8.7	1,450	10.6
25-29	8.5	1,248	9.2
30-54	35.7	4,951	36.4
30-34	8.5	1,130	8.3
35-44	16.2	2,160	15.9
45-54	11.0	1,661	12.2
55 and over	12.0	1,373	10.1
55-64	7.0	861	6.3
65-74	3.7	422	3.1
75 and over	1.2	90	0.7
Unknown	0.1	..	..

¹ From *Fifteenth Census of the U. S., 1930, Population Bulletin, New York.*

^a Not including 1,561 persons whose ages were not recorded.

In 1938, Jewish children under 15 years of age formed 23.3 percent of the Buffalo Jewish population. By 1953, 15 years later, this group will be 15 to 29 years old. Thus, an age group (15 to 29) which constituted 30.3 percent of the total Jewish population in 1938 will be replaced by a group constituting only 23.3 percent of that population, barring an influx of youthful immigrants and a change in birth or death rates. These data point to a smaller and an older future

Jewish population in Buffalo. In addition, if comparison with the 1930 data for the total population is valid, they would seem to indicate that the Jewish population will decrease more rapidly than the total population, in which the two age groups represent 26.4 and 25.9 percent, respectively, of the total.

Occupations

There were enumerated 6,081 Jewish persons gainfully employed or seeking employment (Table V), with men outnumbering women by more than three to one. The vast majority, 82.4 percent, were employed by others. Among the 650 self-employed, 626 were men. One in every 7 women, in contrast to about 1 in every 25 men, was unemployed or had temporary employment.

TABLE V
GAINFUL WORKERS IN THE JEWISH POPULATION, MALE AND FEMALE,
BUFFALO, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Employment status	Gainful workers					
	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
All classes	6,081	100.0	4,651	100.0	1,430	100.0
Self-employed	650	10.7	626	13.5	24	1.7
Employes	5,009	82.4	3,819	82.1	1,190	83.2
Temporarily employed	103	1.7	51	1.1	52	3.6
Unemployed	319	5.2	155	3.3	164	11.5

Table VI shows that the three most usual occupations were: (1) clerks and kindred workers, (2) proprietors, managers and officials, and (3) skilled workers.

TABLE VI
EMPLOYED PERSONS IN THE JEWISH POPULATION, MALE AND FEMALE,
BUFFALO, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATION

Occupation	Employed persons					
	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	5,659	100.0	4,445	100.0	1,214	100.0
Professional persons	809	14.3	638	14.3	171	14.1
Proprietors, managers and officials	1,465	25.9	1,430	32.2	35	2.9
Clerks and kindred workers	2,015	35.6	1,069	24.0	946	77.9
Skilled workers	919	16.3	888	20.0	31	2.5
Semiskilled workers	171	3.0	163	3.7	8	0.7
Laborers	182	3.2	171	3.8	11	0.9
Public service	34	0.6	34	0.8	..	..
Unclassified	64	1.1	52	1.2	12	1.0

Among the men, however, the modal occupational class was that of proprietors, managers and officials (32.2 percent), with clerks and kindred workers second (24 percent) and skilled workers third (20 percent). Among the employed women almost 78 percent were classed as clerks or kindred workers and 14.1 percent as professional persons. Approximately equal proportions of employed men and women were in professional occupations. Semiskilled and unskilled workers accounted for less than 7 percent of the total and public service for less than one percent.²

Among the 1,465 proprietors, managers and officials, 430 were wholesale or retail dealers. There were 383 hucksters and peddlers and 56 junk and waste dealers. Among the establishments most frequently owned by Jews there were 114 food, grocery and poultry stores, 83 clothing stores and 30 furniture stores. Cigar, tobacco and candy stores, which are common among Jews in other cities, were operated by only 21 Buffalo Jews. Half of the 82 Jewish manufacturers made clothing.

The 929 skilled workers (of whom 888 were men) are classified by specific occupation or trade in Table VII. By far the leading group of skilled workers were the 216 tailors and dressmakers. Jewelry workers, mechanics, milliners and painters each numbered 59 to 52 persons. There was a wide scattering among 45 other trades (not all shown in the table), including one parachute jumper.

Among the 809 Jews practicing a profession (Table VIII), men outranked women by almost four to one. Among the men the leading professions were law, teaching, pharmacy and medicine. Teaching and social work accounted for almost 75 percent of all the women in the professions; there were only 4 women lawyers and 3 women physicians.

Household Composition

At the time of the enumeration canvassers were instructed to include in the family group only the father, mother and immediate offspring. Other kith and kin and unrelated Jewish persons residing in the same household were classified as "other persons in the household"; 704 "other persons" were enumerated. If two families shared a flat as co-tenants a schedule was filled in for each.

The broken families, that is, those in which the heads were widowed, divorced or separated, numbered 548, approximately 13 percent of the total. In more than two-thirds of these families (380) the husband was dead. In 106 families the wife was deceased, and in 62 families divorce or separation had occurred.

² Comparison of these figures with the occupational distribution of the total population of Buffalo in 1930 is difficult not only because of the time interval but because of differences in definition of occupation and in classification. Detailed comparison with the occupational distribution of Jews in other cities studied is also not feasible because the Buffalo data were differently classified.

TABLE VII

~~SKILLED WORKERS IN THE JEWISH POPULATION, BUFFALO, 1928, CLASSIFIED BY SPECIFIC OCCUPATION~~

Occupation	Number of workers
Total.....	929
Tailors, dressmakers.....	216
Jewelry workers.....	59
Mechanics.....	53
Milliners.....	53
Painters and paperhangers.....	52
Cleaners and dyers.....	47
Barbers and beauty parlor operators.....	38
Carpenters and cabinet makers.....	36
Foremen, superintendents, etc.....	33
Bakers.....	30
Contractors and builders.....	27
Electricians.....	25
Printers.....	24
Furriers.....	19
Tinsmiths.....	12
Telegraph and telephone operators.....	10
Shoemakers.....	9
Upholsterers.....	9
Watchmakers.....	8
Plumbers.....	8
Railroad workers.....	7
Others and unclassified.....	154

TABLE VIII

JEWES ENGAGED IN PROFESSIONAL SERVICE, BUFFALO, 1938,
CLASSIFIED BY PROFESSION

Profession	Number	Per-cent	Profession (continued)	Number	Per-cent
All professions.....	1809	100.0			
Lawyers and judges.....	173	21.4	Engineers.....	23	2.8
Physicians and surgeons..	101	12.5	Architects, draftsmen and designers.....	6	0.7
Dentists.....	47	5.8	Authors and editors.....	6	0.7
Optometrists and opticians.....	10	1.2	Journalists and reporters..	8	1.0
Chiropodists.....	8	1.0	Artists.....	7	0.9
Teachers.....	167	20.7	Musicians.....	30	3.7
Social workers.....	30	3.7	Entertainers.....	5	0.6
Librarians.....	11	1.4	Accountants, auditors and statisticians.....	23	2.8
Nurses.....	9	1.1	Miscellaneous.....	29	3.6
Chemists.....	16	2.0			
Pharmacists.....	100	12.4			

¹ Includes 171 women, of whom 101 were teachers, 24 social workers, 9 librarians, 9 nurses, 4 lawyers, 3 physicians.

Size of Family

Data on nativity of parents and number of children per family were obtained for 3,640 families, or 87 per cent of all enumerated families. Table IX relates to the 1,856 "completed" families in which the parents had been married 19 years or more, and Table X to the 1,784 "incomplete" families in which the parents had been married less than 19 years.

TABLE IX
COMPLETED* JEWISH FAMILIES, BUFFALO, 1938,
CLASSIFIED BY NATIVITY OF PARENTS AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Number of children	Completed families							
	All classes		Both parents native		Both parents foreign born		One native, one foreign born	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total completed families.....	1,856	100.0	309	100.0	1,322	100.0	225	100.0
None.....	101	5.5	38	12.3	44	3.3	19	8.5
1.....	178	9.6	58	18.8	90	6.8	30	13.3
2.....	463	25.0	114	36.9	262	19.8	87	38.7
3.....	401	21.6	56	18.1	290	21.9	55	24.4
4.....	294	15.8	20	6.5	252	19.1	22	9.8
5.....	177	9.5	14	4.5	156	11.8	7	3.1
6.....	120	6.5	4	1.3	111	8.4	5	2.2
7 or more.....	122	6.5	5	1.6	117	8.9	..	..

* Parents married 19 years or more.

TABLE X
INCOMPLETE* JEWISH FAMILIES, BUFFALO, 1938,
CLASSIFIED BY NATIVITY OF PARENTS AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Number of children	Incomplete families							
	All classes		Both parents native		Both parents foreign born		One native, one foreign born	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total incomplete families.....	1,784	100.0	774	100.0	552	100.0	458	100.0
None.....	409	22.9	236	30.5	88	15.9	85	18.5
1.....	561	31.5	269	34.8	125	22.6	167	36.5
2.....	580	32.5	212	27.4	220	39.9	148	32.3
3.....	180	10.1	47	6.1	86	15.6	47	10.3
4.....	34	1.9	8	1.0	21	3.8	5	1.1
5.....	11	0.6	1	0.1	6	1.1	4	0.9
6 or more.....	9	0.5	1	0.1	6	1.1	2	0.4

* Parents married less than 19 years.

The largest families were those with both parents foreign born, both among the incomplete and the completed families. Families of mixed parentage (one parent native and one foreign born) were in general smaller than those with two foreign-born parents and larger than those with both parents native. Among the native parents there were only 25 families of more than four children and families with no children were relatively frequent (274).

Table XI shows the mean and median number of children per family for each nativity group and for the completed and incomplete families. The average (mean) number of children for all families, without distinction for duration of marriage or nativity of parents, was 2.4. The variation in number of children among the different categories of families ranged from a maximum of 3.7 for completed families of foreign-born parents to a minimum of 1.1 for incomplete families of native parents.

TABLE XI
MEAN AND MEDIAN NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER FAMILY IN THE JEWISH POPULATION,
BUFFALO, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY NATIVITY OF PARENTS

Nativity of parents	Mean number of children			Median number of children		
	All families	Completed families	Incomplete families	All families	Completed families	Incomplete families
All families.....	2.4	3.3	1.4	1.9	3.0	1.4
Both parents native.....	1.4	2.2	1.1	1.3	2.0	1.1
Both parents foreign-born.....	3.1	3.7	1.8	2.8	3.4	1.7
One native, one foreign-born....	1.7	2.3	1.4	1.6	2.2	1.4

The medians for number of children per family ranged from 3.4 for completed families, both parents foreign born, to 1.1 for incomplete families, both parents native; the median for all families was 1.9. Inasmuch as American nativity of the parents seems to be an important factor in the decreasing size of Jewish families, the average size of the Buffalo Jewish family may be expected to grow smaller as the proportion of native parents increases.

In comparison with 4.6 as the average number of children in American Jewish families in 1890, found in a study of 10,618 scattered Jewish families,³ these figures for Buffalo showed an almost 50 percent decrease in the size of the Jewish family in less than five decades. Small as the Buffalo Jewish family was, however, it was probably larger than the average family in bigger industrial centers. A study of Chicago families in 1920, which included "beginnings and

³ A study by the Surgeon General of the United States: *Vital Statistics of Jews in the United States, Census Bulletin*, no. 19, December 30, 1890.

ends of families as well as those of maximum size," gave an average of but 1.8 children.⁴

Declining Size of Family

It is important to note that in the Buffalo Jewish population small families, those with less than three children, though forming 63 percent of all families, supplied only 33 percent of all the children, while larger families, those with three or more children, contributed 67 percent of the child population, or double their share. If the trend toward decreasing family size persists, the number of Jewish families in Buffalo having three or four children will in future be considerably smaller than it was in 1938. With this anticipated reduction in large-size families will come a sharp decline in the number of Jews.

TABLE XII
PATERNAL GRANDPARENTS OF JEWISH FAMILIES, BUFFALO, 1938,
CLASSIFIED BY NATIVITY AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Number of children per family	Paternal grandparents	
	Foreign born	Native
Total	1,386	90
1.....	17	4
2.....	67	25
3.....	134	24
4.....	175	9
5.....	231	9
6.....	226	11
7.....	158	4
8.....	161	2
9.....	78	..
10.....	49	1
11.....	20	1
12 or more.....	70	..
Median.....	5.8	3.2

Further evidence that the size of the Buffalo Jewish family was decreasing in comparison with the families of the previous generation is presented in Table XII, showing the number of children in a group of families of paternal grandparents of the present generation Buffalo Jewish families. Data for 1,386 foreign-born and 90 native families yielded a median number of children for foreign-born grandparents of 5.8, and for native grandparents of 3.2. Comparable figures for

⁴ Day, Monroe, *Chicago Families, A Study of Unpublished Census Data (1920 Census)* (Chicago 1932).

the completed fertile families of the present generation would be 3.4 for the foreign born and 2.0 for the native (Table XI).

Family Size and Occupation of Father

When comparisons in family size are made according to the occupation of the father (Table XIII), it appears that the professional group had the lowest median number of children (1.4) and the semiskilled and unskilled group the highest (2.2). The data obtained for the 1,186 completed families (in which higher medians would be expected) yielded medians of 2.3 for families of professional men, 2.8 for those of skilled workers and 2.9 for those of businessmen and of semiskilled and unskilled workers.

TABLE XIII

~~JEWISH POPULATION, BUFFALO, 1928, CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY~~
 OF HEADS AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Number of children per family	Heads of Jewish families			
	Professional men	Skilled workers	Businessmen	Semiskilled and unskilled workers
Total	213	542	1,809	157
None	52	91	192	17
1	66	114	420	24
2	65	149	552	54
3	19	91	307	30
4	5	45	155	17
5 . . . . .	..	28	89	8
6	2	15	50	5
7	1	6	25	..
8	2	2	13	..
9	1	1	3	..
10 or more . . . . .	..	..	3	2
Median	1.4	1.9	2.0	2.2

The differentiation observed in the size of Buffalo Jewish families in the various occupational categories was also discernible among the immediate forebears, according to Table XIV. Thus, the median number of children among the parents of the professional workers was 4.4, while for the parents of semiskilled and unskilled workers it was 5.5.

Age at Marriage

Inasmuch as it presumably has a bearing on family size and consequently on the size of the future population, the average age at marriage is correlated with

TABLE XIV
 PATERNAL GRANDPARENTS OF JEWISH FAMILIES, BUFFALO, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY
 SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPING* AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Number of children per family	Paternal grandparents of			
	Professional men	Skilled workers	Businessmen	Semiskilled and unskilled workers
Total	190	477	1,566	86
1	7	6	27	5
2	26	34	86	3
3	26	55	175	6
4	25	59	220	11
5	26	76	275	8
6	32	77	242	19
7	17	70	208	5
8	14	42	142	8
9	6	22	80	7
10	3	11	49	2
11	5	8	18	1
12 or more	3	17	44	11
Median	4.4	5.1	5.0	5.5

* The socio-economic grouping of the present generation heads of families is the basis for the grouping of the grandparents.

socio-economic status and duration of marriage (Table XV).⁵ There appeared less variation in the median age at marriage for the completed families among the different socio-economic groups than for the incomplete families. Among the incomplete families, professional men were on the average more than two years older at the time of marriage than men in semiskilled and unskilled work and considerably older also than artisans or businessmen.

TABLE XV
 JEWISH FAMILIES, BUFFALO, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY
 OF FATHERS AND MEDIAN MARRIAGE AGE OF FATHERS AND MOTHERS

Category	Median marriage age			
	Completed families		Incomplete families	
	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers
All categories	24.4	21.1	26.0	22.9
Professional men	24.3	22.6	26.9	23.4
Skilled workers	24.5	21.2	25.6	22.6
Businessmen	24.0	21.0	26.0	22.8
Semiskilled and unskilled workers	24.2	21.5	24.6	21.8
Retired and unknown	24.9	21.4	27.5	23.4

⁵ See the writer's "Demographic Note on Buffalo Jewish Families," in *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. iii (1941) 399-408.

For the completed families the range in median age of husbands at marriage (excluding the retired and unknown) was from $24\frac{1}{2}$ for artisans to 24 for businessmen; and for the wives from approximately $22\frac{1}{2}$ for wives of professional men to 21 for wives of businessmen. For the incomplete families (excluding the retired and unknown) the professional men and their wives had the highest median age at marriage, approximately 27 and $23\frac{1}{2}$, respectively, and the semiskilled and unskilled workers and their wives the lowest, approximately $24\frac{1}{2}$ and 22, respectively.

TABLE XVI

JEWISH FAMILIES, BUFFALO, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY OF HEAD AND INTERVAL BETWEEN MARRIAGE AND BIRTH OF FIRST CHILD

Interval between marriage and birth of first child	Heads of Jewish families					
	All classes	Professional men	Skilled workers	Businessmen	Semiskilled and unskilled workers	Salespersons
Total	1,885	229	427	750	125	354
1 year	682	58	180	290	46	108
2 years	541	68	129	195	38	111
3 years	279	37	68	106	11	57
4 years	149	29	19	62	9	30
5 years	65	13	10	20	9	13
6 years	52	11	7	19	2	13
7 years	26	4	4	9	1	8
8 years	18	4	4	4	1	5
9 years	15	..	..	7	3	5
10 years	17	2	4	6	2	3
11 years or more	41	3	2	32	3	1
Median number of years	2.0	2.3	1.8	1.9	1.9	2.1

Comparing the completed families with the incomplete, it is apparent that there was a rise in the age at marriage for each socio-economic group. The greatest rise occurred among professional men, who showed a difference of more than two and a half years between those married 19 years or more and those married less than 19 years. Among the women the wives of businessmen showed the greatest increase in median age at marriage, slightly less than two years. The least rise in age at marriage for both husbands and wives appeared among the semiskilled and unskilled workers.

Since fecundity of women is known to decline after the age of thirty, it is significant for family size to record the lapse of time between marriage and birth of the first child. These data were available for almost half, or 1,885, of the 4,162 families (Table XVI). This interval, expressed in median number of years, varied

from 1.8 for the artisan group to 2.3 years for the professional group. Approximately one-third of all the couples for whom data were available had their first child within one year of marriage and almost two-thirds had their first child within two years of marriage. Only one-fourth of those engaged in the professions had their first child within one year in contrast to roughly two-fifths of the artisans and semiskilled and unskilled workers whose first child was born within one year after the date of marriage.

Summary

Several factors emerge from this study of the Jewish population of Buffalo showing an unmistakable trend toward smaller families and a consequent decline in the Jewish population, results which correspond to the findings obtained in the other communities studied as well. First is the factor of nativity: the largest families were found among foreign-born parents and foreign-born parentage was on the decline. Again, in occupational groups the largest families were those of semiskilled workers and laborers and the smallest those of professional persons. Age at marriage was another important factor, and the Jewish men and women of Buffalo in 1938 married at a later age than they did a generation ago. The influence of these factors is seen in the tables showing the number of children per family and the age of the population.

CHAPTER V

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITIES OF NEW LONDON AND NORWICH, 1938

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UNDER the auspices of the Connecticut College for Women and with the aid of a grant from the Conference on Jewish Relations studies were made of the Jewish communities of Norwich and New London.¹ These two cities are of "about the same size" and both are situated in the County of New London, within fourteen miles of each other, on a state highway. The Jewish communities in these cities have also been regarded as of "about the same size," with a history covering a similar period and attracting Jewish migrants from the same areas in Europe as well as residents of other parts of Connecticut. The Jewish residents of both cities have family ties and maintain social relations with the Jews in Hartford as well with those in the more rural areas of Colchester and Chesterfield. Many of the residents in both cities came from the Jewish farming center which originated in this area as a Baron de Hirsch project a generation ago.

Norwich and New London may be considered communities of the same size only if the "town" is taken as the unit and the population of the "towns" compared. The "town" is a governmental division peculiar to New England. In New London it happens that the "town" is coterminous with the city, but in Norwich the "town" spreads out over a much larger area. In each case the city is the communal focus, a fact which has to be borne in mind constantly in order to understand the differences which the statistical and sociological inquiries yield, both for the communities in general and for the Jewish communities located in these towns in particular.

The area of Norwich City is less than half that of New London City, while the Town of Norwich is almost six times the area of New London Town and City. According to the Federal Census of 1930, the population of New London (city and town) was 29,640. The "town" of Norwich had a population of 32,438; the city of Norwich (a closely circumscribed area within the "town"), only 23,021.² The similarity between the two "towns" is limited, however, to population figures, ethnic diversity, the high percentage of foreign born and of foreign white

¹ The author is indebted to Mr. Josiah Derby for directing the field work in Norwich, with the aid of several volunteers, as well as for his assistance in other aspects of the survey. The Norwich data were tabulated by Miss Kaethe Rabinow, then research assistant with the ethnic survey of New London.

² The 1940 census returns indicate only slight increases, viz., Town of Norwich, 1,863 (34,301), Norwich City, 705 (23,771), New London, 454 (30,094).

stock. Beyond this point it is important to stress differences rather than the similarities, as is apparent in the history of these two communities and in the disparity of their present socio-economic organization, since these factors particularly affect Jewish accommodation. Both cities are located in the beautiful and hilly country adjoining the Thames River which flows into Long Island Sound. The country as a whole offers opportunity for farming as well as industrial development and includes in its area famous summer resorts both along the shores and inland.

Norwich is the urban center for a large and fairly stable surrounding population made up of farmers, mill workers and old settlers. New London is the urban center for a rural area, for beautiful villages largely old American in composition, for summer resorts and for a mobile and varied population associated with educational institutions, military centers and war industries. The pattern of Jewish life in these communities is in many respects an accommodation to the different socio-economic structures of these two cities. Although at first glance the *statistical* pictures presented below for the Jewish communities seem alike, in reality no two Jewish communities of the same size, growing up within the past fifty years as a result of the same migration, could be more different in socio-economic organization and in their cultural patterns. A study of Jews, or of any one ethnic group, in a given locality must obviously have reference to the history of the area and to industrial, cultural and ethnic patterns within it. In large cities ethnic populations are related in their adjustment essentially to the city in which they live rather than to a more scattered area. The Jews in New London County, although centered largely in the two cities, are functionally related to the whole County.

Distribution of Urban Population

Together Norwich City and New London accounted for 88 percent (52,661) of the total urban population of the County, which in 1930 was 61,129.

TABLE I
POPULATION OF NEW LONDON COUNTY, 1930

Total population	118,966
Rural farm population.....	10,784
Rural non-farm population.....	46,963
Urban population.....	61,219

Population Ratio and Nativity

The ratio of the Jewish to the total population varies with the slightest change in the boundary line set for the community. On the basis of the figures obtained by the present investigation, Jews constituted approximately 6 percent of the population of New London, about 7 percent of the population of Norwich

TABLE II
 NATIVITY OF TOTAL POPULATION (1930) AND OF JEWISH POPULATION (1938), CONNECTICUT,
 NEW LONDON COUNTY, NEW LONDON CITY, NORWICH CITY AND TOWN OF NORWICH

Class of population	Connecticut		New London County		City of New London				Norwich					
	Total population		Total population		Total population		Jewish population		City of Norwich		Town of Norwich		Jewish population	
	Total population		Total population		Total population		Jewish population		Total population		Total population		Jewish population	
	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Total	1,606,903	100.0	118,966	100.0	29,640	100.0	1,885	100.0	23,021	100.0	32,438	100.0	1,647	100.0
Native white	1,193,802	² 74.3	92,667	77.9	23,018	77.7	1,181	62.7	17,550	76.2	24,789	76.4	¹ 1,059	64.3
Foreign-born white	382,871	23.8	24,495	20.6	5,734	19.3	³ 704	37.3	5,028	21.8	7,193	22.2	588	35.7
Negro and other races...	30,230	1.9	1,804	1.5	888	3.0	..	..	443	2.0	456	1.4	..	..
Jews	[*] 100,000	6.2	4,000	3.4	1,885	6.4	..	..	1,647	7.1	1,647	5.1	..	..
Native white of native parentage	537,564	33.5	48,929	41.1	12,410	41.9	..	..	7,250	31.5	10,490	32.3	..	..
Foreign white stock	1,039,109	⁴ 64.6	68,233	57.4	16,342	55.1	..	..	15,328	66.5	21,492	66.3	..	..
Native white of foreign or mixed parentage...	656,238	40.8	43,738	36.8	10,608	35.8	..	..	10,300	44.7	14,299	44.1	..	..

* Estimate.

¹ Includes 14 persons whose nativity is unknown, 0.9 percent of the Jewish population.

² This figure is only 10.9 percent for the U. S. in 1930.

³ Includes 31 persons whose nativity is unknown, 1.6 percent of the Jewish population.

⁴ This figure is only 31.5 percent for the U. S. in 1930.

City and about 5 percent of the "town" of Norwich. The ratio of Jews in the population of the County in which they live and work is estimated at 3.4 percent.³

This general region ranked high as compared with the country as a whole in ratio of foreign born and foreign white stock, as Table II shows. The proportion of native white stock varies from one area to another within the state but is always relatively low. It is lower for Norwich and the state as a whole (about 33 percent) than for New London County and New London City (41-42 percent). It is interesting to note that New London had the second highest ratio of native white (77.7 percent) and the lowest ratio of foreign born (19.3 percent) and foreign white stock (55.1 percent) in spite of the fact that it is the most concentrated area and one marked by great mobility as well as the most rapid increase of population in recent decades. In Norwich City the ratio of foreign born and the foreign white stock was higher than in the entire County. It was somewhat higher in the Town than in the City of Norwich. This would indicate that various immigrant communities clustered in the area *around* the City, while the Jews, on the contrary, who were functionally related to the larger area and in their business and professional activities served the Town, were concentrated *within* the City.

Ethnic Composition

As compared with the total population, Jews had a much higher ratio of foreign born—about 36 percent—in each community. The comparison, however, should be made rather with other recent immigrant groups or with total foreign white stock in general. Table III, which offers such a basis of comparison, shows that the Jews of New London City and of Norwich had about the same ratio of foreign born (36 percent) as all foreign white stock combined. When the Jews are arranged, along with other ethnic groups, in order of their rank as an ethnic group in each area and data for nativity are similarly recorded, the rank of the Jews among the ethnic groups differed in the several areas, viz., fifth and sixth in the state among the foreign white stock and the foreign-born white population, respectively; eighth and third, respectively, in New London County; fourth, in both categories in New London City; fifth and third, respectively, in Norwich City. The rank changed considerably with the slightest extension of the boundary of the community; the ratio of the foreign born in each ethnic group varied from community to community. These variables are important for the understanding of the distribution and the economic status of Jewish merchants and professional persons who serve the area.

If at first glance Jews, with 36 percent foreign born, appeared so largely foreign when compared with the total population (only about 19 percent foreign born in New London and about 22 percent in Norwich Town), they were surpassed in this respect by Italians, British, French Canadians and Poles in

³ Inquiries indicate that there were about 500 Jews in the County not associated with these communities.

Connecticut. In New London County, for example, 39.3 percent of the Italians and 36.9 percent of the Poles were foreign born.

TABLE III
FOREIGN WHITE STOCK IN NEW LONDON COUNTY (1930), CLASSIFIED BY COUNTRY
OF ORIGIN AND PERCENT FOREIGN BORN

Country of origin	Total foreign white stock			Native white of foreign or mixed parentage		Foreign-born white		
	Number	Percent	Percent of total population in county (118,966)	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent of total foreign white stock
Total	68,233	100.0	57.4	43,738	100.0	24,495	100.0	35.9
Poland	12,317	18.0	10.3	7,774	17.7	4,543	18.5	36.9
British Empire	11,503	16.8	9.7	7,350	16.8	4,153	16.9	36.1
Canada (French)	9,381	13.7	7.9	6,207	14.1	3,174	13.0	33.9
Italy	8,722	12.8	7.3	5,299	12.1	3,423	13.9	39.3
Irish Free State	8,118	11.9	6.8	6,338	14.4	1,780	7.3	21.9
Russia	4,397	6.4	3.7	2,504	5.7	1,893	7.7	43.1
Germany	4,010	5.9	3.4	2,769	6.3	1,241	5.1	31.0
Jews ¹ (estimate)	4,000	5.9	3.4	2,500	5.7	1,500	6.1	37.5
All others	9,785	14.5	8.3	5,497	12.9	4,288	17.6	45.8

¹ It is estimated that the Jewish population in New London County, excluding New London and the Town of Norwich, was 500 in 1938.

The figures for Jews are already included in the figures for the several countries, since this is the practice of the Federal Census.

Decennial Increase in Total Population

Both Jewish communities are about fifty years old and have been built up during a period of steady growth in the population of these areas. Comparison of the decennial increases in the population for Connecticut, New London City and Norwich City since 1850 indicates that the growth of the two cities has, however, not been parallel and that there are significant differences between the growth curves for the state and the two cities. This is also true for the Jewish communities.

The highest rate of increase since 1900 for the state (23.9 percent) and for New London City (30.7 percent) occurred during the decade 1910-1920. For the same decade the rate of increase for Norwich was only 9.5 percent. The greatest increase for Norwich since 1870 occurred during the decade ending 1910, when the census reported an increase of over 3,000 for the City, or 18.1 percent above the 1900 total. New London's rapid expansion is explained by the developments which have made it increasingly an educational center, the seat of

army and naval bases and of war industries bringing together a population characterized by constant mobility and by diverse interests. The rapid and erratic increase of the population of New London is challenging inasmuch as Norwich is more important as a stable industrial center. Population increase in New London is directly associated with war activities and with the increase in the number of educational institutions, hence the decades 1910-1930 show the greatest numerical increases. New London is at present witnessing another period of intense industrial and naval activity, centered, however, not in the city proper but in Groton, a borough situated directly across the river. In 1940 one

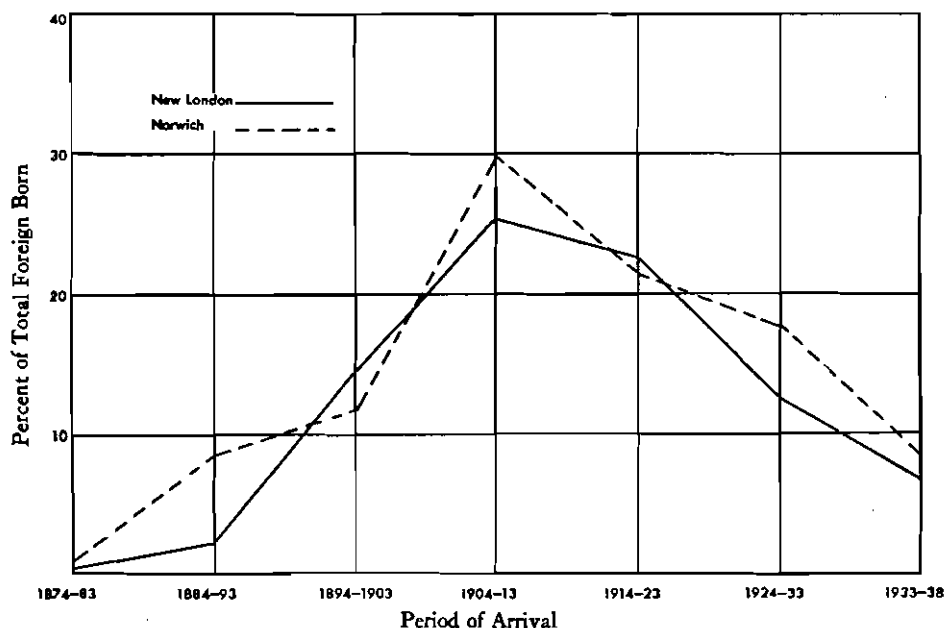


FIGURE 1.—PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN-BORN JEWS NOW LIVING IN NEW LONDON AND NORWICH BY PERIOD OF ARRIVAL

industry in Groton, the Electric Boat Company, had a payroll equal to that of all the industries in New London combined. Yet New London was the shopping and amusement center and for the most part the residential area of thousands of persons employed in Groton. Since 1940, however, both Groton and New London have taken on the earmarks of a defense area. Several housing projects are under way in Groton which will change the present relations; commercial, professional and recreational establishments have begun to find their way to the borough.

While figures presented below indicate that in general Jews came to these two cities within the period of their most rapid growth, the increases in Jewish and in total population have not been parallel (Fig. 1). The figures for the total popula-

tion refer to decennial increases. The figures regarding the Jewish population, however, indicate how long ago foreign-born Jews enumerated in 1938 came to the community, yet the trends indicated are quite clear.

Methodology

The method adopted in the surveys of New London and Norwich was made to conform, as far as possible, with methods used in the other population studies included in this volume. Together with this investigation the author was conducting an ethnic survey of New London, which was concerned with data regarding all ethnic groups and only incidentally regarding the Jewish group. The fact that these two surveys were conducted simultaneously made it possible to compare results. While the methodological analysis is not included in this report, factual data obtained through the ethnic survey have been incorporated.⁴

In connection with the Jewish survey, master lists were compiled from telephone and city directories and from prospect lists which had been prepared for communal drives, while other names were added as a result of personal inquiry. Letters and questionnaires were mailed to all Jewish families and unattached persons on the master lists. In both cities about 25 percent of the questionnaires were returned immediately and were properly filled out; visits were made to the homes of those families who had not replied.

The local situation called for some modification of the procedure adopted in the compilation of the data for other cities. For example, no attempt was made to gather or report data on the number of individuals in the household nor on the number of wage-earners per family. Such data would have little meaning in these cities. Owing to erratic changes in its industrial and commercial life, there has been a continuous housing crisis in New London for at least twenty years. Most Jews in this city live in one- or in two-family houses and very few take roomers. Doubling up of families is temporary and, in fact, rare. Similarly, it would have been a useless task to record the number of wage-earners in a family. In Norwich, which is a community with the earmarks of a primary immigrant settlement, all members of the family may contribute by some "individual enterprise" to the family income and yet no one individual is really the chief support of the family. Data bearing on size of family are tabulated according to the method adopted in the other studies and, in addition, according to that utilized in the ethnic survey (Tables IX, X, XIX, XX), wherein the size of family is related to the age-group in which the mother is classified.

The survey of New London did not greatly change the popular estimate of the number of Jews, namely, 1,800-2,000 individuals or 450-500 families. The 1938 study enumerated 490 families and 1,885 individuals, 1,665 of whom were found on the revised master list furnished by the Jewish community, while 33

⁴ For a description of the method employed in the ethnic survey see Wessel, B. B., *An Ethnic Survey of Woonsocket, R. I.* (Chicago 1931), and *idem*, "Ethnic Factors in the Population of New London," in *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. xxxv (1929) 18-34, 263-70.

families were added to the master list through the ethnic survey. The names of these families did not appear on any Jewish lists nor were they located by an inquiry in town. In addition, 72 families who appeared on Jewish lists did not answer the inquiry by mail, but had answered a similar inquiry sent them through the schools in connection with the ethnic survey. This information was transferred to the questionnaires in the study, thus eliminating the necessity of home visits in each case.

Comparison of findings on the basis of the ethnic survey and of the survey of the Jewish population indicates that all conclusions derived from these sources regarding the population rank of Jews, geographical origin, neighborhood distribution, age distribution, differential fertility, intermarriage and date of migration remain the same. The exact figures are necessarily different because the ethnic survey deals only with a sample of the population (a large sample, to be sure, comprising more than half the population). Data on Jews in any community have more meaning if they are related to similar data for other ethnic groups compiled simultaneously, and in the same manner, conditions fulfilled by the ethnic survey.⁵

I

NEW LONDON

The survey made in New London in 1938 enumerated 1,885 Jews. This total comprises the members of 490 families: 439 with both parents living, 51 broken families and adults not related to or counted with these families. Jews constituted 6.4 percent of the total population of the city (29,640) in 1930 (1940 total, 30,094). Among these Jews, 673, or 35.7 percent, were foreign born.

The population of New London, like that of Connecticut in general and of the area in which the city is situated, is heterogeneous. More than twenty ethnic groups were reported in the Federal Census of 1930, constituting 55.1 percent of the total population. Only 41.9 percent (*i. e.*, 12,410) of the residents in New London were native white of native parentage. Foreign-born white persons constituted 19.3 percent of the population, as contrasted with 35.7 percent among the Jews. This picture of the Jews as a foreign group changes considerably when data are examined regarding the ethnic composition of the community as a whole, the nativity of other ethnic groups and of foreign white stock in general, data which give perspective and throw light on the role which Jews play in the community.

⁵ This ethnic survey sought data for all ethnic groups and only incidentally for the Jewish group. The fact that these two surveys were conducted simultaneously made it possible to compare results. Because the New London community was studied from so many different angles and because the persons were familiar with the community as "participant observers," it is probably as full an account as could be obtained by any method.

Relation to Other Ethnic Groups

Table IV offers a basis for analyzing the position of Jews among the ethnic groups of the city. Jews ranked fourth among the ethnic groups which constitute the foreign white stock in New London; they were outnumbered by Italians, British and Irish. Jews constituted the second largest group whose mother tongue was not English, and ranked in population ratio above the Poles and Russians. While Jews constituted 6.4 percent of the total population, they constituted 11.7 percent of the foreign-born white population. The ratio of foreign born within the Jewish group was about the same as that of the foreign-born white stock in the total population. In the city's population 35.1 percent of the foreign white stock were foreign born, while Jews reported 35.7 percent as foreign born.

TABLE IV
FOREIGN WHITE STOCK, NEW LONDON CITY (1930),
CLASSIFIED BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Country of origin	Total foreign white stock			Foreign-born white			Native white of foreign or mixed parentage	
	Number	Percent	Percent of total population of city (29,640)	Number	Percent	Percent of total foreign white stock	Number	Percent
Total.....	16,342	100.0	55.1	5,734	100.0	35.1	10,608	100.0
Italy.....	3,739	22.8	12.6	1,476	25.7	39.5	2,263	21.2
British Empire...	3,148	19.3	10.6	1,086	18.9	34.5	2,062	19.2
Irish Free State..	2,752	16.8	9.3	680	11.8	24.7	2,072	19.5
Jews ¹	1,885	11.5	6.4	673	11.7	35.7	1,181	11.1
Poland.....	1,527	9.3	5.2	561	9.7	36.7	966	9.1
Russia.....	1,387	8.5	4.7	605	10.5	43.6	782	7.3
Germany.....	715	4.4	2.4	153	2.5	21.4	562	5.2
Others.....	3,074	18.9	10.3	1,173	20.9	34.9	1,901	18.5

¹ The figures for Jews are already included in the figures for the several countries, since this is the practice of the Federal Census.

Length of Residence in the United States and in New London

The 673 foreign-born Jews (35.7 percent) were not recent immigrants either to the United States or to New London (Table V). All of the 562 for whom information was available had been in the country over 5 years and only 5 Jews had been in the United States less than 10 years. Less than half (276) of the foreign-born Jews came to New London during the same five- or ten-year period which saw their arrival in the United States. The average length of residence of foreign-born Jews in the United States was 32.7 years, as compared with 23.7

years in New London, a difference of 9 years. About three-quarters of all these Jews had been in the United States more than 25 years and at least 87 percent for more than 15 years.

TABLE V
FOREIGN-BORN JEWISH POPULATION, NEW LONDON, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF YEARS IN THE U. S. AND NUMBER OF YEARS IN NEW LONDON

Years in U. S.	Total foreign-born Jewish population	Years in New London							
		Less than 5	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45 and over
Total . . .	¹ 673	45	41	43	86	65	171	96	15
Less than 5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5-19	⁵	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
10-14	² 27	2	6	16	..	..	..	..	..
15-19	² 24	6	2	1	10	..	..	..	..
20-24	⁴ 47	2	5	2	13	21	..	..	..
25-34	⁵ 284	21	18	16	34	26	137	..	..
35-44	⁶ 151	8	3	5	18	11	22	74	..
45 and over	⁷ 82	4	4	3	10	5	12	22	15
Unknown . .	⁸ 53	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..

Footnotes refer to cases in which the length of residence in the city was not recorded.

¹ 111.

⁴ 4.

⁷ 7.

³ 3.

⁵ 32.

⁸ 50.

⁵ 5.

¹⁰ 10.

Thus there is in New London a well-established Jewish population. While 45 Jews came to New London within the last 5 years, these constituted only 6.7 percent of the total. On the other hand, 15 individuals had been in New London more than 45, one more than 55 years. A number of descendants of earlier Jewish settlers (tabulated among the native born) still resided in New London. Of the foreign-born Jews, 16.4 percent (111) had been in the city more than 35 years, 42 percent (282) had been there over 25 years, over half of them had been in the community more than 20 years and more than 60 percent 15 years or more.⁶

Geographic Origin and Age at Entry

As might be expected, the largest number (75 percent) of the foreign born came from Russia and Poland and approximately 9 percent from Lithuania. The rest came from Canada, England, France, Sweden, Palestine and other countries.⁷ About 43 percent of the foreign-born Jews arrived in the country between 1898 and 1908, *i. e.*, 30 to 40 years before 1938. They came at an early age, over 60 percent before they were 20 and approximately 19 percent under 10 years. Among

⁶ Data tabulated but not published. Analysis of the immigration figures by families might be more instructive than the tabulation of individuals.

⁷ These data were tabulated but not included in the present report.

the foreign-born Jews, 483 (about 72 percent) arrived in the country before they were 25. The modal age at arrival was 15 to 19 and the mean age 18, an age before occupational and family adjustments are ordinarily fixed.

Age Distribution

The age distribution of the Jewish population corresponded with that of the total population in 1930 in that the largest number fell within the age-group 25-34 and the next largest in the age-group 35-44 (Table VI). Although these two groups combined accounted for about 31 percent of the population, there were considerable differences in the distribution for each nativity group.

TABLE VI
TOTAL POPULATION (1930) AND JEWISH POPULATION (1938), NEW LONDON,
CLASSIFIED BY AGE-GROUP AND NATIVITY

Age-group	Total population, 1930 ¹			Jewish population, 1938					
	All classes, percent	Native white, percent	Foreign-born white, percent	All classes		Native		Foreign born	
				Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
All ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	21,885	100.0	1,181	100.0	673	100.0
Less than 5	8.3	10.4	0.1	100	5.3	100	8.5	..	..
5-9	8.5	10.4	0.5	144	7.6	144	12.2	..	..
10-14	8.6	10.7	0.8	156	8.3	155	13.1	1	0.1
15-19	8.5	10.0	2.7	188	10.0	187	15.8	1	0.1
20-24	10.3	11.7	4.9	154	8.2	147	12.5	3	0.5
25-34	17.3	16.9	17.8	320	17.0	237	20.1	72	10.7
35-44	13.7	10.8	24.9	264	14.1	109	9.2	154	22.9
45-54	10.6	7.7	22.0	249	13.1	34	2.9	214	31.8
55-64	8.2	6.3	16.2	135	7.1	3	0.3	127	18.9
65-74	4.3	3.6	7.5	75	4.0	1	*	73	10.8
75 and over	1.7	1.5	2.6	14	0.7	..	..	12	1.8
Unknown	*	*	*	86	4.6	64	5.4	16	2.4

¹ Fifteenth Census of the U. S., 1930, *Population Bulletin, Connecticut*.

² Includes 31 persons of unknown nativity, distributed among the various age-groups.

* Less than 0.1 percent.

In comparison with the foreign born in the total population, 42.7 percent of whom were between the ages of 25 and 44 in 1930, only 33.6 percent of the Jews fell within that age-group in 1938. For foreign-born persons 45 and over the corresponding percentages were 48.3 in the total population (1930) and 63.3 in the Jewish group (1938). By far the largest age-group among the foreign-born Jews was the group 45-54, which comprised about 32 percent of all foreign-born as compared with about 3 percent of the native Jews.

Significant differences were to be noted in the age distribution of the younger elements in the population. The ratio of Jewish children (12.9 percent) under the age of 10 (1938) was considerably lower than in the total population (16.8 percent in 1930). The figures for the total population are heavily weighted by native children of the first-generation immigrants, Italians, Poles and Irish. The age-group 5-14, *i. e.*, children of school age, comprised 17.1 percent of the total population (1930) and 15.9 percent of the Jewish population (1938). The ratio of Jews in the age-group 15-19, however, was relatively high (10.0 as against 8.5 percent in the total population).

Sex Ratio and Nativity

The 974 males and 911 females constituted, respectively, 51.7 and 48.3 percent of the total Jewish population. There were fewer females in the age-group under 5 and more females up to age 25, but fewer females in every age-group commencing at age 25. Practically all of the foreign born were over 25 and among them only in the age-groups 25-34 and over 75 were there more women than men. In all the other ages there were more men than women. Among native Jews, on the other hand, there were more females than males in all groups from 5 to 25, but fewer between the ages of 25 and 45.

Single Persons

The sex ratios among single persons above the age of 15 differed widely. Table VII indicates that of 529 single persons, 285, or 53.9 percent of the total, were males and 244 females. Men predominated in all groups from 20 to 55; in the group over 55 years of age, there were 29 women and 14 men and there were 19 women over 65 to 7 men. Among the single persons, 80.9 percent were native and only 14.6 percent were foreign born. Above the age of 45 only 6 were native, while all over the age of 65 were foreign born.

Size of Family

In Table VIII, 439 families in which both father and mother were living are classified according to the number of living children. Even a cursory glance at this table indicates a different distribution for families in which parents were both native or both foreign born. Among native parents, 66.7 percent had either 1 child or none, whereas 59.7 percent of the foreign-born parents had 3 children or less. While 12.1 percent of all the families had no children, in 60 percent of these childless families both husband and wife were native. In the Jewish population as a whole the largest number of families had 2 children. The average number of children for families in which both parents were foreign born was 3.3 while that for families with both parents native was only 1.2.

TABLE VII

SINGLE JEWISH INDIVIDUALS, 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, MALE AND FEMALE, NEW LONDON, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY AGE-GROUP AND NATIVITY

Age-group	All classes			Native			Foreign born		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total.....	1529	285	244	428	232	196	77	36	41
15-19.....	188	88	100	187	88	² 99	1	..	1
20-24.....	¹ 126	67	59	121	64	57	1	..	1
25-34.....	⁴ 108	76	32	84	56	28	16	12	4
35-44.....	² 28	19	9	19	13	6	8	5	3
45-54.....	20	13	7	4	3	1	16	10	6
55-64.....	⁶ 17	7	10	1	1	..	11	2	9
65-74.....	⁷ 17	5	12	..	..	..	16	5	11
75 and over..	⁸ 9	2	7	..	..	..	7	2	5
Unknown....	⁹ 16	8	8	12	7	5	1	..	1

¹ Includes 104 unattached individuals, *i.e.*, persons without families, and 17 males and 7 females of unknown nativity.

² Includes one 11-year-old and one 12-year-old girl, both without families.

Footnotes 3-9 refer to cases of unknown nativity.

³ 3 males and 1 female.

⁴ 8 males.

⁵ 1 male.

⁶ 4 males and 1 female.

⁷ 1 female.

⁸ 2 females.

⁹ 1 male and 2 females.

TABLE VIII

JEWISH FAMILIES WITH BOTH PARENTS LIVING, NEW LONDON, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND NATIVITY OF PARENTS

Number of children	All classes		Both parents native		Both parents foreign born		One native, one foreign born	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total.....	1439	100.0	105	100.0	226	100.0	104	100.0
None.....	153	12.1	30	28.6	9	3.9	11	10.6
1.....	181	18.5	40	38.1	17	7.5	23	22.1
2.....	117	26.7	24	22.8	56	24.8	37	35.6
3.....	82	18.7	10	9.5	53	23.5	19	18.3
4.....	44	9.9	1	1.0	37	16.4	6	5.8
5.....	38	8.7	..	..	31	13.7	7	6.7
6.....	13	2.9	..	..	12	5.3	1	1.9
7.....	4	0.9	..	..	4	1.8	..	..
8 or more...	² 7	1.6	..	..	7	3.1	..	..

¹ Includes 4 families with either or both parents of unknown nativity; of these, 3 had no children and 1 had 1 child.

² Includes 1 family with 12 children and 1 with 11.

In Tables IX and X the mothers are classified according to their nativity and age-group. A total of 490 mothers reported 1,197 children, an average of 2.4

TABLE IX
MARRIED JEWISH WOMEN, NEW LONDON, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY NATIVITY AND NUMBER OF LIVING CHILDREN

Number of children	All classes		Native wives		Foreign-born wives	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total.....	490	100.0	188	100.0	302	100.0
None.....	65	13.2	49	26.1	16	5.3
1.....	89	18.2	54	28.7	35	11.6
2.....	133	27.1	50	26.6	83	27.5
3.....	89	18.2	25	13.3	64	21.2
4.....	48	9.8	4	2.7	44	14.5
5.....	40	8.2	5	2.1	35	11.6
6.....	13	2.7	1	0.5	12	4.0
7.....	6	1.2	..	..	6	2.0
8 or more.....	7	1.4	..	..	7	2.3

¹ Includes 29 widows not living with single children.

TABLE X
MARRIED JEWISH WOMEN, NEW LONDON, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY AGE-GROUP, NATIVITY, NUMBER AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Age-group of mother	All classes			Native wives			Foreign-born wives		
	Number of wives	Number of children	Average number of children	Number of wives	Number of children	Average number of children	Number of wives	Number of children	Average number of children
Total.....	490	1,197	2.4	188	276	1.5	302	921	3.1
20-24.....	19	4	0.2	18	4	0.2	1	..	..
25-29.....	48	45	0.9	42	36	0.9	6	9	1.5
30-34.....	66	97	1.5	38	47	1.2	28	50	1.8
35-39.....	57	131	2.3	22	48	2.2	35	83	2.4
40-44.....	54	132	2.4	20	47	2.4	34	85	2.5
45-49.....	63	186	3.0	14	37	2.6	49	149	3.0
50-54.....	47	160	3.4	3	4	1.3	44	156	3.6
55 and over..	98	359	3.7	2	3	1.5	96	356	3.7
Unknown....	38	83	2.2	29	50	1.7	9	33	3.7

¹ Includes 1 of unknown nativity.

² Includes 2 of unknown nativity.

children per mother (3.1 per foreign-born and 1.5 per native mother)⁸ (Table X). An important factor, however, is the different age distribution of foreign-born and native mothers. The average age of all mothers was 44.5 years, of native mothers 35.5 and of foreign-born mothers 49.3. Almost 32 percent of the native mothers were under 30 years of age, while only 2.3 percent of the foreign-born mothers were under 30. The number of native mothers past 45 was so small as to preclude comparison with that of foreign-born mothers for completed families. Table X, however, shows the average number of children for foreign-born and native mothers by age-groups. Here the trend is unmistakable. Foreign-born women had more children on the average than native mothers in each age-group and had larger families where the age-groups obviously represent "completed families." Data were obtained regarding 33 broken families, among whom the ratio of foreign-born to native parents was 7 to 1. There were twice as many widows as widowers.

Occupational Distribution

In New London 31.1 percent of all Jews, 15 years and over, in 1938, reported a gainful occupation. Of these, 86.8 percent were male and 13.2 percent were female. According to the 1930 Census, 42.9 percent of the population of New London, 10 years of age and over, were gainfully occupied; within this group 77.2 percent were men and 22.8 percent were women, a considerably larger proportion than that found among Jewish women in 1938.

Of the 597 Jews gainfully occupied, 54.5 percent were engaged in trade and 16.2 percent in manufacturing and mechanical industries (Table XI). These combined categories provided employment for 70.7 percent of the gainfully occupied Jews in New London. The high proportion of Jews in trade (54.5 percent) contrasted sharply with the 17 percent of the New London population who were in the same category (including insurance and banking) in 1930. The 97 Jews reporting manufacturing and mechanical occupations were distributed among more than ten branches; the clothing industry accounted for more than one-quarter. Only 14 were classified among the mechanical occupations.

Among the gainfully occupied Jews, over six-tenths (378) were employers or self-employed. Among the 326 engaged in "Trade," the majority (206) appeared among the self-employed. Of the 33 in domestic and personal service, 26 were self-employed while only 7 were employes. Of the 57 men in the professions, 25 gave their occupation as lawyers. Although the Jewish lawyers slightly outnumbered their non-Jewish colleagues, their relative position in the profession is not to be gauged by their ratio⁹ (Table XII).

⁸ A slightly lower average than the 2.5 given in Table XV, which refers to 439 mothers and does not include the 51 widowed mothers, as does the foregoing calculation.

⁹ Calculated from the telephone directory.

TABLE XI
JEWISH GAINFUL WORKERS, 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, NEW LONDON, 1938,
CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATION AND STATUS

Occupation	All classes	Self-employed		Employees	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total.....	1597	378	100.0	210	100.0
Agriculture.....	1	1	0.3	..	..
Manufacturing and mechanical industries.....	97	69	18.3	28	13.3
Transportation and communication.....	13	7	1.8	6	2.8
Trade.....	326	206	54.5	120	57.2
Public service.....	6	..	..	6	2.8
Professional service.....	82	64	16.9	18	8.6
Domestic and personal service..	33	26	6.9	7	3.3
Clerical occupations.....	28	5	1.3	23	11.0
WPA.....	2	..	..	2	1.0

¹ Includes 9 persons whose occupation and status were unknown.

² Includes 3 females.

³ Includes 29 females.

⁴ Includes 25 females.

⁵ Includes 1 female.

⁶ Includes 21 females.

TABLE XII
JEWS ENGAGED IN PROFESSIONAL SERVICE, NEW LONDON, 1938,
CLASSIFIED BY PROFESSION

Profession	Number	Percent
Total.....	182	100.0
Architects.....	2	2.4
Dentists.....	5	6.1
Lawyers.....	25	30.5
Pharmacists and chemists.....	3	3.6
Physicians and surgeons.....	14	17.2
Teachers.....	18	22.0
Social workers.....	5	6.1
All others.....	10	12.1

¹ Includes 25 women: 1 dentist, 1 lawyer, 15 teachers, 5 social workers and 3 others.

Intermarriage

Ordinarily Jews married to non-Jews do not participate in the life of the Jewish community and are generally omitted from a count of the Jewish population. The ethnic survey enumerated 27 families in which one parent only was

Jewish, raising the total number of families related in some way to the Jewish community from 490 to 517.¹⁰ In all, 17 men and 10 women had married out of the Jewish group; 3 of these instances occurred within the same family. Undoubtedly there were others in the community who identified themselves with no religious or cultural group.

Neighborhood Distribution

The data on the neighborhood distribution of Jews by school districts were derived from the ethnic survey. Table XIII shows the distribution of Jewish children in the various schools of the city as well as their ratio in each school. These schools do not admit pupils outside of their district. Only the high schools and the Jennings School are central schools which admit children from the entire city.

New London had no ghetto; its Jews were distributed throughout the city. The only neighborhood in which there was any concentration of the Jewish population was, in fact, the best residential area, a restricted district adjacent to Ocean Beach Park, where the homes are attractive one-family structures with some grounds and with facilities contributing toward healthy family living. Only in this neighborhood were there blocks almost entirely occupied by Jewish residents. This concentration was indicated by the fact that 20 percent of all Jewish children were in the Harbor School in this area. The Waller School, which also serves this area (kindergarten and grades 1-3), had an additional 3.4 percent of the Jewish school children. The Nameaug area adjacent to the Harbor School district cared for an additional 9.6 percent. The Saltonstall area claimed 9.9 percent of the Jewish children, although this local school goes up to the sixth grade only. The Jewish Community Center is located in this neighborhood; this section is characterized by a population of a somewhat lower socio-economic level than that of the Harbor district. However, a number of the more prosperous Jews have retained residence here because of its proximity to the business area.

Table XIII indicates also that a larger proportion of Jewish than of all children were attending high school: 33.5 percent of all children attended the three high schools and the Jennings School (a junior high school). By contrast, 44.4 percent of the Jewish children were in these schools. The difference was even more marked if the comparison is limited to schools which prepare for college,¹¹ namely, the Bulkeley School for boys and the Williams Memorial Institute for girls. In the former were found 11.9 percent of all Jewish children in school as compared with 7.2 percent for the city. In the girls' high school were found almost 19 percent of all Jewish school children, almost twice as high as the ratio in the total population (10 percent).

¹⁰ In certain instances the children of mixed couples attended one of the Jewish religious schools.

¹¹ In the Chapman Technical High School were enrolled only 1.8 percent of the Jewish as compared with 6 percent of the total population.

The high proportion of Jewish children in high school and of the number preparing for college, consistent with the mores of the Jewish group, is intensified by the fact that there is a college in the city affording girls who might not otherwise go to college an opportunity for higher education without leaving home. The fact that in the adolescent population girls outnumbered boys resulted in a

TABLE XIII
ALL SCHOOL CHILDREN AND JEWISH SCHOOL CHILDREN, NEW LONDON, 1938,
CLASSIFIED BY SCHOOL

School	Grades ¹ in each school	All children		Jewish children		Ratio of Jewish children in each school
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
All schools.....	..	26,302	100.0	386	100.0	6.1
Kindergarten and grade schools.....	..	3,263	51.8	214	55.6	6.6
Bartlett.....	K-8	460	7.3	17	4.4	3.7
Harbor.....	K-8	689	10.9	77	20.0	11.2
Nameaug.....	n, K-6	489	7.8	37	9.6	7.6
Nathan Hale.....	5-7	323	5.1	16	4.2	4.9
Saltonstall.....	K-6	389	6.2	38	9.9	9.8
Waller.....	K-3	160	2.5	13	3.4	8.1
Winthrop.....	K-6	615	9.8	14	3.6	2.3
Stanton.....	²	138	2.2	2	0.5	1.4
High schools.....	..	2,102	33.5	172	44.4	8.1
Jennings.....	7-8	629	10.0	46	12.0	7.3
Bulkeley (boys).....	9-12	451	7.2	46	11.9	10.2
Chapman Technical (boys and girls).....	9-12	375	6.0	7	1.8	1.9
Williams Memorial In- stitute (girls).....	9-12	647	10.3	73	18.7	11.1

¹ K = kindergarten; numbers refer to grades, inclusive; n = nursery school.

² Includes children in parochial schools.

³ The Stanton School has only subnormal children, who remain in school until they reach sixteen.

somewhat distorted pattern which pervaded the social activity of young people in the community. There were 73 Jewish girls in the Williams Memorial Institute and 46 Jewish boys in the Bulkeley High School. This socially awkward situation was intensified by the fact that boys go away to college while still more Jewish girls enter the community as college students during the academic year.

Summary

1. In 1938 there were 1,885 Jews in New London, or 6.4 percent of the population. New London Jewry comprised 439 families with both parents living, 51 broken families and 529 single individuals.

2. In the total population of New London (1930) 19 percent were foreign born as compared with 37.3 percent among the Jews (1938). A more significant comparison indicates that, while 37.3 percent of the Jews were foreign born, 36.8 percent of all foreign white stock in Connecticut was foreign born, in the County 35.9 percent, in New London 35.1 percent and in the country as a whole 34.5 percent.

3. Jews were to a lesser degree foreign born than Italians and Poles. The percentage of foreign born, however, varied for each ethnic group with the demarcation in the boundary line of the area.

4. Jews occupied a different rank as an ethnic group in various communities, as the fourth largest ethnic group in New London City, probably eighth in the County and probably fifth in the State.

5. The foreign-born Jews were not newcomers in New London. The average number of years in the United States was 32.7, in New London 23.7, a difference of 9 years. Some foreign-born Jews had been in New London for more than half a century. Over half of this group came to the city before the age of 20. About 75 percent of the foreign-born Jews came from Russia and Poland, 9 percent from Lithuania and the rest from other countries, including Syria and Palestine.

6. The age-group 25-34 was the largest, followed by the group 35-44, as in the total population. The percentage of Jewish children under 10 years of age was considerably smaller than in the total population, a difference which held up to the age of 14, although Jews reported relatively more children in the age-group 15-19. The *age distribution* was notably different for foreign-born and native Jews. Up to the age of 25 almost all Jews were native; above the age of 45 the population was almost entirely foreign born.

7. The sex ratio was 51.7 percent male and 48.3 percent female. The sex ratio differed for native and foreign born.

8. The average number of children in the homes of 439 families with both parents living was 2.5; the average number in homes where both parents were foreign born was 3.3 and where both were native, 1.2. About 29 percent of the native couples had no children as compared with about 4 percent of the foreign-born couples. Fertility data examined for the number of children related to age and nativity of mother indicated that in each age-group native mothers had fewer children than the foreign born.

9. The occupational distribution of Jews in 1938 differed considerably from that reported for the city as a whole in the 1930 census. Among the Jews, 70.7 percent were engaged in trade and in manufacturing industries, with almost three times as many in trade as in the total population (1930). Among the Jews, 14 percent were in the professions, as compared with 11 percent in the total popula-

tion. Among the physicians and dentists of the city, more than one-third (38 percent) and among the lawyers about half were Jewish. In New London 31 percent of all Jews were gainfully occupied and 63.3 percent of these Jews were self-employed.

10. The ethnic survey revealed 27 families in the community having children in school, in which one parent only was Jewish.

11. Data on neighborhood distribution of Jews, derived from the ethnic survey of school districts, indicated that although Jews were well distributed throughout the city, the greatest "concentration" appeared in the best residential districts, between Ocean Beach Park and the center of the city, an area characterized by one-family homes and in general by adequate living conditions.

12. Data from the ethnic survey called attention also to the preponderance of girls over boys in the age-group 15-19. This disparity is further intensified by the fact that during the academic year more girls come to the local college while New London boys go away to school, a situation which distorts the social life of the community for young people of this age. The survey also disclosed the extent to which Jewish families kept their children in high school as compared with other groups. The percentage of Jewish children in high school was considerably greater than that in the total population; for example, Jews kept their daughters in high school twice as frequently as some of the other groups.

II

NORWICH

The Jewish community of Norwich differs from that of New London in several ways. Jews arrived there at an earlier date and it has had a somewhat heavier recent immigration. In New London the Jews were distributed through the whole city, representing a fairly prosperous and well-adjusted element in the local population. In Norwich the whole pattern of existence, socio-economic and cultural, is different and the Jewish community as a whole bears the earmarks of a primary immigrant settlement. There is a densely populated area (with a "Jewish section" atmosphere) where a large number of Jews in the lower-income group are concentrated, while those in better circumstances are scattered throughout the city. According to the census taken by the Conference on Jewish Relations during the summer of 1938, there were 1,647 Jews in the "town" of Norwich, living in 439 families. The Jews constituted 5.1 percent of the population of the "town" of Norwich (32,438 in 1930) and 7.1 percent of the population of Norwich City (23,021)¹² (Table II).

In both the Town and in the more limited area of Norwich City the foreign

¹² As explained above (p. 51), the Town is the larger unit. In the present report figures refer to the Town of Norwich because it is the school district and the unit for which comparable official figures were available.

born constituted about 22 percent of the population, slightly higher than the figure for New London County (20.6 percent) and somewhat lower than that for the state (23.8 percent), in comparison with other foreign-born stocks. Among the Jews 35.7 percent were foreign born as compared with 32.7 percent of the total foreign white stock. It will be noted (Table XIV) that Jews were only to a slight extent more foreign born than the foreign white stock in general and ranked in this respect with the Polish and Italian stock.

TABLE XIV
FOREIGN-BORN WHITE STOCK, NORWICH CITY, 1930, CLASSIFIED
BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Country of origin	Foreign-born white			Native white of foreign or mixed parentage		Percent of total population	Ratio of foreign born to foreign white stock in percent
	Foreign white stock	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
Total	15,328	5,028	100.0	10,300	100.0	² 66.6	32.7
Poland	4,360	1,539	30.6	2,821	27.3	18.9	35.2
Irish Free State	2,220	433	8.6	1,787	17.3	9.6	19.5
Italy	1,838	659	13.1	1,179	11.4	7.9	35.8
British Empire	1,816	624	12.4	1,192	11.5	7.8	34.3
Jews ¹	1,647	588	11.0	³ 1,059	10.2	7.1	35.7
French-speaking countries:							
Canada	7,477	418	8.3	1,059	10.2	6.3	28.3
Others	41	12	0.2	29	0.3	0.1	29.2
Russia	969	378	7.5	591	5.7	4.2	39.0
Germany	922	282	5.6	640	6.2	4.0	30.5
Others	1,685	683	13.7	1,002	10.1	8.0	40.5

¹ The figures for Jews are already included in the figures for the several countries since this is the practice of the Federal Census.

² Total white population, 23,021.

³ Includes 14 persons of unknown nativity.

Number of Years in the United States and in Norwich

Although 36 percent of the Jews in Norwich were foreign born they, like the Jewish residents of New London, were not all newcomers either in the United States or in Norwich. The average number of years of residence in Norwich was 24.5 and of residence in the United States, 31.5, a spread of seven years on the average between arrival in the United States and settlement in Norwich.

Among the 588 foreign-born Jews over half (330) came to Norwich in the same five- or ten-year period in which they came to the United States. The modal group, which accounted for 29.3 percent, came to Norwich in the decade between

1903 and 1913, *i. e.*, from 25 to 35 years ago. Eighty percent of this population had been in Norwich at least 10 years, almost 58 percent had been there at least 20 years and almost 50 percent had been there at least 25 years. On the other hand, almost 93 percent of the Norwich foreign-born Jews had been in the United States at least 10 years, over 81 percent at least 20, 76.9 percent had been in the country at least 25 years and 15 percent in the neighborhood of 50 years. The previous residence in the United States before settling in Norwich was in all likelihood somewhere else in Connecticut, since there had been considerable internal migration of both native and foreign-born Jews within the state.

TABLE XV
NATIVE JEWISH POPULATION, NORWICH, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY AGE-GROUP AND NUMBER OF YEARS IN NORWICH

Age-group	Total native Jewish population	Years in Norwich							
		Less than 5	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45 and over
Total	1,045	176	190	167	149	100	134	73	25
Under 5	2105	103	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5-9	137	8	129	..	..	..	..	..	..
10-14	2131	5	10	114	..	..	..	..	..
15-19	2142	4	8	10	117	..	..	..	..
20-24	2129	12	5	8	8	89	..	..	..
25-34	2228	38	25	11	9	3	129	..	..
35-44	2120	5	8	16	10	5	5	68	..
45 and over	249	1	5	5	4	3	..	5	25
Unknown	4	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	..

Footnotes refer to cases in which the length of residence in the city was not reported.

¹ 31.

⁴ 7.

² 2.

⁶ 5.

³ 3.

⁶ 1.

The data for native Jews likewise indicated long residence in Norwich (Table XV). Of the 1,045 native Jews, 774, or almost 3 out of 4, had lived in Norwich "always" or "almost always" (that is, they came to Norwich in the same five- or ten-year period in which they were born). There was considerable mobility within Connecticut; many Jews in Norwich, as in New London, had been born in Colchester, Chesterfield and other nearby farming communities. Norwich, therefore, had a Jewish population largely native to Connecticut.

There was constant migration not only within the villages in the wide area of the Town of Norwich, but to and from the surrounding villages. The histories of children in the same family show that some were born in Norwich, in Bozrah,

in Salem, or in other rural areas adjacent to Norwich City. Classification according to the birthplace of parents weights unduly the extent of continuous residence in Norwich because the inhabitants of this large area are apt to think of themselves as coming from Norwich, the only urban center in the area. Willimantic, the next largest community, is about thirty minutes' drive in one direction and New London an even shorter distance in another. These "urban" centers are usually considered home or birthplace even though birthplace and residence lie somewhere in the intervening area.

Age Composition, Nativity and Sex Ratio

The Jewish population showed an age distribution varying from that of the total population sufficiently to be of importance in vocational and cultural adjustment. While Table XVI shows slight differences in the percentages for the City as well as for the Town of Norwich, they are sufficient to alter the interpretation of the figures for Jews. Taking the Town, which is the same as the school unit, as the basis, children under 5 constituted only 6.5 percent of the Jewish population, as compared with 8.7 percent of the total population; 16.8 percent of the Jewish population fell between the ages of 5 and 14, while about

TABLE XVI
TOTAL POPULATION (1930) AND JEWISH POPULATION (1938) OF NORWICH,
CLASSIFIED BY AGE-GROUP AND NATIVITY, IN PERCENTAGE

Age-group	Total population, ¹ 1930, in percent			Jewish population, ² 1938, in percent		
	All classes	Native white	Foreign-born white	All classes	Native	Foreign born
All ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 5	8.7	11.2	0.2	6.5	10.0	..
5-9	10.2	12.9	0.5	8.3	13.1	..
10-14	10.7	13.5	0.7	8.5	12.5	1.5
15-19	8.9	10.9	1.9	9.0	13.6	0.8
20-24	7.2	8.4	3.2	8.3	12.3	1.2
25-34	13.3	12.9	14.9	18.1	21.7	11.4
35-44	14.0	10.0	28.1	15.2	11.5	21.8
45-54	11.3	8.1	22.3	10.8	3.3	24.1
55-64	8.6	6.4	16.0	8.0	0.9	20.9
65-74	5.0	3.9	9.0	5.3	0.5	14.1
75 and over	2.1	1.8	3.2	0.9	0.2	2.2
Unknown	*	*	..	1.1	0.4	1.9

¹ From *Fifteenth Census, Population Bulletin, Conn.*, p. 16, Table 12; includes the non-white population.

² Includes 14 persons of unknown nativity distributed among the various age-groups.

* Less than 0.1 percent.

21 percent of the total population fell in that group. The high proportion of children in the City arises from the fact that there are numerous foreign groups in the community with large families of school age, *i. e.*, Poles, Irish, French and Italians, all high-fertility groups. There were no foreign-born Jewish children under 10 years of age (Table XVI). About half of the native Jews were under 20, as compared with only 2.3 percent of the foreign-born Jews. The same proportions held for the total population. The Jewish population was predominantly native up to the age-group 35-44, above which the ratio of foreign-born to native persons was over six to one.

TABLE XVII
JEWISH POPULATION, MALE AND FEMALE, NORWICH, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY
AGE-GROUP AND NATIVITY

Age-group	All classes	Native		Foreign born	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
All ages.....	1,647	560	485	287	301
Under 5.....	107	61	44	..	..
5-9.....	137	77	60	..	..
10-14.....	140	66	65	1	8
15-19.....	¹ 149	82	60	2	3
20-24.....	136	62	67	2	5
25-34.....	² 298	116	111	23	44
35-44.....	250	67	53	71	57
45-54.....	³ 177	22	12	76	66
55-64.....	132	5	4	61	62
65-74.....	88	2	3	45	38
75 and over.....	15	..	2	5	8
Unknown.....	⁴ 18	..	4	1	10

Footnotes refer to cases of unknown nativity.

¹ 7 males and 7 females.

² 2 females.

³ 2 females and 2 males.

⁴ 1 male.

⁵ 1 male and 2 females.

Table XVII indicates a preponderance of males in the Norwich Jewish population: 854 males and 793 females (a ratio of 106 to 100). The differential varied from one age-group to another. There were 61 boys and 44 girls under 5, but in the age-group 10-14 there were a few more girls than boys. In the age-group 15-19 there was again an appreciable difference in favor of the boys, *viz.*, 84 boys and 65 girls. The excess of males was true in the age-groups over 34 as well.

The sex ratios differed among the native and foreign-born Jews: 53.6 percent of the native population was male as compared with 48.8 percent of the foreign-born population. Among the foreign born higher ratios for females occurred

among those under 35 years. Among the native Jews, there were more men than women in all age-groups up to 65.

Among 417 single persons 15 years of age and over (excluding persons previously married), men predominated in all age-groups up to 75. Among those 25-34 years of age there were 101 unmarried persons, 63 men and 38 women. In the next older age-group there were 32 unmarried persons (24 men and 8 women). Above the age of 44 there were only 19 unmarried individuals in all—14 men and 5 women.

The proportion of elderly persons among the unmarried increased considerably when widowed persons were included. Here the ratio of women to men was almost 4 to 1. While there were 9 individuals over 55 who had never been married, there were 51 in this age-group who were either widowed, divorced or separated.

TABLE XVIII

JEWISH FAMILIES WITH BOTH PARENTS LIVING, NORWICH, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND NATIVITY OF PARENTS

Number of children	All classes		Both parents native		Both parents foreign born		One foreign born
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Total	1368	100.0	98	100.0	177	100.0	86
None	39	10.6	22	22.5	6	3.4	9
1	76	20.6	41	41.8	14	7.9	18
2	93	25.3	24	24.5	37	20.9	31
3	72	19.6	9	9.2	44	24.9	19
4	42	11.4	2	2.0	32	18.1	3
5	27	7.3	..	..	26	14.7	1
6 or more . . .	*12	5.2	..	..	18	10.1	..

¹ Includes 7 families with one or both parents of unknown nativity; of these, 2 had no children, 3 had 1 each, 1 had 2 and 1 had 5.

² Includes two families with 10 children each.

Family Size

In Norwich, as in the other cities studied, the largest Jewish families appeared among the foreign born, regardless of the age of the mother. Table XVIII, which classifies 368 families by nativity of parents and by number of children, shows that 10.6 percent of all the Jewish families were childless. Among families in which both parents were native, 23 percent were childless in contrast to only 3 percent of the families in which both parents were foreign born. There were 93 families or about 1 in 4 with two children. Where both parents were native, the largest group of families (41.8 percent) had only one child; where both parents were foreign born, the largest group (24.9 percent) had three children. Among the families in which both parents were foreign born, 70.8 percent (120

in all) had three or more children, whereas among the native parents only 11.2 percent (11) had three or more children. As in New London, the average number of children for all Jewish families was 2.5.

It is necessary at this point to inquire into the age differential for mothers in the two nativity groups (Table XIX). It is to be expected that the largest families should occur among the foreign-born parents, especially since the foreign-born mothers are older. There was a differential of 12.5 years in the average ages of mothers in favor of foreign-born mothers. Among native mothers 62.3 percent were under 35 years of age, as compared with 17.6 percent of the foreign-born mothers. It is to be noted, however, that in each age-group with the exception of that from 50-54 native mothers had fewer children. Although the totals and the differentials were small, they suggest a trend toward smaller families within this community and corroborate findings among several other New England communities.¹³

TABLE XIX
MARRIED JEWISH WOMEN, NORWICH, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY AGE-GROUP, BY
NATIVITY AND BY NUMBER AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Age-group	All classes			Native wives			Foreign-born wives		
	Number of wives	Number of children	Average number of children	Number of wives	Number of children	Average number of children	Number of wives	Number of children	Average number of children
Total.....	368	926	2.5	158	265	1.7	210	661	3.1
15-19.....	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
20-24.....	18	24	1.3	18	24	1.3	..	..	..
25-29.....	50	29	1.0	39	34	0.9	11	15	1.4
30-34.....	65	120	1.8	40	65	1.6	25	55	2.2
35-39.....	58	131	2.3	25	52	2.1	33	79	2.4
40-44.....	38	106	2.5	18	48	2.7	20	58	2.9
45-49.....	36	120	3.3	4	9	2.3	32	111	3.5
50-54.....	22	79	3.6	3	12	4.0	19	67	3.5
55 and over..	65	258	4.0	6	12	2.0	59	246	4.2
Unknown....	15	39	2.6	5	9	1.8	10	30	3.0

¹ Includes 4 mothers of unknown nativity.

Among the 68 broken Jewish families classified by nativity of parents and number of living children, widows outnumbered widowers almost 4 to 1, whereas in New London the ratio in 33 broken families was 2 to 1. The modal number of children per broken family was 4. Of the 68 heads of these families, 61 were foreign born. An interesting fact is that there were no broken families headed by a native father.

¹³ Wessel, *op. cit.*

Remarriage

There were in Norwich 19 families (4.3 percent) in which the present union was a second or third marriage for either the wife or the husband or both. In some families the wife had children by a previous marriage only, in others the children were the issue of the husband by a first marriage, while in others the children resulted from the first, second or third marriage of either parent. Only 4 of these families reported children as a result of the last union. Students of population call attention to the inadequacy of data available on second and third marriages. The data offer mute testimony to the struggle which these families encountered in being uprooted and to the personal adjustments made in the face of family disorganization. The picture of occupational distribution, especially as it indicates socio-economic status, offers further indication of struggle and vicissitude.

Occupations

Analysis of the occupational distribution of Jews in Norwich reveals that of the 620 Jews gainfully employed, 315 or about 51 percent were engaged in trade, including 59 engaged in wholesale trade (Tables XX-XXI). The next largest group, 141, was found in manufacturing and mechanical occupations. Together these two groups comprised 74 percent of the gainfully employed Jews in Norwich in 1938. Clerical occupations accounted for 57 employed Jews, 45 women and 12 men. Only 24 individuals reported domestic and personal service. Of the 141 individuals engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 43 were in the clothing industries, 40 were shoemakers and cobblers. Again the classification is unsatisfactory because "shoemakers and cobblers" included employes in a shoe factory who were not self-employed.

TABLE XX
JEWISH PERSONS ENGAGED IN TRADE, NORWICH, 1938,
CLASSIFIED BY KIND OF TRADE

Kind of trade	Workers	
	Number	Percent
Total.....	315	100.0
Insurance.....	10	3.2
Real estate.....	2	0.6
Retail trade.....	244	77.5
Wholesale trade.....	59	18.7

¹ Includes 37 females.

The professions claimed 58, or 9.4 percent of all gainfully employed persons. Of these, 41 were men, 5 physicians, 7 lawyers, 4 dentists and the remainder in 12 different fields. The 17 women were teachers and nurses.

The division of the gainfully occupied persons into employe and self-employed groups (Table XXI) immediately reveals essential differences in the pattern of the Norwich Jewish group from that in New London. The large majority of gainfully employed Jews in New London were entrepreneurs, whether in trade, in manufacturing or even in the professions. In Norwich only 40 percent were self-employed as contrasted with 63.3 percent in New London.

TABLE XXI
GAINFUL WORKERS IN THE JEWISH POPULATION, 15 YEARS AND OVER,
NORWICH, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATION AND STATUS

Occupation	All classes		Self-employed		Employes	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
All occupations	¹ 620	100.0	250	100.0	370	100.0
Agriculture	² 7	1.1	6	2.4	1	0.3
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	³ 141	22.7	40	16.0	101	27.3
Transportation and communication	10	1.6	7	2.8	3	0.8
Trade	⁴ 315	50.8	160	64.0	155	41.9
Public service	8	1.3	..	..	8	2.2
Professional service	⁵ 58	9.4	29	11.6	29	7.8
Domestic and personal service	⁶ 24	3.9	8	3.2	16	4.3
Clerical occupations	⁷ 57	9.2	..	..	57	15.4

¹ Includes 122 females.

² Includes 1 female.

³ Includes 19 females.

⁴ Includes 37 females.

⁵ Includes 3 females.

⁶ Includes 45 females.

⁷ Includes 17 females and 2 accountants.

The economic level of Norwich Jews is not, however, clearly reflected by the term "entrepreneur" and the number of "owners." Ownership, meaning "in business for oneself," ordinarily indicates a comfortable status. This held in New London, where the population was largely self-employed and fairly comfortable. In Norwich, however, the self-employed group, though smaller than in New London, included many small dealers, such as rag peddlers, junk dealers and dealers in farm produce on a tiny scale, all classified as "independent" and as "owners." Thus, several members in one family may have been "owners" or self-employed and yet the family may have had a modest or less than modest income.

The Norwich community is small enough to permit careful checking of the validity of statistics in individual cases. All the histories were reviewed with the help of an old resident, who has "always" lived in Norwich, one who saw the community grow and who is prominent in business and communal affairs. His

knowledge of the city was a help in classifying certain individuals and in interpreting the statistics. This informant furnished evidence that in Norwich, more than in New London, vicissitudes of early immigrant adjustment not easily revealed by statistical inquiry were operative. The Norwich data yielded an unusual number of Jews who gave their occupation as "managers." Several clothing shops were "managed" by persons at first thought to be owners. Inquiry showed in several instances that the ownership was vested in a wealthier relative who had set a brother or sister up in business to "manage" a shop for him, or to give this member of the family a start in business until he or she could obtain credit and become self-supporting. They could not as yet be classified as owners.

In general, the statistics indicated a lesser number of self-employed than in New London. The explanation was twofold: (1) there were in Norwich only a few large-scale employers and (2) there were also a greater number of poorer families than in New London. Norwich impresses even the casual observer as having a "ghetto" and being less acculturated to the dominant American pattern. In Norwich a large proportion of the Jews eked out a living, some as merchants, some as factory hands in the pants factory, the shoe factory or the granaries. Sons and daughters helped in the "business" and better-established relatives helped substantially to put less fortunate members of the family in business. Among the sons and daughters of these families were the clerical workers, teachers, lawyers, doctors and others engaged in professional or semi-professional occupations.

Summary

1. In 1938 the 1,647 Jews constituted 5.1 percent of the population of the Town of Norwich and 7.1 percent of the City's total population, on the basis of the 1930 census. The number of Jewish families was 439, of whom 368 reported both parents living.

2. While 35.7 percent of the Jews were foreign born as compared with about 22 percent of the total population in this area, a more valid comparison is that made with the total foreign white stock, 32.7 percent of whom were foreign born in 1930. The ratio of foreign born among the Jews as well as among the Polish and Italian stock was slightly greater than among the foreign white stock in general.

3. Foreign-born Jews had been in Norwich on the average 24.5 years and in the United States 31.5.

4. The Jewish population showed an age distribution which varied considerably from the total population. Up to the age of 15, the Jews consistently showed a smaller percentage in each age-group.

5. Among the 368 families with both parents living, 10 percent had no children; among the native couples 23 percent were childless as compared with only 3 percent of the foreign born. The average number of children for all families was 2.5; in families where both parents were native it was 1.3; where both par-

ents were foreign born it was 3.5. Data classified by age-group of mother indicate that native mothers in each age-group had fewer children than foreign-born mothers, as was true for New London. From 4 to 5 percent of all the marriages represented second and third marriages for either spouse or for both.

6. The occupational distribution of Jews indicated that over 37 percent were gainfully employed as compared with 31 percent in New London. About 74 percent in Norwich were engaged in trade and manufacturing occupations together and another 9 percent were in the professions. Although 40 percent of all Jews gainfully employed in Norwich were self-employed, most of these were small business people or peddlers whose income was in many cases below the salaries of employed workers.

7. In contrast to New London, Norwich had the earmarks of a primary immigrant settlement. There was greater stratification within the community. While a larger proportion than in New London was employed, a casual visit to Norwich makes it clear that the self-employed includes many who were struggling for existence.

CHAPTER VI
A SAMPLE STUDY OF THE JEWISH POPULATION
OF PITTSBURGH, 1938

BY MAURICE TAYLOR

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THE immediate stimulus for the survey of the Jewish population of Pittsburgh was the problem of providing for the care of the Jewish aged. The local Federation of Jewish Philanthropies decided not to proceed with its plans until the essential demographic data were in hand. Needless to say, the facts and figures gathered by the survey threw light on various other problems of the Jewish community. The survey was conducted over a period of about a week during the latter part of December, 1938. The college winter recess, a time when most people would be found at home and when graduate students majoring in sociology and the applied social sciences could serve as full-time canvassers, was chosen. Several staff members of the local Jewish Social Service Bureau and the Irene Kaufmann Settlement aided in the canvass.¹

The Master List

The first step in carrying out the study was to compile a general list of Jews in Pittsburgh. This master list was derived from:

1. The prospect list of the Federation and the United Jewish Fund, numbering approximately 6,000.
2. The rosters of a large number of Jewish organizations.
3. List of Jewish children in the public schools.
4. Clients of the Jewish Social Service Bureau.
5. Registrants for the elections of the American Jewish Congress during the summer of 1938. The great majority of this group were found not to be affiliated with any other organization.
6. Master list of the Conference of Jewish Women's Organizations.

The cards for each household were clipped together. All affiliations were stamped on the alphabetical cards so that when the process was finished the complete list of organizations to which each person belonged was available. The completed master list comprised 35,302 names which were tabulated by census tracts and city blocks. The next step was to make a spot-map, for which the valuable co-operation of Mr. Ralph C. Fletcher, Director of the Bureau of Social Research of the Federation of Social Agencies, was obtained. The City Planning Department furnished copies of maps of the various sections of the city in large

¹The writer wishes to thank Mr. Ralph C. Fletcher, formerly Director of the Bureau of Social Research of the Federation of Social Agencies of Pittsburgh, for his counsel and assistance.

scale showing block numbers. In each block every Jewish household included in the master list was represented by a dot. When pieced together, this map gave a ready view of the density of the Jewish population in the city, as well as within each particular ward and tract.

Choice of Sample

The choice of the sample was made with a double purpose in mind: (1) to obtain an estimate of the total number of Jews and (2) to determine the demographic and occupational structure of the community. Accordingly, the basis of selection was not the individual but the block. The selected blocks were to be used for estimating the size of the Jewish population while characteristics of the individuals found in those blocks were to represent the structure of the community. In order to be sure of a fair degree of representation of the various sections and strata of the population, it was necessary to combine the methods of random and selective sampling explained below.

The tabulation of the names of the master list by wards showed that the Jewish population in Pittsburgh was concentrated in four sections: Ward 3, known as the Hill, Wards 4 and 5, known generally as Oakland, Ward 11, East End, and Wards 14 and 15, Squirrel Hill and Greenfield. Outside of these areas only four wards had as much as one percent of the Jews listed. Because of the limitations of time and money, the canvassing was confined to those wards which showed at least one percent of the master list. An exception was made in the cases of Wards 16 and 17, located on the South Side, because it was agreed that in these wards there was probably a larger proportion of the total Jewish population than the master list indicated.

It was assumed that those Jews who did not appear on the master list were distributed in approximately the same proportion as the known group. This assumption was borne out by telephone inquiry of a large number of persons whose names were listed as the only Jews in their respective blocks and who, with very few exceptions, stated that they lived where they did only because of their business establishments.

There were selected from the thirteen wards a total of 2,135 households (at least 10 percent of the estimated total), in proportion to the density of the Jewish population as shown by the master list. In all, 119 blocks (located in 78 census tracts) were selected for canvassing by inspection of the spot-map with the following principles in mind: to prevent the concentration of the entire sample within a given ward in a single block (some blocks contained more households than the allocated number for the entire ward), and to distribute the sample as widely as possible throughout the ward, taking into account differing economic levels. There was a slight over-weighting in the selection of sample households of the poorer wards, 3 and 4, in order to offset the inability of persons in these areas to pay dues and make contributions to organizations and who might therefore be under-represented on the master list. This factor, however, was reduced

by the inclusion in the master list of school children, of the cases of the Jewish Social Service Bureau and the registrants for the American Jewish Congress election. Households selected for interviewing were notified by mail. Various other means were also utilized to acquaint the Jewish community with the purpose of the enterprise.

Tabulation of Data

The schedule used in the San Francisco enumeration was adopted with a few minor changes. Two sets of cards were made, one for families and the other for individuals. Schedules were completed for 5,847 individuals living in 1,497 households. These individuals formed 1,540 family units according to the definition of "family" used in this study.²

Method of Estimation

A complete canvass of each of the sample blocks was undertaken. The enumerators received cards for each household with the names of its members, insofar as these were to be found in the master list, and were instructed to cover their blocks systematically so that no building or apartment should be missed. Every Jewish resident in each block had to be accounted for, and wherever necessary households were re-visited in order to complete the canvass. A Jew was defined as one born of Jewish parents or of a mixed marriage. In addition, a gentile married to a Jew or related by marriage to a Jewish person living in the same household and identifying himself with the Jewish group was included in the count. No one, whether born a Jew or not, who was unwilling to be so identified was included. Children of mixed marriages not being brought up as Jews and not so considered by the parent or parents were likewise not counted. Only permanent residents in the block and not those merely having their business there or temporarily domiciled were included. Those who had moved were counted only if they were living in another block included in the sample, and then only in the latter block.

The ratio between the number of Jews known from the master list and the total actually enumerated was computed for each block, and corresponding ratios were likewise computed for the households. These ratios were utilized in various ways for estimating the total number of Jews in Pittsburgh, and yielded estimates ranging from 53,700 to 58,500. Assuming the calculations to be valid, the Jewish population of Pittsburgh at the end of 1938 may be estimated as 54,000, or about 8 percent of the city's 1940 population (671,659).

The most populous Jewish neighborhood was Squirrel Hill and its adjoining area, Greenfield (Wards 14 and 15), in which there were about 22,200 Jews or more than 40 percent of the total Jewish population of Pittsburgh. Second in numerical strength, with about 11,000 Jews, was the Hill district (Wards 1, 3 and 5), the poorest section in which any substantial portion of the Jewish com-

² See below, p. 84.

munity lived. It was formerly the largest settlement, but within the past decade most of its Jewish inhabitants have shifted to Squirrel Hill and the East End. The Hill is now largely populated by negroes, Italians and other immigrant groups. Although most of the Jews have moved, the Orthodox synagogues remain, maintaining themselves with difficulty. The center of Jewish life in this neighborhood is the Irene Kaufmann Settlement, to which increasing numbers of non-Jews come.

The third largest settlement, the East End (Wards 10 and 11), included approximately 9,000 Jews. Between the Hill and Squirrel Hill lie Oakland and Shadyside (coinciding approximately with Wards 4, 7 and 8). Oakland housed about 6,300 Jews and Shadyside 1,600. The Jews in Oakland represented both economic extremes. This district is both a residential and business area and in it are found many of the better apartment houses.

On the North and South Sides there were few Jews. Although the North Side was the original site of Jewish settlement, in 1938 the entire section north of the Allegheny River (Wards 21-27) contained only about 1,300 Jews. The Jewish population on the South Side was found mainly in Wards 16, 17 and 19 and totaled about 1,750 persons.

As for the density of the Jewish population, of the 32 wards in the city seven had a greater ratio of Jews than the city-wide ratio of 8 percent: Ward 14—45 percent; Ward 11—31 percent; Ward 4—nearly 23 percent; Ward 3—about 21 percent; Ward 5—about 17 percent; Ward 1—about 13 percent; Ward 15—9 percent. Of the remaining twenty-six wards, ten had a Jewish population ratio of between 1 and 6 percent: Ward 10—about 6 percent; Wards 2, 7 and 8—4 or 5 percent each; Wards 13 and 19—2 or 3 percent each. In the fifteen remaining wards the proportion was less than one percent.

Characteristics of the Jewish Population

Table I shows the distribution of 1,497 households according to the number of persons in each, and Table II the distribution of 1,725 selected families by number of persons. A household included permanently domiciled relatives, boarders, lodgers and Jewish servants. The family includes those within the vertical degree of relationship: namely, father, mother, children and grandparents. Parents-in-law were also included in the family unit, but all other persons living in the household were included in other categories. Four-person households formed the largest group, 26 percent; another 24 percent had three; only 15 percent were composed of two persons each.

In any comparison with the 1930 census it should be recognized that the lapse of eight years limits the validity of the comparison. Table I reveals that a much smaller proportion of Jews lived alone (3.3 percent) than was true for the Pittsburgh population as a whole in 1930 (5.8 percent). Similarly, there was a larger percentage of two-person households among the total population in

TABLE I
SELECTED JEWISH HOUSEHOLDS, PITTSBURGH, 1938, AND ALL
PITTSBURGH FAMILIES, 1930, CLASSIFIED BY SIZE

Number of persons	Selected Jewish households (1938)		All Pittsburgh families (1930) ¹
	Number	Percent	Percentage distribution
Total	1,497	100.0	100.0
1 person	49	3.3	5.8
2 persons	231	15.4	22.2
3 persons	357	23.9	21.3
4 persons	391	26.1	18.2
5 persons	253	16.9	12.8
6 persons	130	8.7	8.3
7 persons	53	3.5	5.0
8 persons	21	1.4	3.0
9 persons	6	0.4	1.7
10 or more persons	6	0.4	1.7

¹ Source: *Fifteenth Census of the United States, Population Bulletin, Families, Pennsylvania*, Table 5.

TABLE II
SELECTED JEWISH FAMILIES, PITTSBURGH, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY SIZE

Number of persons	Selected Jewish families	
	Number	Percent
Total	1,725	100.0
1 person	190	11.0
2 persons	328	19.0
3 persons	436	25.4
4 persons	411	23.8
5 persons	228	13.2
6 persons	83	4.8
7 persons	36	2.1
8 persons	9	0.5
9 persons	2	0.1
10 persons	2	0.1

1930 (22.3) than in the Jewish group in 1938 (15.4). The average Jewish household in 1938 was slightly larger than that of the white group in the total population in 1930 (3.79 persons as compared with 3.34).³ Of the 190 unmarried persons,

³ *Fifteenth Census of the United States, Population Bulletin: Families, Pennsylvania*, p. 8. A supplementary canvass of 4,746 Jewish households, comprising 16,504 persons, yielded an average of 3.48 persons per household.

83 were related to the primary family unit and 58 were boarders or lodgers; the remaining 49 lived alone. Assuming that the ratio of the sample holds for the Jewish population as a whole, about 1 percent of Pittsburgh Jews lived as boarders or lodgers in the households of families unrelated to them.

The median-size Jewish family consisted of 3.3 persons as compared with 3.8 for the median-size Jewish household. The families in Ward 1 were the smallest, averaging 2.64 persons. Nearly one-quarter of those residing in this area were single-individual units, distinguishing this section from the rest of the city. Within its boundaries are the large downtown hotels and many lodging houses. The families in Ward 10 were the largest.

Dividing the total number of family units (1,725) by the number of households (1,497) yields an average of 1.1-1.2 families per Jewish household. Comparison with the average of the National Health Survey (1935-1936), 1.3, shows a lesser amount of doubling up among the Jewish than among the total Pittsburgh population.⁴

The 1,417 Jewish households may be classified into nine different types of family and household combinations:

1. The primary family alone comprising 1,169 households or 78.1 percent of the total.
2. The primary family with either father-in-law or mother-in-law or both (76).
3. The primary plus one or more secondary family units but excluding family units of one individual in the same household (83).
4. Type 2 plus secondary units with no single individuals (4).
5. Type 3 plus boarders or lodgers (10).
6. Type 4 plus boarders or lodgers (3).
7. The primary family plus boarders or lodgers (*i. e.*, with no other secondary units) (87).
8. Type 2 plus boarders or lodgers with no other secondary units (16).
9. "Family units" consisting of individuals living alone (49).

If the individuals living alone are added to the number of families living alone, the proportion of units which include no relatives, boarders or lodgers rises to about 81 percent. The family units designated as "secondary" included for the most part relatives, such as married children and their offspring. Doubling-up of unrelated family units was a rare phenomenon in Jewish life in this city. Families with no unrelated boarders or lodgers accounted for 96.3 percent of the total, as compared with 87.5 percent for the city as a whole and 89.7 percent for the state as a whole in 1930.⁵

⁴ Sanders, B. S., "Family Composition in the U. S.," in *Social Security Bulletin* (April, 1939), p.13.

⁵ *Fifteenth Census, Population Bulletin: Families, Pennsylvania*, Table 12.

Age Distribution and Sex Ratio

Of the 5,847 individuals in the sample, age was recorded for 5,686, or 97.2 percent. The data classified in Table III show a balanced ratio between the sexes in the various age-groups. The average age of the entire group was 31.3 years, ranging from 36.8 in Ward 1 to 28.1 in Ward 15.⁶

TABLE III
 SAMPLE JEWISH POPULATION, MALE AND FEMALE, PITTSBURGH, 1938,
 CLASSIFIED BY AGE-GROUP

Age-groups	Sample Jewish population					
	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
All ages	5,686	100.0	2,839	100.0	2,847	100.0
Under 5 years	302	5.3	149	5.3	153	5.4
5- 9 years	367	6.4	180	6.3	187	6.6
10-14 years	507	8.9	245	8.6	262	9.2
15-19 years	566	10.0	297	10.5	269	9.5
20-24 years	561	9.9	274	9.7	287	10.1
25-34 years	1,077	18.9	544	19.2	533	18.6
35-44 years	869	15.3	425	14.9	444	15.6
45-54 years	733	12.9	354	12.4	379	13.3
55-64 years	464	8.2	246	8.7	218	7.7
65 years and over	240	4.2	125	4.4	115	4.0

For the comparison of the age distribution of the Jews with that of the white population of the city as a whole there was available, in addition to the 1930 census, the sample study of more than 20,000 Pittsburgh households in the National Health Survey (1935-36) (Table IV). The ratio of Jewish children under 15 to the total Jewish population was lower than the corresponding ratio in the city as a whole. In the total white population children from 5 to 9 included 9.3 percent of the total (1930) as compared with only 6.4 percent among the Jews (1938). In proportion Jewish children between the ages of 10 and 15 (8.9 percent) were slightly less numerous than those in the total white population (9.4 percent in 1930 and 9.7 percent in 1935-36). On the other hand, the proportion of Jews between 25 and 34 (18.9 percent) was much greater than in the total white population (16.2 percent in 1930 and 15.8 in 1935-36). This was also true in the 45-64 age-group. Although the proportion of those aged 65 and over was less among the Jews than in the total white population, the average age among the former was higher: 31.3 as compared with 29.2 years in 1930.

⁶ A supplementary canvass of 14,703 Jews yielded an average age of 29.9 years. Combined with the sample population, the average for the 20,389 persons studied was 30.3.

TABLE IV
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY AGE-GROUPS OF SAMPLE JEWISH
 POPULATION, PITTSBURGH, 1938, OF TOTAL WHITE POPULATION,
 PITTSBURGH, 1930,¹ AND OF SAMPLE WHITE POPULATION OF
 THE U. S. IN THE NATIONAL HEALTH SURVEY, 1935-36²

Age-groups	Sample Jewish population (1938)	Total white population (1930)	U. S. sample white popula- tion, National Health Survey (1935-36)
	Percentage distribution		
All ages.....	100.0	100.1	99.8
Under 5 years.....	5.3	8.5	6.6
5-9 years.....	6.4	9.3	8.7
10-14 years.....	8.9	9.4	9.7
15-19 years.....	10.0	9.5	9.7
20-24 years.....	9.9	9.3	9.5
25-34 years.....	18.9	16.2	15.8
35-44 years.....	15.3	15.0	15.1
45-54 years.....	12.9	11.4	12.0
55-64 years.....	8.2	7.0	7.4
65 years and over.....	4.2	4.5	5.3

¹ From *Fifteenth Census of the U. S., Population*, vol. ii, p. 739.

² From National Health Survey, *Preliminary Reports, Population Series, Bulletin E*, p. 8.

"Yom Kippur Absence" Ratio

According to records of the Pittsburgh school system, in 1938 the Jewish pupils numbered 7,967, or 7.7 percent of the total registered in the public schools (5.4 percent if parochial school pupils are included) and about 15 percent of the estimated Jewish population, a ratio unquestionably much lower than that found in the total population (about 22 percent). The use of the ratio of Jewish pupils to the total school population as a basis for estimating the total number of Jews in Pittsburgh must therefore lead to an under-estimation. In 1934 the Jewish pupils numbered 8,123, or 6.5 percent of the school population. This ratio applied to the estimated Pittsburgh population of 682,000 yielded about 45,000 as the estimated number of Jews, an under-estimation of 20 percent or more in the light of the present study.

Age Distribution by Wards

The age distribution differed considerably in the individual wards. Ward 1, with a disproportionately large number of persons living alone, had 11.1 percent under 15, as compared with the average for all wards, 20.7 percent. The other extreme was represented by Ward 15, probably the most rapidly growing new

residential area, with more than 30 percent under 15. Ward 1 had the highest ratio of persons over 65, 8.8 percent, or more than double the ratio in the entire Jewish population (4.2 percent). Ward 7 (in the Shadyside area), with 1.9 percent, showed the lowest proportion of elderly persons (over 65).

TABLE V
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 10 YEARS OF AGE OF SELECTED JEWISH FAMILIES AND HOUSEHOLDS, PITTSBURGH, 1938, AND OF ALL PITTSBURGH FAMILIES, 1930

Number of children under 10	Jewish families (1938)	Jewish households (1938)	All families (1930) ¹
	Percentage distribution		
None ²	69.5	64.9	59.7
1 child.....	21.4	24.4	19.5
2 children.....	8.1	9.3	11.7
3 children.....	0.9	1.1	5.6
4 children.....	0.1	0.3	2.5

¹ From *Fifteenth Census of the U. S., Families, Pennsylvania*, Table 9; omitting those with 5 and those with 6 or more children (0.8 and 0.2 percent, respectively).

² Including childless families, which comprised 25.5 percent of the Jewish families, and 17.2 percent of the households.

Families with Children under 10 and under 21

Table VI compares the two sets of figures, Jewish families and Jewish households in Pittsburgh (1938) having one or more children under 10, with those of the 1930 census. The census tabulations, which do not distinguish between child-

TABLE VI
FAMILIES HAVING CHILDREN UNDER 10 YEARS OF AGE, CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF SUCH CHILDREN, FOR SELECTED JEWISH FAMILIES AND HOUSEHOLDS, PITTSBURGH, 1938, AND FOR ALL PITTSBURGH FAMILIES, 1930, IN PERCENT

Number of children under 10	Families or households having children under 10 years of age		
	Jewish families (1938)	Jewish households (1938)	All families (1930)
	Percentage distribution		
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
1 child.....	70.3	69.5	48.3
2 children.....	26.4	26.6	29.2
3 children.....	3.3	3.1	13.9
4 children.....	..	0.8	6.1
5 children.....	..	..	2.0
6 or more children.....	..	..	0.5

ess families and those in which all the children were over 10, show nearly 60 percent with no children under 10 in Pittsburgh (1930), as compared with about 65 percent of Jewish households (1938), or nearly 70 percent of Jewish families according to the definition employed in this study.

In the sample Jewish population 44 percent of the families and more than 47 percent of the households were either childless or the children in them were all over 10. The higher ratio of large families in the city's total population is explained in part by the census definition of family, which includes all related persons occupying the same domestic establishment, including therefore children of more than one bio-legal entity. Evidence that there were proportionately more large families in the population as a whole than in the Jewish group is seen in the fact that three-children families occurred in the total population four times as often as in the Jewish population. According to Table VI, limited to families which had children under 10, about 70 percent of the Jewish families and households (1938) had only one such child as compared with 48.3 percent of the total population (1930)—a significant portent of a decrease in the Jewish population.

TABLE VII
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 21
YEARS OF AGE OF SELECTED JEWISH FAMILIES AND HOUSEHOLDS,
PITTSBURGH, 1938, AND OF ALL PITTSBURGH FAMILIES, 1930

Number of children under 21	Jewish families (1938)	Jewish households (1938)	All families (1930) ¹
None ²	42.1	34.7	38.0
1 child	26.1	27.2	21.4
2 children	20.9	24.9	16.7
3 children	7.9	9.4	10.4
4 children	2.2	2.9	6.2
5 children	0.5	0.5	3.5
6 children	0.2	0.3	3.5
7 children	0.1	0.1	
8 children . . . . .	..	..
9 or more children . . . . .	..	..	0.3

¹ From *Fifteenth Census of the U. S., Families, Pennsylvania*, Table 10.

² Including childless families (see Table V, note 2) and number unknown (.01 percent).

When the Jewish families are classified according to the number of children under 21 (Table VII), the ratio of small families among Jews is further emphasized, *e. g.*, among the Jewish families, 26.1 percent (among the households, 27.2 percent) had one child under 21, as compared with 21.4 percent in the city as a whole. Jewish families with two children under 21 (20.9 percent) were more common than in the total population (16.7 percent). There was a greater differential in the ratio of Jewish families and households (7.9 and 9.4 percent) with

three children under 21 than in the city as a whole (10.4 percent). In proportion Pittsburgh families with four children under 21 were nearly three times as numerous as the Jewish, while those with six or more were more than ten times as numerous. Only one Jewish family in the sample had as many as seven children under 21.

Excluding families which had no children under 21, more than 45 percent of the Jewish families (41.7 percent of the households) had only one child as compared with 34.5 percent of all families in the community (Table VIII). Jewish

TABLE VIII
FAMILIES HAVING CHILDREN UNDER 21 YEARS OF AGE, CLASSIFIED BY
NUMBER OF SUCH CHILDREN; FOR SELECTED JEWISH FAMILIES
AND HOUSEHOLDS, PITTSBURGH, 1938, AND FOR ALL PITTS-
BURGH FAMILIES, 1930, IN PERCENT

Number of children under 21	Families or households with children under 21 years of age		
	Jewish families (1938)	Jewish house- holds (1938)	All families (1930)
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
1 child	45.1	41.7	34.5
2 children	36.1	38.1	26.9
3 children	13.7	14.4	16.8
4 children	3.8	4.4	10.0
5 children	0.8	0.8	5.7
6 or more children	0.5	0.6	6.1

families and households with four or more children under 21 accounted for about 5 percent (1938) as compared with nearly 22 percent in the Pittsburgh population (1930).

Household Composition

Of the 5,847 Jews in the sample, data were recorded for 5,778 persons in 1,484 households. According to Table IX, about 44 percent of all males and 7.5 percent of all females were heads (father, mother or other breadwinner) of primary family units or of households, since the two were usually identical. Men were at the head of 85.4 percent and women of 14.6 percent of the families, differing but slightly from the corresponding ratios in the Pittsburgh population in 1930 (84.5 and 15.5 percent).⁷ The men classified as heads of "secondary units" were most frequently married sons or sons-in-law, while the women were usually widows, divorcees or women separated from their husbands and living with their children in the home of the maternal grandparents. Sons as secondary members

⁷ *Population Bulletin: Families, Pennsylvania*, Table 13. The ratio in the Jewish population is derived from figures tabulated by the author but not included in the present report.

TABLE IX
INDIVIDUALS IN SELECTED JEWISH HOUSEHOLDS, MALE AND FEMALE,
PITTSBURGH, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY STATUS

Status in household	Individuals in selected Jewish households					
	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	5,778	100.0	2,883	100.0	2,895	100.0
Total members of primary unit	5,379	93.2	2,684	93.1	2,695	93.1
Head	1,484	25.7	1,267	43.9	217	7.5
Other member	3,895	67.5	1,417	49.2	2,478	85.6
Total members of secondary unit	258	4.4	121	4.2	137	4.8
Head	100	1.7	81	2.8	19	0.7
Other member	158	2.7	40	1.4	118	4.1
Related lodger	83	1.4	43	1.5	40	1.3
Unrelated lodger	58	1.0	35	1.2	23	0.8

of the family represented about half of all males, while wives and daughters accounted for approximately 90 percent of all females.

Marital Status

Information concerning marital status was recorded for 4,578 persons 15 years of age and over. Table X reveals a substantially larger proportion of single males (38.6 percent) than of females (29.7 percent). A similar, though less

TABLE X
SAMPLE JEWISH POPULATION, PITTSBURGH, 1938, AND TOTAL POPULATION, PITTSBURGH, 1930, 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, MALE AND FEMALE, CLASSIFIED BY MARITAL STATUS, IN PERCENT

Marital status	Persons 15 years of age and over					
	Sample Jewish population (1938)			Total population (1930) ¹		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	≈100.0	≈100.0	≈100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9
Single	34.1	38.6	29.7	34.8	37.7	31.9
Married	56.8	56.8	56.8	56.1	56.9	55.2
Widowed	7.1	3.3	11.0	8.2	4.5	11.8
Divorced and separated	2.0	1.3	2.5	≈0.9	≈0.8	≈1.0

¹ From *Fifteenth Census of the U. S., Population*, vol. ii, p. 966.

² Exclusive of the unknown (15 males and 9 females).

³ Refers only to divorced.

marked, disparity within the total population of the city may be seen. Widowed persons formed 3.3 percent of the Jewish men as compared with 11.0 percent of the women. The differential is explained in part by the greater average longevity of the female population and the fact that the husband was generally older than the wife. Divorced persons constituted 0.8 percent of all males over 15 as compared with 1 percent of the women, but the divorced women outnumbered the divorced men two to one among the Jews. The ratio of divorced and separated women in the Jewish population was two and a half times that of the total population.

Place of Birth

Of the 5,819 Jewish persons whose nativity was recorded, 2,179 were foreign born, a ratio of 37.4 percent as compared with 16.4 percent for the city as a whole in 1930.⁸ The majority of the foreign-born Jews (55.8 percent) were born in Russia (Table XI). The ratio of the foreign born in the sample varied from

TABLE XI
FOREIGN-BORN PERSONS IN THE SAMPLE JEWISH POPULATION, PITTSBURGH, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH

Country of birth	Foreign-born persons	
	Number	Percent
Total.....	2,179	100.0
Russia.....	1,216	55.8
Poland.....	320	14.7
Rumania.....	199	9.1
Austria.....	141	6.5
Lithuania.....	112	5.2
Hungary.....	79	3.6
Germany.....	55	2.5
Others.....	57	2.6

about 47 percent in Ward 16 to about 71 percent in Ward 19. Table XII, which presents data concerning the country of origin of the heads of family units, indicates that in the largest group, 44.1 percent, both were foreign born. Family units with native parents accounted for 23.7 percent, and those of mixed nativity, 18.2 percent.

Length of Time in the U. S.

When classified by number of years in the U. S., the largest single group were those who had arrived between 31 and 40 years ago (36.4 percent), the decade of largest immigration, both Jewish and non-Jewish⁹ (Table XIII). Those who

⁸ *Fifteenth Census: Population*, vol. ii, p. 71.

⁹ *Statistical Abstract of the U. S.*, 1938, p. 97.

JEWISH POPULATION STUDIES

TABLE XII
PARENTAL FAMILY UNITS IN SAMPLE JEWISH POPULATION, PITTS-
BURGH, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY NATIVITY OF EACH PARENT

Nativity of parents	Parental family units	
	Number	Percent
Total.....	1,521	100.0
Both parents living.....	1,309	86.0
Both parents native.....	361	23.7
One parent foreign born.....	277	18.2
Father foreign born.....	196	12.9
Mother foreign born.....	81	5.3
Both parents foreign born.....	671	44.1
One parent living.....	212	14.0
Native.....	29	2.0
Foreign born.....	183	12.0

arrived from 21 to 30 years ago accounted for 25.5 percent, reflecting the general decline in immigration. Among those who arrived between 1929 and 1938, 1.4 percent came in the pre-Hitler years (1929-1933) and 2.1 percent in 1934-1938. Over one-third of the native Jews born outside of Pittsburgh had been in the city 31 years or more.

TABLE XIII
FOREIGN-BORN PERSONS IN SAMPLE JEWISH POPULATION, PITTS-
BURGH, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF YEARS IN THE U. S.

Number of years in the U. S.	Foreign-born persons	
	Number	Percent
Total.....	12,207	100.0
Less than 5.....	47	2.1
6 to 10.....	31	1.4
11 to 20.....	426	19.3
21 to 30.....	562	25.5
31 to 40.....	804	36.4
41 to 50.....	202	9.2
51 to 60.....	72	3.3
61 to 70.....	7	0.3
71 and over.....	2	0.1
Unknown.....	54	2.4

¹ Including 28 cases of unknown nativity.

Citizenship

Table XIV, classifying the foreign-born persons of the sample population according to citizenship status, shows that about 40 percent (39.1) had acquired citizenship either through marriage to a citizen or through a naturalized parent, and a similar proportion (38.9) were naturalized citizens in their own right. Thus 78 percent of the foreign-born Jewish persons had become citizens as compared with 69.5 percent among the total white population of the city (1930). About one-sixth were aliens, while declarants formed 4.8 percent.

TABLE XIV
FOREIGN-BORN PERSONS IN SAMPLE JEWISH POPULATION, PITTSBURGH, 1938, AND
IN TOTAL WHITE POPULATION, PITTSBURGH, 1930, CLASSIFIED BY
CITIZENSHIP STATUS

Citizenship status	Foreign-born Jewish persons		All foreign-born white persons ¹	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	2,207	100.0	109,072	100.0
Citizen by relationship	863	39.1	} 75,838	69.5
Naturalized	858	38.9		
Having first papers	106	4.8	7,719	7.7
Alien	368	16.7	23,252	21.3
Unknown	12	0.5	2,263	1.5

¹ Fifteenth Census of the U. S., Population, vol. ii, p. 468.

² Including 28 cases of unknown nativity.

School Status

According to Table XV, 1,368, or 24.0 percent of the sample group, were attending a school; these included all types, public, private, elementary, college and

TABLE XV
SAMPLE JEWISH POPULATION, MALE AND FEMALE, PITTSBURGH, 1938,
CLASSIFIED BY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

School status	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	5,686	100.0	2,832	100.0	2,854	100.0
In school	1,368	24.0	714	25.2	654	22.9
Not in school	4,223	74.3	2,072	73.2	2,151	75.4
Pre-school age	290	5.1	143	5.0	147	5.2
6 to 30 years of age	1,131	19.9	554	19.6	577	20.2
Over 30	2,802	49.3	1,375	48.6	1,427	50.0
Unknown	95	1.7	46	1.6	49	1.7

trade schools, as well as both day and evening sessions. About one-fifth of the group consisted of persons under 30 who had left school; the schooling acquired by this group will be discussed below. Children of pre-school age accounted for about 5 percent.

According to Table XVI, of those in the sample Jewish population attending school, 86.4 percent were in the elementary and high school grades and 9.3 percent were in college. Among the 714 males attending school, 11.9 percent were in college in contrast to 6.4 percent of the females.

TABLE XVI
PERSONS IN SAMPLE JEWISH POPULATION ATTENDING SCHOOL, MALE AND FEMALE, PITTSBURGH, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY TYPE OF SCHOOL

Type of school	Persons attending school					
	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	1,368	100.0	714	100.0	654	100.0
Elementary	633	46.3	310	43.4	323	49.4
High school	549	40.1	288	40.3	261	39.9
College	127	9.3	85	11.9	42	6.4
Evening	44	3.2	24	3.4	20	3.1
Trade	4	0.3	4	0.6	0	..
Other ¹	11	0.8	3	0.4	8	1.2

¹ Private instruction and professional training in graduate courses.

Schooling of Persons under 30

At the request of the employment service of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, a special analysis (Table XVII) was made of the educational preparation in terms of type of schooling of all persons under 30 years of age who were not attending school. Among this group of 1,131 persons (554 men and 577 women), as many as 80 percent were high school graduates, including 14 percent who reported college degrees.

Religious School Pupils

Table XVIII indicates the distribution of 1,088 children in the 6-16 age-group according to type of religious instruction which they were receiving at the time of the survey. Inasmuch as the three categories are not mutually exclusive, in order to avoid duplication those attending a Conservative or Orthodox Hebrew School during weekdays as well as the Sunday sessions of these schools have been counted under the "Hebrew" type, while those receiving private Hebrew lessons who also attended a Sunday school were listed under "Private." About 48 percent of the children in the sample within this age-group were not

receiving any Jewish education. The largest group, namely, Sunday school pupils, constituted 29.1 percent of the total, followed by those attending Hebrew schools, 18.6 percent. The ratios correspond closely to those obtained in the study made in 1939 by Mr. I. A. Abrams, Principal of the Hebrew Institute,

TABLE XVII

PERSONS IN SAMPLE JEWISH POPULATION UNDER 30 YEARS OF AGE NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL, MALE AND FEMALE, PITTSBURGH, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY EXTENT OF SCHOOLING

Last grade completed	Persons under 30 and not attending school					
	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total.....	1,131	100.0	554	100.0	577	100.0
Elementary school:						
8th grade.....	37	3.3	20	3.6	17	2.9
Below 8th grade...	32	2.8	18	3.2	14	2.4
Academic high school:						
4th year.....	673	59.5	298	53.8	375	65.0
Below 4th year....	122	10.8	64	11.6	58	10.1
Vocational school....	37	3.3	15	2.7	22	3.8
College						
Degree.....	161	14.2	98	17.7	63	10.9
Incomplete.....	69	6.1	41	7.4	28	4.9

TABLE XVIII

BOYS AND GIRLS IN SAMPLE JEWISH POPULATION, PITTSBURGH, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY TYPE OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

Type of religious instruction	Boys and girls between 6 and 16 years of age					
	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total.....	1,088	100.0	554	100.0	534	100.0
Total receiving religious instruction.....	568	52.2	292	52.7	276	51.7
Sunday school.....	317	29.1	104	18.8	213	39.9
Hebrew school.....	202	18.6	147	26.5	55	10.3
Private.....	49	4.5	41	7.4	8	1.5
Receiving no religious instruction.....	520	47.8	262	47.3	258	48.3

who found that of all the Jewish children in Pittsburgh, 20.2 percent were enrolled in Hebrew schools and 29.5 percent in Sunday schools, while the remaining 50.3 percent were not receiving any form of Jewish education.¹⁰

Sunday school was favored by the girls (about 40 percent in contrast to about 19 percent of the boys). On the other hand, 26.5 percent of the boys and only 10.3 percent of the girls attended Hebrew classes. The figures showed approximately 2 girls to each boy in Sunday school and 3 boys to each girl studying Hebrew.

Occupational and Industrial Status

According to Table XIX about 1 in 10 of working age was unemployed.¹¹ About 30 percent were self-employed and almost 60 percent employed by others, 6 in 7 of these full time. According to Table XX, among the Jewish residents of Ward

TABLE XIX
GAINFUL WORKERS IN SAMPLE JEWISH POPULATION, PITTSBURGH,
1938, CLASSIFIED BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Employment status	Gainful workers	
	Number	Percent
Total.....	12,506	100.0
Total employed.....	2,248	89.7
Self-employed.....	748	29.8
Employed by another.....	1,464	58.5
Full time.....	1,237	49.4
Part time.....	227	9.1
WPA.....	36	1.4
Unemployed.....	258	10.3

¹ Not including 69 gainful workers for whom no data were recorded.

14, the largest Jewish section, only 5 percent of those of working age were unemployed. By contrast the low economic position of the Jews living in the Hill district was clearly revealed by the figures of Wards 5, 3 and 1, where 30.9, 35.5 and 36.7 percent, respectively, of the employable persons were either wholly or partly unemployed or on WPA.

¹⁰ Abrams, I. A., "A Study of Jewish Education in Pittsburgh," in the Pittsburgh weekly, *American Jewish Outlook* (March 8-April 5, 1939).

¹¹ The figures on unemployment in Pittsburgh obtained in the course of a nation-wide enumeration by the federal government in November, 1937, are for a number of reasons not entirely comparable with the data presented above. The 1937 figures may, nevertheless, be taken as corroborating the evidence as to the lower ratio of unemployed in the Jewish sample. See *Census of Partial Employment, Unemployment and Occupations, Final Report on Total and Partial Unemployment, 1938* (Washington, D. C. 1938) vol. iii, p. 212.

TABLE XX
GAINFUL WORKERS IN SAMPLE JEWISH POPULATION, PITTSBURGH, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS,
EACH WARD

Ward	Gainful workers of specified employment status											
	Total		Self-employed		Employed by another				Unemployed and seeking work		WPA	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Full time		Part time		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
					Number	Percent	Number	Percent				
Total	12,506	100.0	748	29.8	1,237	49.4	227	9.1	258	10.3	36	1.4
1	87	100.0	16	18.4	39	44.9	14	16.1	15	17.2	3	3.4
3	324	100.0	78	24.1	131	40.4	36	11.2	60	18.5	19	5.8
4	378	100.0	94	24.8	203	53.8	33	8.7	44	11.6	4	1.1
5	233	100.0	68	29.2	93	39.9	33	14.2	36	15.4	3	1.3
7	44	100.0	11	25.0	25	56.8	4	9.1	3	6.8	1	2.3
8	35	100.0	15	42.9	18	51.4	0	..	2	5.7	0	..
10	66	100.0	30	45.4	24	36.3	5	7.6	7	10.7	0	..
11	475	100.0	130	27.4	244	51.4	51	10.7	50	10.5	0	..
14	686	100.0	245	35.7	361	52.6	43	6.3	33	4.8	4	0.6
15	117	100.0	37	31.6	68	58.1	7	6.0	4	3.4	1	0.9
16 and 17	25	100.0	14	56.0	9	36.0	0	..	2	8.0	0	..
19	36	100.0	10	27.8	22	61.2	1	2.7	2	5.6	1	2.7

¹ Not including 69 gainful workers for whom no data were recorded.

According to Table XXI, a much smaller proportion of the Jewish youth 16-19 years of age (3.3 percent) were employed or seeking work in 1938 than of the Pittsburgh youth in general in 1930 (9 percent) or of the youth in the large cities of the U. S. in 1937 (7.0 percent). This may be due in part to the fact that more of the Jewish youth tend to remain in school and college during those years. In the older age-groups, in both the Jewish and the total population, women tend to leave the labor market while the men remain. Among the Jewish

TABLE XXI
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFUL WORKERS BY AGE-GROUP, MALE AND FEMALE, FOR SAMPLE JEWISH POPULATION, PITTSBURGH, 1938, FOR TOTAL POPULATION, PITTSBURGH, 1930,¹ AND IN ESTIMATE FOR CITIES OF 350,000 TO 1,000,000, 1937²

Age-group	Percentage distribution of gainful workers								
	Total			Male			Female		
	Pitts- burgh Jewish 1938	Pitts- burgh total 1930	Na- tional 1937	Pitts- burgh Jewish 1938	Pitts- burgh total 1930	Na- tional 1937	Pitts- burgh Jewish 1938	Pitts- burgh total 1930	Na- tional 1937
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 20 years . . .	3.3	9.0	7.0	2.3	6.2	5.4	6.5	17.6	10.4
20 to 29	38.1	28.5	64.4	29.8	25.2	61.5	63.0	38.8	70.2
30 to 44	30.2	34.7		33.4	37.4		20.5	26.4	
45 and over	28.4	27.8	28.6	34.5	31.2	33.1	10.0	17.2	19.4

¹ From *Fifteenth Census of the U. S., Population*, vol. ii, p. 370-75.

² From *Census of Partial Employment, Unemployment, and Occupations, Final Report on Total and Partial Unemployment*, 1937, vol. iv, p. 69.

³ 16 to 19 years.

⁴ 10 to 19 years.

⁵ 15 to 19 years.

women workers, 30.5 percent were 30 and over as compared with 43.6 percent among women workers in Pittsburgh in 1930. The larger differential among Jewish women workers in the two age-groups, 20-29 and 30-44, in 1938 as compared with all women workers in Pittsburgh in 1930, indicates that Jewesses tended to leave the labor market at an earlier age. This inference is borne out by the ratio of Jewish women workers 45 and over (10 percent) as compared with the higher ratios (19.4 percent), as estimated by the national sample study of 1937 and as recorded by the 1930 census for Pittsburgh (17.2 percent).

Employment Status by Age-group

As would be anticipated, the ratio of self-employed, both men and women, among the gainful workers was greatest in the oldest age-group, in which 55.1 percent of the men and 42.6 percent of the women are so classified (Table XXII).

The ratio decreases in each successive younger age-group. The unemployed in this group comprised 8.4 percent of the men and 11.5 percent of the women. The highest ratio of those unemployed and seeking work is found among the group 16-19 years of age, of which about one-third were looking for employment.

TABLE XXII
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFUL WORKERS IN SAMPLE JEWISH POPULATION, MALE AND FEMALE, PITTSBURGH, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND AGE-GROUP

Age-group and sex	Percent of total gainful workers					
	All classes	Self-employed	Employed by another		Unemployed and seeking work	WPA
			Full time	Part time		
Total	100.0	29.8	49.4	9.1	10.3	1.4
Male	100.0	37.3	45.6	7.1	8.8	1.2
Female	100.0	7.8	60.5	15.0	14.5	2.2
16 to 19	100.0	4.8	39.5	20.0	34.5	1.2
Male	100.0	4.8	45.2	11.9	35.7	2.4
Female	100.0	5.1	33.4	28.2	33.4	..
20 to 29	100.0	9.3	63.0	12.8	13.6	1.3
Male	100.0	15.1	61.2	10.2	12.8	0.7
Female	100.0	1.0	65.7	16.4	14.8	2.1
30 to 44	100.0	36.4	52.5	5.0	5.0	1.1
Male	100.0	41.2	50.3	3.6	4.1	0.8
Female	100.0	12.8	63.2	12.0	9.6	2.4
45 and over	100.0	54.0	27.9	7.3	8.6	2.2
Male	100.0	55.1	27.5	7.1	8.4	1.9
Female	100.0	42.6	31.2	9.8	11.5	4.9

Size of Family Related to Employment Status

According to Table XXIII, among the 1,725 family units there was only 1 person working in each of 1,018 families, or about six-tenths of the total. In the largest group, families of three persons, about seven-tenths had one member employed and in only 1.1 percent were all three persons working. Among the persons living alone, 45.3 percent reported no gainful employment.

Occupational Distribution

Data regarding the occupational distribution were recorded for 2,506 gainful workers. Table XXIV, following the categories devised by the United States Employment Service, indicates that the largest occupational category consisted

of the salespersons (29.9 percent), followed by proprietors and managers (22.3 percent). Professional persons comprised 10.8 percent of the total. Less than 6 percent of the total were employed as service, semiskilled or unskilled workers.

TABLE XXIII
FAMILIES IN SAMPLE JEWISH POPULATION, PITTSBURGH, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY
NUMBER OF PERSONS AND NUMBER OF GAINFUL WORKERS

Number of gainful workers per family	Families of specified size										
	Total	1 person	2 persons	3 persons	4 persons	5 persons	6 persons	7 persons	8 persons	9 persons	10 persons
Total..	1,725	190	328	436	411	228	83	36	9	2	2
None.....	214	86	62	32	22	7	3	2	..	..	..
1.....	1,018	103	211	307	251	104	32	9	1	..	..
2.....	322	..	53	92	83	62	21	7	3	1	..
3.....	113	..	..	5	51	32	12	11	2	..	..
4.....	40	..	..	..	2	22	11	4	1	..	..
5.....	9	..	..	..	..	..	3	3	2	..	1
6.....	3	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	1
Unknown..	6	1	2	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..

As would be anticipated, proprietors comprised 62.8 percent of all self-employed, as compared with the professional group with 15.3 percent. Most striking are the ratios of salespersons who were employed part-time or unemployed (almost 60 percent) and of skilled workers employed part-time and unemployed (26.2 percent). The situation found among salespersons is to be attributed in part to the employment policy of the department stores, which employed 19 percent of all Jews occupied in trade.

Industrial Classification

Table XXV distributes the workers by industry rather than by occupation, showing that the largest proportion (41 percent) were in retail trade and the smallest in building and construction, which employed only 1.3 percent of all gainful workers. The category "commerce and finance" (which does not include trade) accounted for less than 4 percent (3.9) of the total; "Finance" (chiefly insurance) comprised about three-fifths of this category and about one-fifth were in real estate.

Wholesale trade occupied 221 persons, or 8.8 percent of the total. The three main types of wholesale business were food (36 percent), apparel (20 percent) and furniture (6 percent). As in the case of wholesale trade, the largest number in retail trade (31.1 percent) were in the food branch, followed by apparel (21.5 percent) and the general merchandise group, including department stores (21 percent). In domestic and personal service, tailoring, laundry-dry cleaning

TABLE XXIV
GAINFUL WORKERS IN SAMPLE JEWISH POPULATION, PITTSBURGH, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATIONAL
CATEGORY AND BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Occupational category	Gainful workers of specified employment status									
	Total		Self-employed		Employed by another				Unemployed and WPA	
					Full time		Part time			
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	2,506	100.0	748	100.0	1,237	100.0	227	100.0	294	100.0
Proprietors and managers	559	22.3	469	62.8	89	7.2	1	0.4	..	..
Professional persons	271	10.8	114	15.3	132	10.6	20	8.8	5	1.7
Salespersons	749	29.9	163	8.4	545	44.1	109	48.1	32	10.9
Clerical workers	320	12.8	1	0.1	276	22.3	25	11.0	18	6.1
Service workers	48	1.9	2	0.5	33	2.6	8	3.5	3	1.0
Skilled workers	249	9.9	95	12.7	90	7.3	44	19.4	20	6.8
Semiskilled workers . .	35	1.4	1	0.1	22	1.8	6	2.6	6	2.0
Unskilled workers . . .	58	2.3	1	0.1	43	3.5	9	4.0	5	1.7
None or unknown	217	8.7	..	..	7	0.6	5	2.2	205	69.8

¹ Includes 29 wives and children assisting the head of the household.

² Includes 2 wives and children assisting the head of the household.

and shoe repairing accounted for the majority (54.8 percent) of persons in this category. The hotel and restaurant business comprised 24.3 percent and theaters and other amusement places accounted for 18.5 percent.

TABLE XXV
GAINFUL WORKERS IN SAMPLE JEWISH POPULATION, PITTSBURGH,
1938, CLASSIFIED BY INDUSTRY

Industry	Number	Percent
Total	2,506	99.9
Building and construction	32	1.3
Manufacturing and mechanical	277	11.1
Commerce and finance	98	3.9
Wholesale trade	221	8.8
Retail trade	1,028	41.0
Domestic and personal service	206	8.2
Government service	148	5.9
Professions	184	7.3
Miscellaneous	36	1.4
None or unknown	276	11.0

Professions

The largest professional group were the teachers, who formed about 14 percent. About 70 percent of the Jewish teachers were employed in the public school system and another 15 percent in private schools and colleges. The law ranked second, with 13 percent of the professional group; only one out of the 36 lawyers was a full-time employe of a private corporation. Physicians comprised 13.2 percent, but only 1 among the 33 was a full-time hospital employe. Social workers, who comprised about 11 percent, were probably over-represented in the sample; about 70 percent of the social workers were employed by government agencies and the remainder by private organizations. Pharmacists formed 8.5 percent of all professional workers and about 70 percent of this group were employes, while the other 30 percent owned their own establishments.

The number of dentists, engineers and accountants was much smaller. The dentists were all self-employed and the engineers all employes, while less than one-third of the accountants were in business for themselves.

Trade

In trade which employed more Jewish workers than any other occupation, namely, about 30 percent of all gainful workers, 19 percent were employed in department stores and 43 percent in other retail establishments. Including family workers, self-employed merchants constituted 8.4 percent of the total.

Skilled Workers

About 10 percent of the gainful workers were skilled. In spite of the fact that Pittsburgh is not a garment manufacturing center, the largest class (one-sixth) was formed by tailors and other needle workers. Classified by industry, about one-third (35.3 percent) were employed in the manufacturing and mechanical industry, while 27 percent were in retail establishments and 18.5 percent were found in the service field.

Occupational Distribution

Comparison with the occupational structure of the total Pittsburgh population in 1930 is possible for a limited number of vocations. Among the Jewish workers, members of the professions were about 50 percent more numerous in relative terms than in the total population (Table XXVI). The ratio of Jews

TABLE XXVI
PERSONS IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS PER 1,000 GAINFUL WORKERS,
IN SAMPLE JEWISH POPULATION, PITTSBURGH, 1938, AND
IN TOTAL POPULATION, PITTSBURGH, 1930

Occupation	Rate per 1,000 gainful workers	
	Sample Jewish population (1938)	Total population (1930) ¹
All professions.....	108.1	77.3
Lawyers.....	14.4	3.5
Physicians and surgeons.....	13.2	4.0
Dentists.....	8.0	2.1
Teachers.....	15.6	16.1
Engineers.....	4.8	7.2
Accountants.....	4.4	4.0
Domestic and personal service....	19.2	136.2
Tailors and seamstresses.....	16.4	7.1
Salespersons.....	298.9	76.8
Skilled, semiskilled and unskilled workers.....	² 149.4	452.3
Stenographers.....	41.5	31.3

¹ From *Fifteenth Census of the U. S., Population*; vol. iv, p. 1,416.

² Based on 2,289 with known occupations.

was particularly high in the legal, medical and dental professions. Jewish lawyers and dentists were each four times and Jewish physicians three times as numerous in relative terms as the total population. On the other hand, the ratio of teachers in the Jewish group (15.6 per 1,000 workers) was slightly lower than among the population as a whole (16.1), while that of engineers was considerably lower among the Jews (4.8 in contrast to 7.2 per 1,000 workers).

In domestic and personal service there were less than 20 per 1,000 Jewish workers, whereas among the total population of Pittsburgh the ratio was almost sevenfold (136.2 per 1,000). Striking contrasts were observed in the needle trades, where Jewish tailors and seamstresses comprised 16.4 per 1,000 as against 7.1 per 1,000 in the total population, and among salespersons, about 300 in every 1,000 Jewish workers or almost four times the ratio (76.8) in Pittsburgh. Stenographers were proportionately one-third more numerous among the Jewish than the total population. Skilled, semiskilled and unskilled workers together totaled 150 per 1,000 in the sample Jewish population, compared with a ratio three times as great (452.3) in the total population of Pittsburgh.

Comparison by Industrial Categories

A comparison with the total population is presented in Table XXVII on an industrial rather than an occupational basis. The figures regarding the Jews exclude the 276 persons who either had no industrial affiliation or whose affiliation

TABLE XXVII
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY INDUSTRY OF GAINFUL WORKERS IN
SAMPLE JEWISH POPULATION, PITTSBURGH, 1938, IN TOTAL
POPULATION, PITTSBURGH, 1930, AND IN THE POPULATION
OF THE U. S., 1930

Industry	Percentage distribution of gainful workers		
	Pittsburgh Jewish (1938) ¹	Pittsburgh total (1930) ²	U. S. (1930) ³
Manufacturing and mechanical . . .	} 12.4	} 34.4	{ 29.4
Independent hand trades			
Construction	1.4		8.2
Transportation and communication	1.4	10.1	12.3
Trade	60.4	16.9	20.4
Public service	45.4	2.9	2.8
Professions	59.5	7.7	9.2
Domestic and personal service	9.2	13.6	13.0
Miscellaneous	0.2	..	3.6

¹ Excluding 276 with no recorded industrial affiliation.

² From *Fifteenth Census of the United States, Population*, vol. iv, p. 1,382.

³ Woytinsky, W. S., *Labor in the United States* (Washington 1938), p. 18.

⁴ Excluding teachers to conform to Woytinsky's classification.

⁵ Including teachers to conform to Woytinsky's classification.

was not known. To conform to Woytinsky's rearrangement of 1930 census data of occupations, those employed in education have been transferred from the "public service" category to the professional group.

The ratio of Jewish workers in Pittsburgh engaged in the manufacturing,

mechanical and building trades in 1938 was about one-third that in the total population of the city in 1930. In the building and construction industry alone the ratio among Jews was 1.4 percent, undoubtedly far below that for Pittsburgh in 1930. Another sharp contrast was found in transportation and communication: over 10 percent of all workers in the city in 1930, as compared with 1.4 percent among the Jewish group in 1938. On the other hand, more than three times as many Jews in relative terms were in trade than was true of the total population (60 percent as against about 17 percent for Pittsburgh as a whole).

In the category "professions" which omits the professional workers attached to industries, but includes school teachers, the Jewish proportion was but slightly higher than that in the total population. Jews in domestic and personal service comprised about 9 percent of all Jewish workers as compared with at least 13 percent in the total population of Pittsburgh. Thus, only in trade was there a preponderance of Jewish personnel. In every other field, except the professions and public service, the ratio among the Jews was much less than that in the total population.

Summary

1. On the basis of a sample study of 1,497 households (5,847 individuals), the Jewish population of Pittsburgh in December, 1938, is estimated as 54,000, or 8 percent of the city's 1940 population. About 41 percent of the Jews lived in Wards 14 and 15.

2. About 80 percent of the 1,725 families studied lived as primary units, without either relatives, boarders or lodgers.

3. The average age of the sample Jewish population, 31.3 years, was higher than the average age of the total white population of the city and the ratio of Jewish children under 15 lower. The fact that 70 percent of the families in the Jewish population had only one child under 10 in 1938, in contrast to about 48 percent of the city's total population in 1930, means that Pittsburgh Jewry's rate of increase was probably not keeping pace even with the low rate of the total population.

4. The ratio of native persons among the Jews (61.8 percent) was considerably lower than that reported for all Pittsburgh (83.6 percent) in 1930. About 7 in 10 of the Jewish family-heads were foreign born. A somewhat larger ratio of the foreign-born Jews than of the total white foreign-born population was formed by naturalized citizens (78 as compared with 69.5 percent).

5. Close to one-quarter of the sample Jewish population were attending some type of educational institution. Among those over 30 years of age who were not attending school, some 80 percent were high school graduates. Almost half of the children of school age (6-16) were not receiving any form of Jewish education.

6. Half of the sample population 16 years of age and over were in the category of gainful workers. The ratios of the sexes and of the various age-groups in this

category for Jews and for the total population differed widely; Jewesses tended to leave the labor market at an earlier age than non-Jewish women. The ratio of self-employed persons was relatively higher among the Jews than among the total population.

7. Classified by occupation, about 30 percent of all Jewish gainful workers were in trade, 13 percent were clerical employes, 10 percent were skilled workers and members of the professions comprised 10.8 percent. The greatest incidence of partial and total employment was found among the salespersons and skilled workers.

8. Classified by industry, half of the gainful workers were in wholesale and retail trade combined, 1 in 10 practiced a profession and 8 percent followed one of the "service" occupations.

9. A limited comparison with the occupational structure of the total Pittsburgh population in 1930 indicated that in 1938 members of the professions were 50 percent more numerous, in relative terms, among the Jews, and that in all other occupations, with the exception of trade, the ratio among Jews was only a fraction of that in the total population. Comparison with the industrial distribution shows a marked under-representation in manufacturing and mechanical, independent hand trades and construction (13.8 percent among Jews as compared with 34.4 for the total population in 1930). A similar under-representation appeared in transportation and communication and in domestic and personal service.

CHAPTER VII

A STUDY OF DETROIT JEWRY, 1935

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THE Jewish population of Detroit was studied in order to throw light on the structure of that community and the relationships between its members and the rest of the city.¹ The theoretical focus of the study was the problem of a folk population in an urban environment.

The Jewish population of Detroit is obviously not an isolated aggregation of individuals. Jewish men and women participate in the larger urban complex of Detroit. The Jewish community takes form from the interacting forces of its own historical continuity and the pressures of the larger community in which it is embedded. This is the frame of reference within which the characteristics of the Jewish community should be examined. The nature of the Jewish community affects its articulation with Detroit, just as the participation of Jews in the life of Detroit affects the structure of the Jewish community.

Source of Data

The characteristics of the Jewish population were determined from the schedules of families identified as Jewish drawn from the records of the sample Michigan Census of Population and Unemployment of 1935.² Since Jews were not identified by the census, it was necessary to discover them indirectly from information given on the face of the schedule. As an experiment, a file of 500 names of individuals obtained from a Detroit social agency was divided by the "name method" into Jewish and non-Jewish persons. A check of the results showed that the selection of Jewish names was 90 percent accurate. Inasmuch as the census schedules listed all members of the same family by given name together, an even higher percentage of accuracy might be expected in the selection from the census than from the experimental file. Jewish persons identified by the "name method" were assumed to have social characteristics (such as age,

¹ This study was carried on under the Edward B. Lasker Fellowship in the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, University of Michigan. Additional funds were appropriated by the Jewish Welfare Federation of Detroit. The complete study is available as an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, *The Structure of the Jewish Community in the City of Detroit* (University of Michigan, 1939). The study was undertaken at the suggestion of the late Professor R. D. McKenzie, University of Michigan, and the writer owes much to his stimulation. Grateful appreciation is expressed also to the supporting agencies and to Mr. Clark Tibbitts, Professor Robert C. Angell and Professor I. L. Sharfman, University of Michigan, for aid and suggestions in analyzing the materials.

² This census was conducted by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the Michigan State Emergency Relief Administration. Each of the ten *Bulletins* issued (1936-1937) contains a summarized account of the sampling procedure used in the enumeration and the method of estimating the total numbers from the sample (a 20 percent canvass of the entire state, enumerating every fifth residence).

of membership lists of various types of Jewish organizations indicated equal proportions of recognizably Jewish names.

Every census schedule was examined in the areas indicated by solid lines in Figure 1. The major Jewish residential areas were established after consultation with persons who through residence and work were well acquainted with the community. In the other areas inquiries were made of both Jewish and non-Jewish residents to ascertain whether there were Jews living in the neighborhood, and as a random sample every tenth enumeration district³ in this group of minor areas, indicated by dotted lines in Figure 1, was included in the study. In this manner 314 enumeration districts out of approximately 980 used by the Michigan census were examined. The fact that in a great number of these districts not one Jewish family was to be found among the census schedules supports the validity of the selection of the major areas.

A sample of 3,016 Jewish schedules, comprising 8,998 persons 15 years of age and over, was selected by this method. The schedules were coded, transcribed and punched on Hollerith cards for tabulation. An estimate of the total number of Jews in Detroit on the census date, namely, 82,000, was obtained by applying ratios within the sample to a known number of Jewish families on the rolls of the Detroit Public Welfare. Estimated numbers of Jews in the different categories of the sample could then be calculated by applying sample ratios to the estimated total Jewish population. This technique assumes that the sample is a representative one and that the correct number of Jewish cases on the Welfare rolls is known. The records of the Detroit Public Welfare specify the religion of the welfare family and those recorded as Jewish have been counted at least once a year since 1933. The fact that both the case worker and the client participate in filling out the sheet from which the statistical item is obtained assures almost complete coverage.⁴

Using the formula below,

$$\frac{\text{Relief families in Jewish sample (561)}}{\text{Remaining families in Jewish sample (10,835)}^5} = \frac{\text{Jewish families on relief}^6 (1,135)}{\text{Remaining Jewish families (x)}}$$

³ These enumeration districts were those used by the 1930 United States Census, adapted in 1935 for the Michigan Census of Population and Unemployment.

⁴ Comparability of the definitions of "cases on the Detroit Public Welfare rolls" and those designated "on relief" by the Michigan census is discussed in Meyer, *The Structure of the Jewish Community in the City of Detroit*, p. 47-48.

⁵ In the census canvass of Detroit, 5.25 "multiple dwellings" (containing 20 or more families) were enumerated for every "non-multiple dwelling." The Jewish sample was adjusted for this over-enumeration by multiplying the numbers in "non-multiple dwellings" by 5.25 ($1,856 \times 5.25 = 9,744$) and adding the numbers in "multiple dwellings" ($9,744 + 1,652 = 11,396$), following the procedure of the Michigan Census of Population and Unemployment. Percentages in all the tables which follow are calculated from corrected sample totals, not from the actual numbers of the Jewish sample.

⁶ The counts of Jewish cases on the Welfare rolls nearest in time to the census date, January 14, 1935, were for November, 1934, and March, 1935. The number of Jewish cases was taken as the average for these two dates. The unpublished counts of Jewish families on the Detroit Public Welfare rolls were made available by Mr. Harold Silver, Director, Jewish Social Service Bureau, Detroit.

the estimated number of Jewish families not on relief (*x*) was found to be 21,921. When the number of families on the Welfare rolls (1,135) was added, the total number of Jewish families in Detroit rose to 23,056. This figure, multiplied by the average size of the Jewish family (obtained from the sample), 3.56 persons, yielded the estimated total number of Jewish persons in Detroit as 82,080 in January, 1935.

The method of estimating the Jewish population described above is subject to several limitations, namely:

1. The sample may be distorted by the use of the "name method," if persons bearing Jewish-sounding names differ from other Jews whose names are less readily recognized as Jewish.

2. This sample, covering only 11 percent of the estimated 82,000 Jews, may differ in some unknown respects from the entire Jewish population. It is probably more representative of the major characteristics (such as age, sex, occupational structure, etc.) than of the more detailed features such as specific occupations, incomes in the several occupational categories, etc.

3. This estimate of the total Jewish population, based on a figure which probably understates the number of Jewish cases on the Detroit Public Welfare rolls, is probably too low. The other estimates, based on the estimate of total number of Jewish persons in Detroit in 1935, will also be low.

Growth of the Jewish Population

Between 1900 and 1930 rapid industrialization increased the general population of Detroit from a quarter of a million to more than a million and a half while the Jewish population grew at a correspondingly rapid rate. The Detroit Jewish population for 1900 has been estimated as 5,000 persons⁷ and for 1927 as 75,000.⁸ The rate of increase of the Jewish population was estimated by counting the number of persons bearing certain specified Jewish names⁹ who were listed in the Detroit city directories for each decade, 1900-1939. (See Figure 2.) It is assumed that the ratio of these names to the total number of Jews throughout the entire period studied was constant. An examination of the percentage that each group of surnames was to all the names over an 88-year period (1850-1938) gave no indication that the proportions possessing these distinctively Jewish names altered over the period studied. The validity of this technique may be affected by the more frequent changes of name assumed to have occurred since 1933.

A cursory examination of the rapid increase between 1890 and 1930 leaves

⁷ Lurie, H. L., *Survey of the Jewish Community of Detroit* (1923), p. 9.

⁸ See Linfield, H. S., *The Jews in the United States, 1927* (New York 1929), p. 28. Linfield's estimate for 1937 is 90,000; see *American Jewish Year Book*, vol. xlii, p. 232.

⁹ The names are: Cohan, Cohane, Cohen, Cohn; Freidman, Friedman; Gold, Goldberg, Goldenberg, Goldman, Goldstein; Levene, Levenson, Levey, Levi, Levin, Levine, Levinson, Levy; Rosen, Rosenberg, Rosenbaum, Rosenblatt, Rosenfield, Rosenthal, Rosenzweig.

little doubt that the growth of the Jewish population closely parallels that of the city's total population, although the estimated rate of increase for the Jewish population is slightly more rapid. The decline in the population of the city presumed to have occurred between 1930 and 1935 is reflected in the estimated

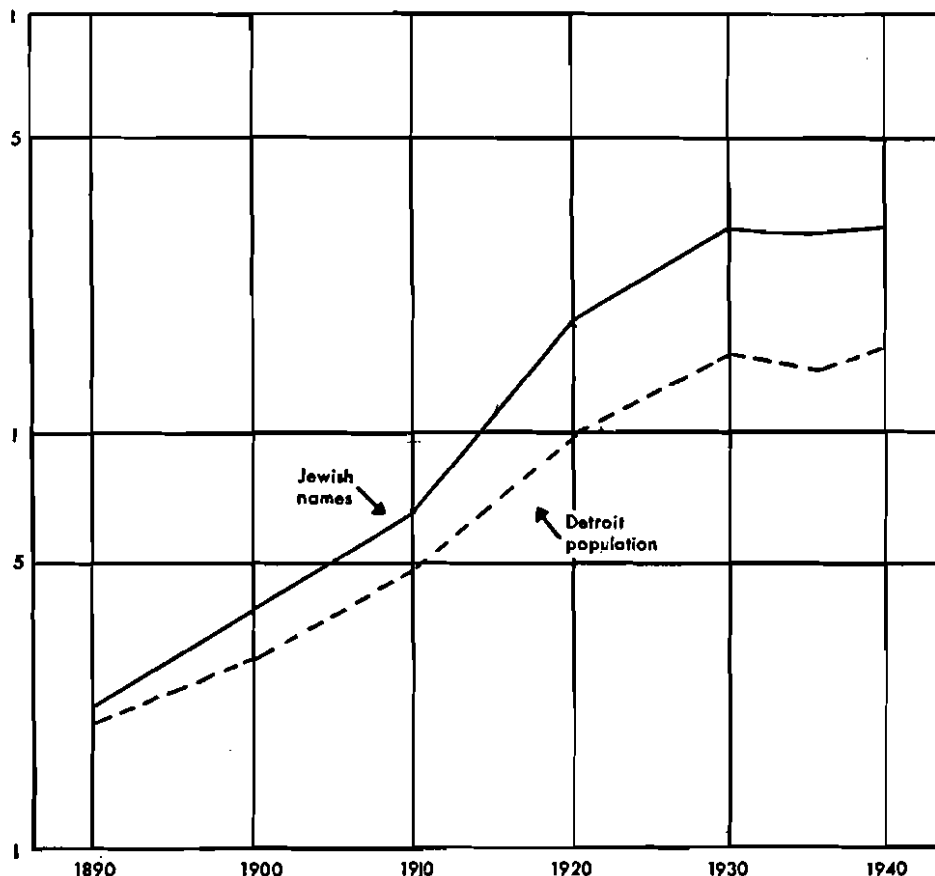


FIGURE 2.—SELECTED JEWISH NAMES IN DETROIT CITY DIRECTORIES AND TOTAL DETROIT POPULATION, 1890-1940

Semi-logarithmic scale:

1: 100,000 for Detroit population

1: 100 for Jewish names

decline of the Jewish population. On the basis of the estimated total Jewish population in 1935 and the increase of Jewish names in the city directories, the estimated Jewish population of Detroit is shown in Table I for each census year, 1890-1940, as well as for 1935.

JEWISH POPULATION STUDIES

TABLE I
TOTAL POPULATION, ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION AND RATIO OF
JEWISH POPULATION, DETROIT, 1890-1940

Year	Total population	Estimated Jewish population ¹	Percent Jewish population
1890.....	205,876	6,400	3.1
1900.....	285,704	10,300	3.6
1910.....	465,766	18,600	4.0
1920.....	993,683	51,400	5.2
1930.....	1,568,662	84,800	5.4
1935.....	² 1,469,066	82,000	5.6
1940.....	1,623,452	³ 81,400	5.0

¹ Estimated by applying the rate of increase of selected Jewish names (see note 9, above) in Detroit city directories to the estimated 1935 Jewish population of Detroit (see p. 112, above).

² U. S. Census Bureau estimate based on Michigan Census of Population and Unemployment, 1935.

³ Estimate for 1939.

Migration, rather than natural increase, was the major factor accounting for the growth of Detroit. The Jews who settled in the city engaged in trade and other pursuits which complemented the industrial activities of the city. As Table II shows, manufacturing has been the chief activity of Detroit since 1890

TABLE II
RATIOS OF ALL GAINFULLY OCCUPIED MALES AND OF SELECTED
JEWISH NAMES IN CITY DIRECTORIES, DETROIT, 1890-1935,
BY INDUSTRY, IN PERCENTAGE

Industry	1890	1910	1920	1935
All industries				
All male workers.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	⁴ 100.0
Jewish names.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	² 100.0
Manufacturing and mechanical				
All male workers.....	40.2	58.5	63.7	60.0
Jewish names.....	19.1	23.1	30.6	27.0
Trade				
All male workers.....	³ 29.9	⁴ 21.0	⁴ 19.7	18.6
Jewish names.....	73.3	65.1	61.2	54.3
Professions				
All male workers.....	4.7	3.7	3.6	4.7
Jewish names.....	2.3	4.5	5.7	7.4
Others				
All male workers.....	25.2	16.8	13.0	16.7
Jewish names.....	5.3	7.3	2.5	11.3

¹ Michigan Census of Population and Unemployment, unpublished tables.

² Persons identified as Jews in 'sample Michigan Census of Population and Unemployment, comprising 3,016 workers.

³ Trade and transportation combined.

⁴ Including clerical occupations.

whereas Jewish workers have been chiefly engaged in trade.¹⁰ Jewish as well as other immigrants from Russia, Poland, Rumania and Hungary flocked to Detroit. While most of the immigrants were absorbed in automobile manufacturing, the Jewish immigrants established themselves as merchants.

Neighborhood Distribution

Since their earliest settlement in Detroit the Jewish population has been concentrated in certain sections of the city. Notwithstanding the fact that Jewish families have moved about during the ninety-year history of the community and that there has been an influx of families from elsewhere who have settled in the newer sections, there have always been one or two main Jewish residential areas and several secondary neighborhoods. In 1935, 90 percent of the Jewish population lived in the Oakland District and the Dexter-Twelfth Street District (Districts I and II in Figure 1).

Representing by means of an index number the ratio of the population of each census tract which was Jewish,¹¹ Figure 3 emphasizes the extreme concentration of the Jewish population. If the characteristics of the Jewish population residing in each of the two major areas of Jewish settlement and outside these areas are compared, differences become apparent. The Oakland District is an area of first settlement, with a greater preponderance of Eastern European immigrants than any other Jewish area. The Dexter-Twelfth Street area, on the other hand, represents for many Jews in Detroit a second or even third place of settlement within the city. With the exception of small groups of Hungarian and Polish immigrants, Jews living outside these two districts have moved to their present residences from other areas in the city and are themselves not immigrants but native Americans.¹²

Income, rent, number of gainful workers per family, percentage of wives working and percentage of unemployed heads of families who were employable are presented in Table III as indices of economic status in the several districts. These indices suggest variations in the social and family life of Jews in different parts of the city and reflect differences in immigrant background and length of residence in Detroit. They bear out the impression that the Jewish population is not homogeneous, but diversified in respect to economic and social characteristics.

¹⁰ This table was compiled from Detroit city directories. Some of the names identified as Jewish could not be used because of the absence of the designation of industry in the directory. Of the 212 selected from the 1890 directory, 173 were used in preparing Table II; of the 546 from the 1910 edition, 424 were used; of the 1,776 from the 1922-23 edition, 1,570 were used. For the year 1922-23 the tabulation by Lurie, *op. cit.*, p. 56-64, has been used.

¹¹ It was possible to group enumeration districts and census tracts by means of census records in the possession of the Detroit Bureau of Government Research, Inc. The index of concentration relates the 1935 Jewish population to the 1930 Detroit population. The percentage of the Detroit population in each of the census tracts was divided into the percentage of the Jewish sample in each tract to determine the index of concentration of the Jewish population for the tract.

¹² Nativity characteristics can be judged to some extent by superimposing a map of the foreign born in Detroit (see Hecock, D. S., and Trevelyan, H. A., *Detroit Voters and Recent Elections*, Detroit Bureau of Government Research, Inc. 1938), on a map of the Jewish population.

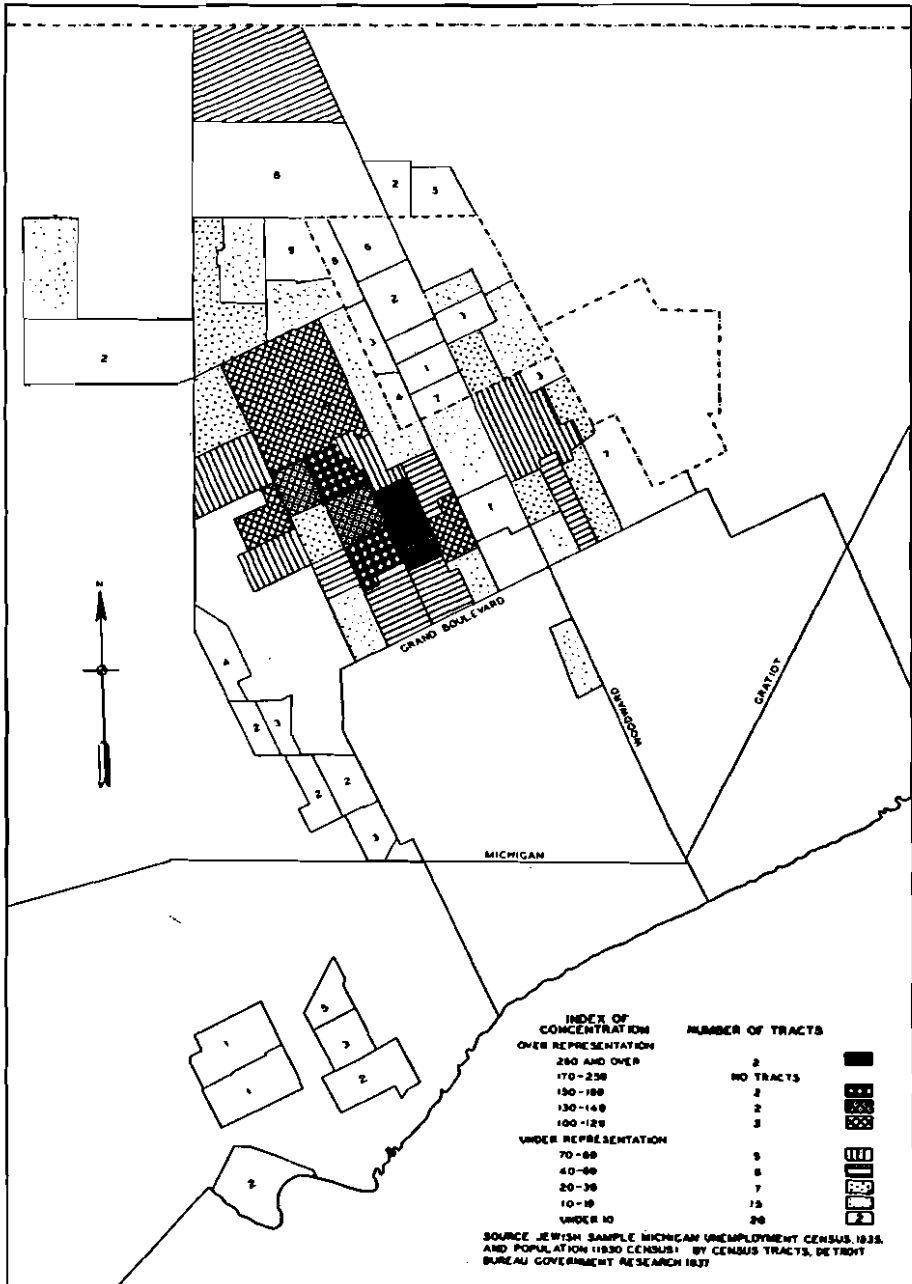


FIGURE 3.—CONCENTRATION OF JEWISH POPULATION OF DETROIT, BY CENSUS TRACTS

TABLE III
SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE JEWISH POPULATION,
DETROIT, 1935, BY DISTRICT

Selected characteristics	Oakland District	Dexter-Twelfth Street District	All other sampled areas
Median 1934 income of gainful workers	\$934	\$1,196	\$1,347
Median monthly rental	\$20	\$30	\$32
Mean number of gainful workers per family	1.7	1.5	1.1
Percent of all wives working or seeking work	8.9	8.8	7.1
Percent of unemployed heads of families	19.1	8.0	3.5

TABLE IV
TOTAL POPULATION AND SAMPLE JEWISH POPULATION, MALE AND FEMALE, DETROIT,
1935, CLASSIFIED BY AGE-GROUP, IN PERCENTAGE

Age-group	Total population		Jewish population	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
All ages	50.7	49.3	49.6	50.4
Under 5	*	*	50.9	49.1
5-9	*	*	54.5	45.5
10-14	*	*	51.2	48.8
15-19	49.3	50.7	46.0	54.0
20-24	46.4	53.6	46.1	53.9
25-29	47.6	52.4	46.3	53.7
30-34	50.5	49.5	47.3	52.7
35-39	52.0	48.0	48.5	51.5
40-44	54.9	45.1	48.9	51.1
45-49	55.6	44.4	52.3	47.7
50-54	54.0	46.0	57.1	42.9
55-59	51.7	48.3	58.9	41.1
60-64	49.0	51.0	48.3	51.7
65 and over	45.2	54.8	49.4	50.6

* No data given in tabulations of Michigan Census of Population and Unemployment.

Sex Ratio

The estimated total Detroit population in 1935 had an excess of males over females (102.8 to 100). The estimated number of Jewish males, on the other hand, was less than that of Jewish females (98.5 to 100). This difference may

reflect the family character of Jewish immigration¹³ as well as the possibility of the migration of Jewish men from the city during the depression years. Striking differences between the sex ratios of the Jewish and total population within the age-span 30 to 44 are revealed by Table IV. Between these ages there were more Jewish females than males, whereas the reverse was true for the total Detroit population.

Age Distribution

Considerable similarity in the age distribution of the Jewish sample and the total population was found. In each a little more than half of the population was between 20 and 50 years of age and almost 13 percent was 50 years of age and over (Table V).

TABLE V
TOTAL POPULATION AND SAMPLE JEWISH POPULATION, DETROIT, 1935, CLASSIFIED
BY AGE-GROUP WITHIN EACH SEX, IN PERCENTAGE

Age-group	Total population ¹			Jewish population		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
All ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 5	*	*	*	6.2	6.4	6.1
5-9	*	*	*	7.9	8.6	7.1
10-14	*	*	*	9.7	10.0	9.4
Under 15	26.9	26.9	26.8	23.8	25.0	22.6
15-19	8.5	8.3	8.8	11.1	10.2	11.9
20-24	8.3	7.6	9.0	11.8	11.0	12.5
25-29	9.1	8.5	9.7	9.3	8.6	9.9
30-34	9.4	9.3	9.4	7.4	7.1	7.8
35-39	9.7	9.9	9.4	8.1	8.0	8.3
40-44	8.6	9.4	7.9	8.1	8.0	8.2
45-49	6.6	7.3	6.0	7.6	8.0	7.2
50-54	4.6	4.9	4.3	5.3	6.1	4.6
55-59	2.9	2.9	2.8	2.9	3.5	2.4
60-64	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.2
65 and over	3.3	2.9	3.7	2.4	2.4	2.4

¹ Based on Michigan Census of Population and Employment (1935), *Bulletin* No. 2, Table 8.

* No data given in tabulations of Michigan Census of Population and Unemployment.

However, a more detailed comparison of age distributions reveals important differences. In the Jewish population 24 percent was under 15 years of age as compared with 27 percent of the total population. Insofar as age distribution indicates future natural increase, the Jewish population should grow more slowly

¹³ The family character of Jewish immigration to the United States has been well demonstrated in Joseph, S., *Jewish Immigration to the United States* (New York 1914).

than the population of Detroit as a whole. Almost equal proportions of females in both groups were within the child-bearing age (15-45), but a smaller proportion of Jewesses than of all Detroit women were under 15 years of age, representing the potential mothers. In the sample Jewish population 18.8 percent of the women had passed the child-bearing period (*i. e.*, age 45) as compared with 16.4 percent of all women in 1930.

Size of Family

There were an estimated 23,000 Jewish families in Detroit in 1935. The mean number of persons per Jewish family (3.6) was lower than the mean number for all Detroit families in 1930 (4.2).¹⁴ The median size of the Jewish family in 1935 was 3.0 compared with 3.4¹⁵ for all Detroit families in 1930. This difference in size of family is another indication that the Jewish population is increasing more slowly than the rest of the population.

Occupational Structure

The comparison of Jewish workers with all Detroit workers by employment status (Table VI) shows that a slightly higher proportion of Jewish workers were employed and a slightly smaller proportion unemployed. This difference held for male but not for female workers. A worker is defined as a person 15 years of age or over who is either gainfully employed or seeking work or working in the family business without pay. Almost 19 percent of the Jewish female workers were unemployed compared with 14 percent of the Detroit female workers. The fact that a greater proportion of Jewish women with no previous employment were unemployed suggests that they entered into the labor market more recently than Detroit women in general and that they found it more difficult to obtain employment.

There were 3 workers in the sample Jewish population for every 2 Jewish families in 1935. The fact that families with 3 or more workers constituted 13 percent of the Jewish families in the sample but only 10 percent of all Detroit families in 1930 is probably to be traced to the larger ratio of the Jewish population in retail trade. This is borne out by an examination of the employment status of married Jewish women, more than half (54.4 percent) of whom were workers who were engaged in business with their husbands or other members of the family. On the basis of calculations from sample percentages, the Jewish working population of Detroit in 1935 is estimated as comprising about 35,000 persons¹⁶ or more than half of all Jews 15 years of age and over (62,500).

¹⁴ The mean size of the Detroit family in 1930 is calculated from *Population (1930 Census) and Other Social Data for Detroit by Census Tracts*, by dividing the given number of families into the given total population.

¹⁵ *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population*, vol. v, p. 645.

¹⁶ See Meyer, Henry J., "The Economic Structure of the Jewish Community in Detroit," in *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. ii (1940), 127-48; and "The Position of the Jewish Community in the Economy of Detroit," in *Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society* [Research Studies of the State College of Washington] vol. viii (1940) 19-25.

TABLE VI
ESTIMATED NUMBER OF JEWISH WORKERS AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF
JEWISH AND OF ALL WORKERS, MALE AND FEMALE, DETROIT, 1935,
CLASSIFIED BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Employment status ¹	Jewish workers						All workers ¹		
	Estimated number			Percentage			Percentage		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
Total number of workers	34,300	24,900	9,400	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employed	29,300	21,700	7,600	85.3	86.9	81.1	83.5	82.9	85.7
Gainfully employed ²	28,200	21,500	6,700	81.9	85.9	71.3	80.9	82.6	75.4
Unpaid family workers ³	1,100	200	900	3.3	.9	9.7	2.5	.2	10.2
Not working ⁴	*	*	*	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1
Unemployed	5,000	3,200	1,800	14.7	13.1	18.9	16.5	17.1	14.3
With previous work	4,000	2,800	1,200	11.9	11.6	12.6	14.6	15.7	10.6
Without previous work	1,000	400	600	2.8	1.5	6.3	1.9	1.4	3.7

* The estimates were: male 25, female 9.

¹ Calculated from Michigan Census of Population and Unemployment, *Bulletin* No. 2, Table 8.

² Defined in the Instructions to Enumerators as follows (p. 15-16): ". . . A gainful occupation is an occupation by which the person who pursues it earns money or a money equivalent, in which he renders services or assists in the production of marketable goods . . ."

³ "Persons who are members of the family, and who are assisting in some way with the family income but do not receive wages or other income, are to be returned as unpaid family workers since they are supplementing the family income and are doing work which the family would pay someone else to do . . ."

⁴ ". . . Persons on lay-off or industrial dispute for less than and up to one month and also persons unable to work because of illness or injury for a period of less than and up to one month and not receiving salary or wages."

TABLE VII
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ALL FAMILIES, DETROIT, 1930,¹ AND
JEWISH FAMILIES, DETROIT, 1935, CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER
OF GAINFUL WORKERS PER FAMILY

Number of gainful workers per family	All families (1930)	Jewish families (1935)
Total	100.0	100.0
None	3.3	3.7
1	63.8	62.5
2	22.5	20.6
3	7.2	8.1
4 or more	3.2	5.1

¹ Source: *Fifteenth Census of the U. S., Population*, vol. vi, p. 643.

According to the sample, about 30,000 of the 35,000 Jewish workers were gainfully employed in various fields (Table VIII). The greatest number (15,800) were in the category of trade; wholesale and retail trade accounted for more than 14,000 workers. More than one-fourth of the men (5,900) worked in manufacturing and mechanical industries. About one-tenth of the Jewish men and 3.2 percent of the Jewish women worked in automobile factories. Almost one-tenth of the Jewish workers (2,900) were engaged in professional service.

TABLE VIII
ESTIMATED NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED JEWISH WORKERS,
MALE AND FEMALE, DETROIT, 1935, CLASSIFIED BY INDUSTRY

Industry	Estimated number ¹		
	Total	Male	Female
All industries.....	29,300	21,700	7,600
Manufacturing and mechanical.....	6,700	5,900	800
Building.....	900	900	*
Clothing.....	800	700	100
Food and allied.....	600	500	100
Automobile factories.....	2,400	2,100	300
Other iron and steel.....	500	500	*
Others.....	1,500	1,200	300
Transportation and communi- cation.....	600	500	100
Trade.....	15,800	11,700	4,100
Public service.....	300	200	100
Professional service.....	2,900	1,600	1,300
Domestic and personal service	2,900	1,700	1,200
Agriculture and not specified..	100	100	*

* Estimated number less than 100.

¹ Calculated from sample percentages and estimated total Jewish population.

To compare the industrial distribution of Jewish workers with that of all workers use has been made of an index number to indicate less or more than proportionate representation of Jewish workers (Table IX). Of the 6 major categories, Jews were least represented in manufacturing and mechanical industries (26), followed by public service (30), domestic and personal service (84), transportation and communication (34). The highest index number of Jewish employment was in trade, namely, 280.

Among the subdivisions of the major industrial categories clothing (included in the category of manufacturing and mechanical) had an index number of 467 and building of 141. In all the other subdivisions of the same category the index numbers were below 90. In the category of trade Jews were under-represented in banking and brokerage, with an index number of 75, and considerably over-

represented in wholesale and retail trade (320). In domestic and personal service the index number for Jews was 400 in laundries and cleaning and dyeing establishments while in all other subdivisions the index number was below 100.

TABLE IX
REPRESENTATION OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED JEWISH WORKERS,¹
MALE AND FEMALE, IN THE INDUSTRIES OF DETROIT, 1935,
BY INDEX NUMBER

Industry	Index number		
	Total	Male	Female
Manufacturing and mechanical.....	26	45	45
Building industries.....	141	148	50
Clothing industries.....	467	750	150
Food and allied industries.....	86	92	64
Automobile factories.....	25	25	31
Other iron, steel and machinery.....	38	38	35
Others.....	61	66	47
Transportation and communication....	34	33	37
Trade.....	280	292	242
Banking and brokerage.....	75	72	67
Insurance and real estate.....	164	195	106
Wholesale and retail trade.....	320	329	294
Others.....	100	83	100
Public service.....	30	25	55
Professional service.....	134	157	106
Professional pursuits.....	135	166	104
Others.....	129	133	119
Domestic and personal service.....	84	137	49
Hotels, boarding houses, etc.....	73	59	82
Domestic and personal servants.....	31	73	16
Laundries, cleaning and dyeing establishments.....	400	575	200

¹ Proportionate representation, 100; over-representation more than 100; under-representation less than 100. Data for all workers from unpublished tables of the Michigan Census of Population and Unemployment, 1935.

Trade and commerce in the broader sense may be considered the economic base of the Jewish community in Detroit. That the trade base lends relative stability to the Jewish economy is reflected both in the small percentage of unemployed among Jewish workers (Table VI) and the relatively low job turnover. More than eight-tenths of the Jews in trade had only one job during the years 1930-1934, whereas only one-half of those employed in automobile factories had held the same job during that period and almost one-sixth had held three or

more. In connection with the question of economic stability attention should also be called to the relatively high income of merchants compared with that of other categories of Jewish workers (Table X).

TABLE X
MEDIAN 1934 INCOME OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED MALE JEWISH
WORKERS, DETROIT, 1935, CLASSIFIED BY INDUSTRY¹

Industry	Median	Quartile deviation	Coefficient of variability
All industries	\$1,318	\$523	.397
Manufacturing and mechanical	\$1,200	\$458	.382
Automobile factories	1,086	397	.366
Trade	1,341	527	.393
Wholesale and retail trade	1,304	516	.396
Professional service	1,550	1,054	.680
Domestic and personal service	1,247	374	.300

¹ Includes workers gainfully employed who reported "No income." Excludes those whose income was "unknown."

The trade base is also significant because through it many of the Jewish youth enter economic life. The industrial distribution of young Jewish workers, 15-24 years of age, showed a concentration in trade greater than that of the Jewish working population as a whole. Furthermore, 26 of the 40 persons in the sample who indicated that they were seeking work for the first time and who designated their intended occupations stated that they sought work in trade. Likewise a comparison of the occupations of young Jewish workers and their parents showed a greater concentration of the children in trade, although proportionately more of the younger than the older generation worked in automobile factories.

When the activities of Jewish workers are viewed as a part of the total economic life of Detroit, the concentration of Jews in trade need not necessarily be interpreted as an unbalanced structure. The relationship of the Detroit Jewish workers to the economy of Detroit is similar to that of Detroit workers to the American economy. Each aggregation of workers plays a distinct role in a larger economy—Jewish workers as traders in Detroit and Detroit workers in general as automobile manufacturers for the nation.

Socio-economic Distribution

The occupations of Jewish gainful workers are grouped together in Table XI into socio-economic categories which represent very roughly a hierarchy of manual skills, educational opportunity and social prestige. This table shows the estimated ratio of all Detroit workers which Jewish workers formed. It is evident that Jewish workers had a high representation in the white-collar classes, in which they formed over one-sixth of the proprietors, managers and officials,

one-tenth of the clerks and kindred workers and one-sixteenth of the persons practicing professions. In contrast to these ratios Jews formed less than 3 percent of the skilled workers and foremen and semiskilled workers; the lowest ratio, 1.3 percent, was found among unskilled workers. In terms of the occupational

TABLE XI
ESTIMATED RATIO OF JEWISH GAINFUL WORKERS TO ALL GAINFUL WORKERS,¹ MALE AND FEMALE, DETROIT, 1935, CLASSIFIED BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP, IN PERCENTAGE

Socio-economic group	Total	Male	Female
All groups	5.9	5.6	7.2
Professional	6.7	7.1	6.0
Proprietors, managers, and officials	17.6	17.6	17.6
Clerks and kindred workers	10.5	9.2	12.8
Skilled workers and foremen	2.6	2.7	*
Semiskilled workers	2.9	2.6	4.2
Unskilled workers	1.3	1.6	.9

* Estimated number of Jewish female skilled workers and foremen less than 100.

¹ Distribution of all gainful workers by socio-economic occupational groups from unpublished tables corresponding to Michigan Census of Population and Unemployment, *Bulletin* no. 4, Table 3.

TABLE XII
ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED JEWISH WORKERS, MALE AND FEMALE, DETROIT, 1935, CLASSIFIED BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP

Socio-economic group	Estimated number ¹			Percent		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
All groups	29,300	21,700	7,600	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional workers	2,300	1,500	800	7.6	6.8	10.3
Proprietors, managers and officials	7,500	7,100	400	26.8	33.1	4.8
Clerks and kindred workers	11,900	6,800	5,100	39.1	31.5	66.2
Skilled workers and foremen	2,500	2,500	..	8.9	11.3	.4
Semiskilled workers	4,300	3,200	1,100	14.8	14.7	14.8
Unskilled workers	800	600	200	2.8	2.6	3.5

¹ Calculated from sample percentages and estimated total Jewish population.

structure of the Jewish group alone, represented in Table XII, the category of clerks and kindred workers comprised almost two-fifths of all Jewish workers, while one-fourth were proprietors, managers and officials. The category of semiskilled workers with 14.8 percent was considerably larger than those of skilled workers and foremen (8.9 percent) and of professional workers (7.6).

With regard to the specific occupations comprised within the foregoing categories, the relative distribution of Jewish workers can only be roughly estimated because the absolute figures in the sample were in certain instances quite small. With this limitation in mind the following ratios are presented: Among the professional workers dentistry, law and medicine claimed six-tenths of the Jewish men while teaching occupied seven-tenths of the women. The Jewish proprietors, managers and officials were chiefly retail dealers, more than half of whom operated clothing, food and grocery stores, or dealt in junk or rags.¹⁷ Jews classified as clerks and kindred workers comprised mainly clerks in stores, commercial travellers or salespeople.

A significant difference between the socio-economic occupational groupings of Jewish workers emerges from the comparison of population pyramids for each group. (See Figure 4.) The median age of the Jewish male workers in 1935 was 37.8 and of female workers, 25.3 years. Workers in the professional, clerical and semiskilled groups were young (median ages for males, 32.8 years, 32.5 years and 34.1 years, respectively), in contrast to the proprietary and the skilled worker groups (median ages for males, 43.6 years and 41.6 years, respectively). The low average age of the professional workers is of particular note because of the period of study required for entrance into a profession and the relative permanence characteristic of this group. On the other hand, professional workers probably select their permanent occupations at relatively early ages.¹⁸ The time required for the accumulation of capital in order to enter the class of proprietors and for the acquiring of skills may account for the higher average age in these two categories. The hypothesis may be offered that clerical workers move into the proprietary group when they grow older and that the young semiskilled and unskilled workers proceed into the older skilled-worker group as they acquire experience and training.

As is to be expected, more than 80 percent of the Jewish workers classified as "professional" had completed 13 or more grades in school. The largest proportion of workers reporting no school grades completed was found among the skilled and semiskilled workers (about 9 percent). This is probably associated with the fact that many of these workers were foreign born.

Income of Gainful Workers by Occupational Groups

The position of each socio-economic grouping with respect to median income may be seen in Table XIII. Professional workers and proprietors earned more in 1934 than the other groups. When tested, the range of incomes earned in the better-paid groups was wider than that of the lower-paid groupings. Comparison of the income of Jewish workers and all Detroit workers shows that the median

¹⁷ See Fauman, S. J., "The Jews in the Waste Industry in Detroit," in *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. iii (1941) 41-56.

¹⁸ See Edwards, Alba M., *A Social-Economic Grouping of the Gainful Workers of the United States, 1930* (Federal Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C. 1938), Table 5. Male professional, proprietary and skilled workers had higher median ages than the average (37.2 years) for all male gainful workers; clerical, semiskilled and unskilled workers had lower median ages.

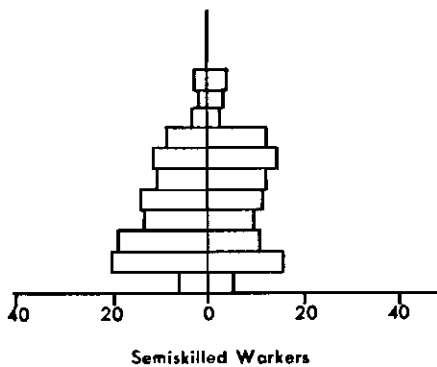
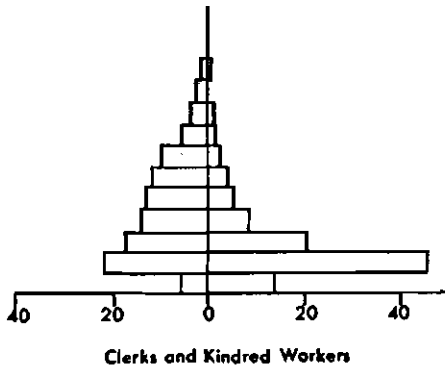
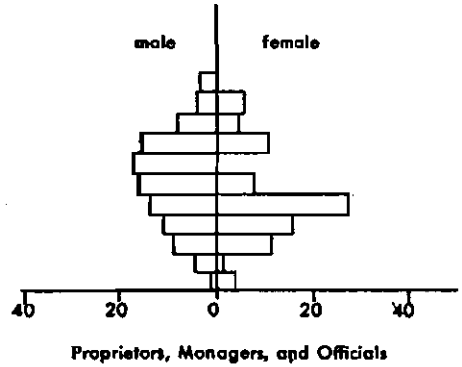
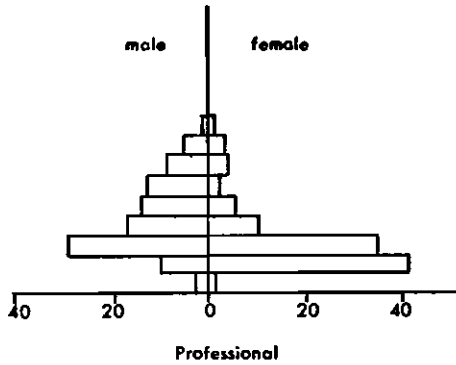


FIGURE 4.—POPULATION PYRAMIDS, JEWISH GAINFUL WORKERS, 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, DETROIT, 1935 (Age in five-year intervals.)

1934 income of Jewish workers in the sample was \$112 greater than the median 1934 income of Detroit workers as a whole. However, only the Jewish professional workers earned more than the Detroit workers in the comparable socio-economic group. In 1934, Jewish clerks and kindred workers earned on the average \$124 less than the Detroit average for clerical workers, and for each of the other groups the incomes of Jewish workers were less than or approximately equal to those of Detroit workers in general.

TABLE XIII
MEDIAN 1934 INCOME OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED JEWISH WORKERS AND OF ALL WORKERS, DETROIT, 1935, BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP¹

Socio-economic group	Median		Quartile deviation		Coefficient of variability	
	All workers	Jewish workers ²	All workers	Jewish workers	All workers	Jewish workers
All groups	\$1,027	\$1,139	\$433	\$526	.422	.462
Professional workers	\$1,648	\$1,788	\$699	\$1,101	.424	.616
Proprietors, managers and officials	1,612	1,613	735	701	.456	.435
Clerks and kindred workers	1,131	1,007	428	420	.378	.417
Skilled workers and foremen	1,200	1,126	425	365	.354	.324
Semiskilled and unskilled workers	771	716	355	407	.460	.565

¹ Includes workers gainfully employed who reported "No income." Excludes those whose income was "unknown."

² When calculated for male Jewish workers only, the median incomes were somewhat greater.

The average income of all Jewish gainful workers no doubt reflects the concentration of Jewish workers in white-collar occupational classes in contrast to the concentration of Detroit workers in the manual classes. It is this difference in occupations which made the average income of Jewish gainful workers higher than the Detroit average. It may at least be inferred from the comparison of incomes by socio-economic groupings that, job for job, Jewish workers in Detroit earned no more than Detroit workers in general.

Summary

Consisting of approximately 82,000 persons in 1935, the Detroit Jewish population has grown somewhat more rapidly than the total population since 1890. The age distribution of the sample Jewish population in 1935 differed from that of Detroit sufficiently to anticipate a lower rate of natural increase for the Jewish population. The 1935 Jewish population was segregated in two major districts which differed in some significant social and economic characteristics. Of the estimated 35,000 Jewish workers in Detroit, 85 percent were employed in 1935. They were working chiefly in wholesale and retail trade and in various white-

collar occupations. Although the average income of Jewish workers was higher than the Detroit average, the comparison of incomes by specific socio-economic groups revealed that Jewish workers, outside of the liberal professions, earned approximately the same incomes as Detroit workers.

APPENDIX

JEWISH SAMPLE: MICHIGAN CENSUS OF POPULATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Item Summary of Instructions to Coders

Every person 15 years of age and over is to be coded separately. For convenience the transcription sheet is divided into three parts: (1) Identification; (2) Personal and family characteristics; (3) Economic and occupational characteristics.

Identification

(Top of Schedule; Card Columns 1-8)

- Item 1. Enumeration district.
- Item 2. Serial number of schedule.
- Item 3. District in Detroit. There are eight districts distinguished.

Personal and Family Characteristics

(Schedule Columns A-9; Card Columns 9-23)

- Item 4. Person number. The line number in Schedule Column A of person being coded.
- Item 5. Size of household. Total number of persons on the schedule, that is, enumerated as living in the same household, including those under 15 years of age.
- Item 6. Size of family. Family, defined as those related by blood or marriage, is distinguished from household. Sub-families which are related and those which are not related to the head of the household are distinguished.
- Item 7. Number of gainful workers per family. Determined for each family separately from Schedule Column 8.
- Item 8-13. Number of male and female children under 15 years of age in the family. Recorded by five-year age classes and sex.
- Item 14. Relationship to head of family. Distinctions are made between Head, Spouse of Head, Child of Head, Related family member, Related sub-head, Spouse of related sub-head, Child of related sub-head, non-related sub-head, Spouse of non-related sub-head, Child of non-related sub-head, Non-related person.
- Item 15. Sex.
- Item 16. Age. Recorded in five-year age classes.
- Item 17. Marital status.
- Item 18. Last grade completed in school. Broken down into the following grade classes: 1-4 grades, 5-7 grades, 8 grades, 9-11 grades, 12 grades, 13-15 grades, 16 or more grades.

Economic and Occupational Characteristics
(Schedule Columns 8-20; Card Columns 24-47)

- Item 19. Occupational status. Recorded as enumerators were instructed on the back of the schedule as: employed gainful workers; unemployed gainful workers, *i. e.*, those seeking re-employment; gainful workers not receiving wages or salary; gainful workers seeking employment for the first time; on lay-off, unable to work (sickness, injury, industrial dispute); retired, dependent, in school and housewives.
- Item 20. Hours worked per week.
- Item 21. Farm experience. Combining Schedule Columns 10 and 11 for the following information: No farm experience; last worked on farm before 1930; last worked on farm in 1930 or after.
- Item 22. Home owned or rented. Recorded as indicated before monthly rental in Schedule Column 12.
- Item 23. Monthly rental. Coded as enumerated.
- Item 24. Total income for 1934. Coded as enumerated.
- Item 25. Work status. Defined as the relationship between the person's present and usual occupation if employed, and his present occupational status if unemployed, in the following classes: employed at usual occupation; employed but not at usual occupation; unemployed or on work relief; in school; independent (savings, pensions except Mothers' Pension, private income, etc.); housewife; all others.
- Item 26. Relief history. Whether any member of the family has or has not been on relief since 1930.
- Item 27. Present relief status of family. Whether any member of the family is or is not at present on relief.
- Item 28. Present occupation and industry. Distinction is made between those employed on "Made Work," or relief jobs, by specific occupation engaged in. (*The Alphabetical Index of Occupations of the 15th Census of the United States* was used as coding instructions.)
- Item 29. Number of jobs held since 1930. Defined as the shifts in jobs, private or relief, between 1930 and 1935.
- Item 30. Number of occupations held since 1930. Defined as the shifts in type of work between 1930 and 1935.
- Item 31. Usual occupation and industry. Enumerators were instructed to designate that occupation worked at since 1930 which the person being enumerated considered his usual or customary occupation.
- Item 32. Present place of work or unemployment. Whether: in Detroit; in Michigan but not in Detroit; not in Michigan.
- Item 33. Places of work or unemployment since 1930. Whether, during the period April, 1930-January, 1935, the person had worked or been unemployed: continuously in Detroit since 1930; outside of Detroit but in Michigan since 1930; outside of Michigan since 1930.
- Item 34. Year last worked at usual occupation. Since 1930.
- Item 35. Check column. Used for sight-checking key-punchers, and to distinguish multiple dwellings (containing 20 or more families) from non-multiple dwellings.

CHAPTER VIII
A STUDY OF CHICAGO JEWRY (1930) BASED
ON DEATH CERTIFICATES

BY A. J. JAFFE¹

INTRODUCTION

THE present study, begun in 1937, used the technique of building up the desired but unknown Jewish population from the known number of deaths in the various age and sex groups. A description of this technique is given in the concluding section of this study. On the basis of these data Chicago had about 265,000 Jews in 1930, or 7.8 percent of the city's population (3,376,430).²

Trend of the Jewish Population

According to various estimates, in the first three decades of the twentieth century the Chicago Jewish population increased about fourfold, whereas the total population of the city increased about twofold. The period of the greatest growth of the Jewish population (from some 80,000 to an estimated 225,000) was between the years 1905 and 1918, the period of the largest migration of Jews to the United States.³

If the age-specific birth and death rates of the five-year period from 1928 to 1932 should remain unchanged for the subsequent twenty years, barring a large net migration to or from Chicago, the Jewish population would increase from about 265,000 in 1930 to about 282,000 in 1940 and to some 285,000 in 1950, after which there might be a decrease. Although these estimates may be in error, it seems most unlikely that there will be any further large-scale growth of this community. Indeed, these estimates may be taken as maximum figures. If the birth rate should decline to any large extent and there should be no influx of Jews to Chicago from other cities, the total Jewish population conceivably might never pass the 275,000 mark.

¹ The writer is deeply indebted to Professor Morris R. Cohen and Mr. Samuel A. Goldsmith, Executive Director, Jewish Charities of Chicago, whose keen interest in this study made it financially possible. Advice and assistance were given by the technical committee, composed of Dr. W. F. Ogburn, Dr. S. A. Stouffer and the late Dr. Henry Schultz, all of the University of Chicago. Thanks are also due to Dr. P. M. Hauser of the United States Bureau of the Census for the use of his unpublished vital statistics data, without which this study would have been seriously handicapped. Finally, the writer wishes to thank Dr. Herbert Goldhamer for his valuable criticisms of the manuscript.

² See Jaffe, A. J., "The Use of Death Records to Determine Jewish Population Characteristics," in *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. i (1939) 143-63. See also the "Critique" by H. L. Lurie and the writer's "Reply," *loc. cit.*, 164-68. In 1940 the Chicago population had increased 0.6 percent to 3,396,808.

³ See *International Migration*, vol. i, edited by W. F. Willcox (New York, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1929), Table X, p. 432-43.

Nativity Composition

Persons enumerated in the 1930 census were tabulated under the headings of "foreign-born white," "native white of foreign or mixed parentage" and "native white of native parentage." The last-mentioned group, "native white of native parentage," may be considered thoroughly American stock. Numerous studies have been made in an attempt to discover how the other two nativity elements in the American population differ from this American stock. Many differences have been noted in regard to occupation, place of residence, size of family, economic status, etc. Hence the proportions of these three nativity elements in any given group are employed as first approximations of the extent to which this group differs from the native stock. Any American city with a high proportion of foreign-born inhabitants is recognized as one which differs in many other characteristics from a city populated predominantly by native white American stock.

To obtain a first approximation, then, of the extent to which the Chicago Jews differ in general from the white non-Jewish population of Chicago,^{2a} a comparison of the proportion of foreign-born persons in the two groups was made. Among the Jews 15 years of age and over, according to data presented below, about 43 out of every 100 were native born, and about 57 out of every 100 were born outside the United States. Of the white non-Jewish population of Chicago, 1930, one-fourth were foreign born, and of those 15 years of age and over about one-third were foreign born. From this it appears that Chicago Jewry was probably somewhat less well adapted to American culture than the non-Jewish white inhabitants (Table I).

TABLE I
ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION, 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, CHICAGO, 1930, CLASSIFIED BY NATIVITY AND AGE-GROUP

Age-group	Number	Percentage		
		Total	Native	Foreign born
All groups	207,940	100.0	42.6	57.4
15-19	29,030	100.0	87.4	12.6
20-24	27,350	100.0	68.2	31.8
25-29	31,110	100.0	50.7	49.3
30-34	21,940	100.0	39.7	60.3
35-44	43,060	100.0	29.2	70.8
45-54	28,900	100.0	15.2	84.8
55-64	16,760	100.0	12.9	87.1
65-74	7,610	100.0	11.7	88.3
75 and over	2,180	100.0	6.4	93.6

^{2a} It will be noted that in this chapter comparisons are as a rule with the statistics pertaining to the non-Jewish white population rather than to the total Chicago population.

Information is available from the death certificates in regard to the regional origin of the foreign-born Chicago Jews. Building up the population on this basis suggests that approximately three-fourths (78 percent) came from the old Russian Empire (Russia, Poland and the Baltic region; Table II). Eighteen out of every 100 foreign born migrated from Central Europe (Germany, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Rumania), 2 from countries of western and northwestern Europe and 2 from other parts of the globe.

TABLE II
FOREIGN-BORN JEWISH POPULATION, 35 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, CHICAGO, 1930,
CLASSIFIED BY REGION OF BIRTH AND AGE-GROUP

Age-group	Number	Region of birth				
		Total	Eastern Europe	Central Europe	Western Europe	All other places
All groups	78,350	100.0	77.5	18.0	2.1	2.4
35-44	30,500	100.0	80.1	14.3	2.5	3.1
45-54	24,500	100.0	77.9	17.8	2.1	2.2
55-64	14,590	100.0	75.2	21.5	1.4	1.9
65-74	6,720	100.0	73.4	24.1	1.3	1.2
75 and over	2,040	100.0	65.6	30.9	2.5	1.0

Length of Residence in the United States

Data are also available for estimating the length of residence in the United States of the foreign-born Jews of Chicago. In 1930 they had been in the country, on the average, about 22 years, which is identical with the average period of residence in the United States for all foreign-born whites in Chicago. If a generation covers thirty years, almost half of the total Chicago Jewish population had spent less than one generation in the American environment; the most impressionable period of its life was spent in Eastern Europe. Interesting studies might be made of the effect of the rapid transitions in language, occupation, food and family standards on an immigrant population.

VITAL STATISTICS

Throughout much of the world since ancient times the population policy of the rulers, if not that of the masses, has been: "Be fruitful and multiply." A decreasing or stationary population has been regarded as something to be avoided. Propaganda is used to encourage larger families and police methods to suppress birth control measures.

Birth Rates

Data on the birth rate of Chicago Jews are available for the same parts of the city for which the data on death rates were obtained and in which about one-third of the Jewish community lived. Judging from the average rental paid in these

areas, a fair indication of economic status, they were certainly not slums. A crude birth rate is the number of births per thousand of the total population, but it hardly reflects the extent to which a population is reproducing itself in the long run. It neglects two important factors, namely, the proportion of the women of childbearing age, 15 to 44, and their age distribution within this span. A measure of fertility which avoids these two difficulties is the *net reproduction rate*. The question which this rate answers is: "Out of every 100 female infants at birth, how many will survive to the end of the childbearing period, and during that period how many female infants will they bear?" If the survivors of these 100 females give birth to 100 females, the population will remain stationary from the first to the second generation. If they bear more than 100 females, the population will increase; if less, it will decline.

In the Jewish areas of Chicago for which data were available, the net reproduction rate of 64 for the Jewish women born in the United States and 68 for those born abroad means that the Jewish population not only was not maintaining itself at a stationary figure, but was actually decreasing in size from one generation to the next. It does not follow, however, that the population was not *increasing* through an excess of births over deaths in 1930. Because of the small proportion of the Jewish population in the older age-groups in 1930 there were comparatively few deaths. Also, because of the comparatively large proportion of females in the childbearing period there was a relatively larger number of births. Although the 1930 age distribution was favorable to an excess of births over deaths, once the present generation of mothers pass the childbearing period they will probably be succeeded by a number of mothers lower by one-third. In view of the fact that the rates for all the Jewish women in Chicago, native and foreign born, separately computed, were almost exactly equal to those for the predominantly Jewish area, these net reproduction rates apply to the total Jewish population in Chicago as well as to the selected areas.

Data are available for comparing the estimated Jewish net reproduction rates with those of an economically comparable non-Jewish, non-Catholic area in Chicago where the population was mainly native white of native parentage. Here the net reproduction rate was 71, a higher rate than that found among either native or foreign-born Jewish women. The birth rates (Table III) were higher for the non-Jewish women aged 15 to 24 than for the Jewish women within that span.⁴ The older Jewish women had higher rates.

Death Rates

The crude death rate—the number of deaths per thousand population—commonly used, reveals little about the health of the population. The age and sex composition of a population strongly influence its crude death rate. A home for the aged, for example, will have a very high crude death rate. The death rates

⁴ For a further analysis see Jaffe, A. J., "Religious Differentials in the Net Reproduction Rate," in *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, vol. xxxiv (1939) 335-42.

for specific age and sex groups of the inmates, however, may reveal that they have lower rates than persons of comparable age and sex in the total population. The economic status of a population also influences the death rate and the rate

TABLE III
BIRTH RATES PER 1,000 OF ALL WOMEN AND OF JEWISH WOMEN,
CHICAGO, 1930, CLASSIFIED BY NATIVITY AND AGE-GROUP

Age-group	All native white women of native parentage ¹	Jewish women	
		Native	Foreign born
15-19	42.6	5.1	5.3
20-24	48.6	31.4	33.8
25-29	33.6	48.7	52.0
30-34	15.6	34.0	35.3
35-44	6.1	9.5	10.2
Net reproduction rate	7.1	6.4	6.8

¹ From an unpublished study by P. M. Hauser. Rates based on data from selected census tracts having median monthly rentals ranging from \$40 to \$59 (1930). The population was predominantly non-Catholic, native of native parentage.

TABLE IV
DEATH RATES PER 1,000 OF THE NON-JEWISH WHITE AND OF THE
JEWISH POPULATION, MALE AND FEMALE, CHICAGO, 1930,
CLASSIFIED BY AGE-GROUP

Age-group	Non-Jewish white population ¹		Jewish population ²	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Less than 1	51.8	38.2	43.5	24.5
1-4	3.9	3.7	4.5	3.8
5-9	2.4	1.9	2.1	2.0
10-14	1.6	1.3	1.3	1.2
15-19	2.0	1.6	1.8	1.0
20-24	2.1	2.3	1.9	1.9
25-29	2.8	2.5	1.6	1.8
30-34	3.4	3.1	2.7	2.6
35-44	5.2	4.4	5.0	3.9
45-54	12.0	9.2	12.1	10.5
55-64	26.6	22.0	28.8	29.4
65-74	57.2	49.8	56.1	51.5
75 and over	137.4	126.6	122.4	117.1

¹ Hauser, P. M., *Differential Fertility, Mortality, and Net Reproduction in Chicago, 1930*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1938, p. 37 and 38. These are the rates of the total white population living in census tracts having median monthly rentals of \$60-74.

² The rates for the age-groups under 15 have been adjusted (see p. 147-48).

varies also with other factors, such as occupation. Thus, in analyzing the mortality data for Chicago Jews it is best to compare specific age and sex rates of this population with those of an economically comparable non-Jewish population.⁵

The death rates by age and sex show that, in general, females had lower rates than males. Jewish females had lower rates than all economically comparable females in eight of the thirteen age-groups, and Jewish males had lower rates in ten of the thirteen age-groups. If a lower death rate indicates a "healthier" population, a "healthier" environment, or both, the Jewish population may be somewhat "healthier" than the economically comparable non-Jewish population (Table IV).

TABLE V
SURVIVORS IN THE NON-JEWISH WHITE AND IN THE JEWISH
POPULATION, MALE AND FEMALE, CHICAGO, 1930, CLASSIFIED
BY BEGINNING OF SELECTED AGE¹

Beginning of selected age	Non-Jewish white survivors		Jewish survivors	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
1	948	962	957	976
5	933	947	939	961
10	922	938	929	951
15	915	932	923	945
20	906	925	915	940
25	896	914	906	931
30	883	903	899	923
35	869	889	887	911
45	824	850	843	875
55	725	772	740	783
65	532	602	527	553
75	228	302	231	268

¹ Based on data presented in Table IV.

From the death rate data it is possible to answer the following question for males and for females: "Out of every 1,000 infants at birth, how many will survive to age 5, age 10, age 15, etc.?" The data indicate that more Jews than non-Jews of either sex survived up to age 65 (Table V). Only in the older age-groups did the death rates among the Jews become sufficiently large to reduce the relative proportions of Jewish survivors.

⁵ See Bolduan, Charles, and Weiner, Louis, "Causes of Death among Jews in New York City," in *New England Journal of Medicine*, vol. ccviii (1933), 407-16.

Natural Increase

The natural increase of a population is the difference between the number of births and deaths. This difference expressed in terms of the number per thousand population represents the crude rate of natural increase. However, a population with a favorable age composition may have an excess of births over deaths at a given time and still be on the eve of a decline. The Chicago Jewish population seemed to be in that position. In 1930 it had an estimated natural increase of about 1,700, or a crude rate of increase of about 6 per 1,000 population. By 1940, assuming that the 1930 age-specific birth and death rates continued, this rate may have dropped to about 3 per 1,000. By 1950, still assuming that the 1930 birth and death rates will continue, there will be no natural increase but instead a yearly *loss* of 4 per 1,000 population.

Using the net reproduction rate of 64 for native Jewish women as a measure of the true growth of a population in one generation, thus allowing for age and sex composition, yields a *true rate of natural decrease* of 15 per 1,000 population per year. In the "non-Jewish" area studied the net reproduction rate was 71, a *true rate of natural decrease* of 11 per 1,000 per year. The total white population of Chicago had a net reproduction rate of 75 in 1930, or an annual *true rate of natural decrease* of 10 per 1,000 population.⁶

Age Composition

The age composition of a population at a given time and place is the result of three factors: birth rates, death rates and migration. Since these three factors are constantly changing, the age composition of any given population is also changing. The age composition of the Chicago Jews (as of 1930) was influenced more by selective immigration than by their birth and death rates.

From an economic viewpoint the estimated age distribution of the Jews for 1930 was more favorable than that of the non-Jewish white population in Chicago (Table VI). The ages from 20 to 54 are generally the most productive, for obvious reasons. It is interesting, therefore, to see the ratio of Jews under 20 and over 54 to each 100 persons in the group 20-54 years old.

Among the Jews and among the non-Jewish whites, there were 57 and 59 youths, respectively, under 20 years of age and 17 and 19, respectively, over 54, for every 100 in the 20-54 age span. Persons over 65 years, to a large extent economically dependent, were estimated to comprise 3.7 percent of the Jewish population and 4.3 percent of the non-Jewish whites. From the smaller proportion of dependents in the Jewish group as a whole may be inferred whatever advantage such an age distribution carries with it.

The average age of the Jewish population in Chicago will rise rapidly in the next two decades. In 1930, the average age of the estimated total Jewish population was about 28 years; in 1940 it may become 34 and in 1950, 39. About 22

⁶ Karpinos, B. D., "Net Reproduction Rates for the White Population in Cities of 25,000 or more Inhabitants, 1930," in *Population Index*, vol. iv (1938) 3-4, 60-64.

Jews out of every 100 were under 15 years of age and about 4 were over 65 years of age in 1930. By 1940 the corresponding figures may be 19 and 5, and by 1950, 17 and 8 (Table VII).

TABLE VI
ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION, MALE AND FEMALE,
CHICAGO, 1930, CLASSIFIED BY AGE-GROUP¹

Age-group	Total	Male	Female
All ages	265,450	135,410	130,040
Less than 1.	3,310	1,660	1,650
1- 4.	14,300	7,150	7,150
5- 9.	17,140	8,570	8,570
10-14.	22,760	11,380	11,380
15-19.	29,030	14,610	14,420
20-24.	27,350	12,950	14,400
25-29.	31,110	17,250	13,860
30-34.	21,940	10,850	11,090
35-44.	43,060	20,320	22,740
45-54.	28,900	16,570	12,330
55-64.	16,760	9,350	7,410
65-74.	7,610	3,710	3,900
75 and over.	2,180	1,040	1,140

¹The age-groups under age 15 have been adjusted. (See p. 147-48.)

TABLE VII
ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION, CHICAGO, 1940 AND 1950,
CLASSIFIED BY AGE-GROUP

Age-group	1940	1950
All groups.	281,730	284,880
Less than 5.	18,460	14,810
5- 9.	17,950	16,280
10-14.	16,840	17,370
15-19.	16,850	17,650
20-24.	22,460	16,630
25-29.	28,540	16,580
30-34.	26,870	22,050
35-44.	51,600	53,870
45-54.	41,160	49,510
55-64.	25,590	36,520
65-74.	11,890	18,150
75 and over.	3,520	5,460

Ratio of Dependent Persons

A comparison of the productive with the non-productive age-group suggests important changes in the future. Whereas it is estimated that the number of persons under 20 for every 100 Jews between the ages of 20 and 54 years was 57 in 1930, it may be about 41 in 1940 and in 1950. The number of persons over 54 for each 100 Jews 20 to 54 years of age at these dates may be calculated as 17, 24 and 38, respectively. In other words, as time goes on the dependent element in the Jewish population will comprise fewer young people and more old people.

Although the absolute figures given here may be in error, they probably show the general trend with a fair degree of accuracy. If birth and death rates decrease, the number and proportion of young people in the Jewish population would be even less and the number and proportion of old people would be even greater than estimated. The ratio of productive to non-productive persons would change only if there should be a large net migration of Jews between the ages of 20 and 54 to Chicago, which is unlikely because there are few Jews in the rural hinterland and migration from abroad is negligible. A net movement to Chicago from other cities would mean that Chicago would benefit only from the "population losses," so to speak, of those cities.

These data are of value in planning social services for Chicago Jewry. The estimated 86,000 Jews under 20 years of age in 1930, from which came the wards of the child welfare agencies, may drop to 70,000 by 1940 and to 65,000 by 1950. On the other hand, agencies serving the aged may find their work greatly increased because their potential 26,000 Jewish clients over 54 years of age in 1930 may reach 40,000 in 1940, and about 60,000 in 1950.

The amount of money actually expended on social services depends upon the resources of the group as well as on needs reflected by age composition. Serious changes in the age composition will affect the social services. The number of persons over 54 years of age in any community cannot double without affecting the voluntary and the public social service facilities which serve this group.

Sex Ratio

Various social phenomena are influenced by the sex ratio. A group with a large preponderance of males is likely to have a large proportion of married women, proportionately few women at work and a large ratio of gainfully occupied persons. Among the non-Jewish white adult population of Chicago, the sex ratio was 102 males to 100 females. Among the estimated number of adult Jews in Chicago (over 15 years of age), the ratio was 105 to 100. The higher ratio among the Jews is due to the greater proportion of the foreign born (a group in which the ratio of males to females is generally higher than in the native population).

Marital Status and Age

The sex and age composition of the population, its economic position, its birth rate, its attitudes toward marriage and the family, the relations between

husband and wife and between parents and children, are all in some degree linked with marital status.

Of every 100 Jewish women 15 years of age and over, it is estimated that 59 were married, 29 single and 12 widowed or divorced, proportions similar to those

TABLE VIII
ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION, 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, MALE AND FEMALE, CHICAGO, 1930, CLASSIFIED BY MARITAL STATUS AND AGE-GROUP

Age-group	Number	Percent			
		Total	Single	Married	Other
All groups					
Male.....	106,650	100.0	39.3	54.0	6.7
Female.....	101,290	100.0	29.4	58.5	12.1
15-19 years					
Male.....	14,610	100.0	100.0	..	..
Female.....	14,420	100.0	90.7	9.3	..
20-24 years					
Male.....	12,950	100.0	86.4	11.2	2.4
Female.....	14,400	100.0	57.6	42.4	..
25-29 years					
Male.....	17,250	100.0	46.4	50.0	3.6
Female.....	13,860	100.0	29.5	68.0	2.5
30-34 years					
Male.....	10,850	100.0	27.9	66.7	5.4
Female.....	11,090	100.0	14.7	81.8	3.5
35-44 years					
Male.....	20,320	100.0	14.4	80.3	5.3
Female.....	22,740	100.0	8.9	80.8	10.3
45-54 years					
Male.....	16,570	100.0	9.0	82.0	9.0
Female.....	12,330	100.0	3.4	76.6	20.0
55-64 years					
Male.....	9,350	100.0	5.3	78.5	16.2
Female.....	7,410	100.0	2.6	53.0	44.4
65-74 years					
Male.....	3,710	100.0	4.9	68.7	26.4
Female.....	3,900	100.0	1.5	34.9	63.6
75 and over					
Male.....	1,040	100.0	2.9	43.3	53.8
Female.....	1,140	100.0	0.9	13.1	86.0

found among the non-Jewish white adult women of Chicago. Among Jewish men, 54 out of every 100 were married, 39 single and 7 widowed or divorced (Table VIII). By contrast, among the non-Jewish white males 59 out of every 100 were married, 36 single and 5 widowed or divorced. A comparison of the estimated

percentage of the population married for each age-group in the Jewish and in the non-Jewish population shows that up to age 35 there was a smaller proportion of Jewish than of non-Jewish men married, suggesting that the former were older than the non-Jews at the time of marriage. In regard to the females the differences between the two groups in respect to age and marital status are not so clear. Between the ages of 20 to 29 a greater proportion of the non-Jewish women were married. Between 30 and 54 a greater proportion of the Jewish women appeared to be married; above age 54 a greater proportion of the non-Jewish women were married.

One explanation of the older age at marriage among Jews than among the non-Jewish whites in the sample may be the differing proportions of second-generation individuals. Studies have shown that the foreign-born and native white of native parentage are more apt to marry and to marry early than the native white of foreign parentage. Among the social implications of a later age at marriage are a decreased birth rate and a more secure economic position; a man of 30 is probably more secure financially than one of 20. A comparison of the differences between the estimated average ages of the spouses reveals a five-year difference between the Jewish husband and wife, and a four-year difference between the ages of the average couple in Chicago.

If the number of adult single males is greater than the number of adult single females, the latter may have a somewhat better chance of marrying. Among the Jews the estimated ratio among the unmarried adults was 140 males to 100 females, whereas in the non-Jewish population of Chicago the ratio was 130 to 100, suggesting that a Jewish girl may have had a somewhat better chance of marrying than a non-Jewish girl. Yet, as stated above, the average Jewish girl married at an older age.

ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

It has often been pointed out that economic adjustment is basic in the accommodation of an immigrant group to a new culture and that the important areas of contact and friction with the larger community are those of job and trade and relations with neighbors. The economic position of the Jewish group is of particular significance in the description of the social position of the Jews.

Occupations

Analysis of the occupational distribution of the estimated Chicago Jewish population is limited to the type of occupational data on the death certificates. It is impossible, for instance, to estimate the extent of child labor among the Jews as compared with the non-Jews, or the proportion of women, single and married, who are gainfully occupied, or the proportion of men in the various age-groups who are gainfully occupied, or the extent of unemployment. From the available data it is not even possible to estimate the representation of the Jews in specific occupations or industries. Nor can it be assumed that the occupational

composition of the deceased is identical with that of the living. In order to make the recorded occupations approximately comparable with the occupational data in the United States Census, seven general categories were used (Table IX): (1) Professional. (2) Trade, commerce, proprietary, covering clerks in stores,

TABLE IX
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS ON DEATH CERTIFICATES OF ALL MALES¹ AND OF JEWISH MALES, CHICAGO, 1930,
CLASSIFIED BY AGE-GROUP

Occupation	Age-group		
	35-44	45-54	55-64
All occupations			
All males.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
Jewish males.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional			
All males.....	5.2	5.1	5.8
Jewish males.....	8.5	5.0	4.0
Trade, commerce, proprietary			
All males.....	23.3	23.3	23.5
Jewish males.....	44.4	54.6	57.3
Clerical			
All males.....	6.4	5.6	6.3
Jewish males.....	3.9	1.4	1.7
Transportation			
All males.....	11.2	10.2	9.6
Jewish males.....	4.4	2.0	1.3
Manufacturing and mechanical industries			
All males.....	43.8	44.3	41.0
Jewish males.....	35.5	33.8	32.2
Domestic and personal service			
All males.....	7.4	7.8	7.9
Jewish males.....	2.5	1.9	2.1
Others			
All males.....	2.7	3.7	5.9
Jewish males.....	0.8	1.3	1.4

¹ From *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population*, vol. iv, p. 447-49.

salesmen, cashiers, peddlers, owners of businesses and manufacturing plants, and officials. (3) Clerical: white-collar workers not engaged in proprietary, managerial, or sales pursuits, e.g., bookkeepers, office clerks, draftsmen. (4) Transportation, covering taxicab drivers, motormen and delivery men. (5) Manufacturing

and mechanical industries, comprising all employes (excluding managers), cobblers, tailors and butchers, whether proprietors or employes. (6) Domestic and personal service. (7) All others.

The age-group 35-44 for the males is the youngest in which comparisons can be made because of the few deaths below 35. On the basis of occupational data as given on the death certificates, 8-9 in every 100 Jews were professional people, another 48 were engaged in other white-collar tasks and about 42 were industrial workers, handicraftsmen and other types of manual workers. Among the total male population of Chicago in this age-group gainfully occupied in 1930, 5 out of every 100 were professional persons, 30 were other white-collar workers and 62 were industrial and other workers. According to these data, among the deceased Chicago Jews the white-collar occupations predominated. Whereas almost two-thirds of the gainfully occupied males in the total population were in non-proprietary, non-managerial places in industry, transportation and domestic and personal service, it is estimated that less than half of the male Jews were in this category. Over half of the Jewish men were in professions and in other white-collar occupations,⁷ as compared to about one-third of all gainfully employed males (1930 Census).⁸

Average Rentals

The only readily available index of economic status other than occupation for the local Jewish population is the average rental.⁹ This figure was computed from data giving the estimated distribution of Jews by census tracts.¹⁰ Hence the average rental was that paid in 1930 in the areas in which the families lived, rather than the average rentals paid by Jewish families. The data reveal that half of the estimated Jewish population lived in areas where the average monthly rental in 1930 was under \$58. The figure for the non-Jewish white population of Chicago was \$50 (Table X).

The average value of homes owned by the foreign-born whites in Chicago in 1930 was \$7,700, by the native whites of native parentage, \$9,400, and by Russian-born family-heads over \$10,000.

The calculated average rentals paid for dwellings by these three groups in that order were \$42, \$59 and \$65. It may be assumed that most of the Russian-born residents in these neighborhoods were Jewish. It may be true that the inclusion of non-Jews among the Russian-born raised the averages somewhat. The differences between the figures for the Russian-born and the other groups are so great, however, as to make it highly probable that the average rental paid by the

⁷ Due to lower mortality rates among the white-collar as compared with manual workers the proportion of white-collar workers among those who died was smaller than the proportion of such workers among the total living workers.

⁸ *Fifteenth Census of the U. S., Population*, vol. iv, p. 447-49.

⁹ The average rental here includes the value of owned homes equated to a rental figure.

¹⁰ Goldberg, W. A., *Jewish Population of Chicago, 1931, by Community Areas and Census Tracts*. Mimeographed bulletin of the Jewish Social Service Bureau, Chicago, July, 1934.

Russian-born Jews was, in fact, greater than that for the other groups. The higher economic status of the Jews indicated by the rentals is consistent with the greater proportion of gainfully occupied Jews in white-collar jobs recorded on death certificates.

TABLE X
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF JEWS AND OF NON-JEWISH WHITES, CHICAGO,
1930, CLASSIFIED BY MEDIAN MONTHLY RENTAL OF CENSUS TRACTS

Median monthly rental of census tract ¹	Jews ²	Non-Jewish whites			
		Total	Native of native parentage	Native of foreign parentage	Foreign born ³
Median rental.	\$58	\$50	\$57	\$48	\$46
All tracts.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under \$15. . . . .	..	..	..	..	.1
\$15-19. . . . .	.4	3.2	1.1	3.6	3.9
20-29.	3.6	15.4	7.4	17.0	17.6
30-49.	28.7	32.2	27.7	32.8	34.7
50-74.	57.4	39.4	48.4	38.6	37.2
75-99.	9.2	8.2	12.7	6.9	5.4
100-149. . . . .	.7	1.2	1.9	.9	.8
150-199. . . . .	..	.4	.8	.2	.3

¹ Includes value of owned homes equated to a rental figure.

² From Goldberg, W. A., *Jewish Population of Chicago, 1931*, by *Community Areas and Census Tracts*. Mimeographed bulletin of the Jewish Social Service Bureau, Chicago, July, 1934.

³ From *Census Data of the City of Chicago, 1930*, edited by E. W. Burgess and C. Newcomb (Chicago, 1938).

Summary

With the limitations of a sample derived exclusively from death certificates issued to undertakers serving the Jewish population, the following inferences for 1930 are offered:

1. There were about 265,000 Jews in Chicago in 1930. This number may have increased to 282,000 by 1940. By 1950 the Jews may number 285,000 and thereafter decline.

2. About 45 in every 100 Jews were foreign born. Of these, three-fourths came from the old Russian Empire (Russia, Poland and the Baltic region) and had been in the United States on the average about 22 years.

3. Although the present age composition of the Jewish population is such as is associated with a positive crude rate of natural increase, the net reproduction rate of 64 for native and 68 for foreign-born Jewish women forecasts a decrease in the future. Among a selected group of Chicago women the net reproduction rate was 71, representing a somewhat less rapid decrease than in the Jewish group.

4. In the majority of age-groups for both males and females the death rate for Jews was lower than that for the non-Jewish whites.

5. While the ratio of persons over 65, forming part of the economically dependent element, was smaller for the Jewish than for the non-Jewish population (3.7 as compared with 4.3 percent), the trend in both groups indicated a higher proportion of older people in the future population. This is particularly significant in adjusting social services to the needs of the population.

6. Approximately the same proportion of Jewish as of non-Jewish white women in Chicago were married, but there was a smaller percentage of Jewish men married. Jewish women tended to marry at a later age than the non-Jewish.

7. Comparison of the occupational distribution of Jewish men and all white men indicated a preponderance of Jews in the white-collar vocations. Whereas almost two-thirds of the gainfully occupied males in the total population were in non-proprietary, non-managerial positions in industry, transportation, and domestic and personal service, it is estimated that less than half of the Jewish males were in this category. The majority of Jewish men were in professional and other white-collar occupations, as compared with about one-third of all gainfully occupied males in Chicago.

8. Half of the estimated Jewish population of Chicago lived in areas where the average monthly rental in 1930 was under \$58. This is practically the same as that for areas inhabited by the non-Jewish native whites of native parentage, \$10 higher than that for those inhabited by native whites of foreign parentage and \$12 higher than for areas inhabited by the foreign-born whites.

APPENDIX

VALIDITY OF THE USE OF DEATH RECORDS

The general technique of using death certificates consists of dividing the known number of deaths in a given age and sex category by a specific death rate for that category to estimate the total population in which the deaths occurred.¹¹ The technical details involved in the application of this method will now be described. The death certificates of all Chicago Jews who died in Chicago during the years 1928 to 1932, inclusive, were utilized in this study. The essential problem, therefore, was that of separating the Jewish deaths (estimated at 10,000) from the total number of deaths during that period (about 180,000).

Through interviews with Jewish and gentile undertakers, cemetery officials and others familiar with Jewish burials, it was found that practically all Jews who died were buried by twelve undertaking firms. Hence anyone buried by an un-

¹¹ This method has been satisfactorily utilized for estimating the Jewish population of London. See Trachtenberg, H. L., "Estimate of the Jewish Population of London in 1929," in *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, vol. xcvi (1933), 87-98; Kantorowitsch, M., "Estimate of the Jewish Population of London in 1929-1933," *loc. cit.*, vol. xcix (1936) 372-79.

dertaker recognized by the community as one who conducts Jewish funerals was tentatively assumed to be a Jew. Certificates which bore the signatures, required by law, of any one of these twelve firms were selected. Each certificate was closely examined before being transcribed and those which were obviously not Jewish were rejected (about 1 percent).

The certificates of all Jews whose residence was outside of Chicago were rejected. The certificates of those Chicago Jews who died elsewhere were unobtainable. The exclusion of these, however, should not affect the results, since they were already excluded from the death rates used for building up the population. These rates were obtained by dividing the number of deaths of Chicago residents occurring in Chicago by the 1930 population, which automatically circumvents the problem of deaths of non-residents and deaths of Chicagoans out of town.

Two sets of death rates were used for estimating the Jewish population, one based on data from a group of thirteen census tracts having a high proportion of "middle-class" Jewish population,¹² the other on data from all the white "middle-class" census tracts of Chicago.¹³ The "middle-class" census tracts are those inhabited by a white population which paid median rentals from \$60 to \$74 (1930). The population in these "Jewish" tracts was at least 90 percent Jewish, according to the estimate of W. A. Goldberg,¹⁴ and included about one-third of the total Jewish population in Chicago. It was a middle-class population, paying a median rental of about \$55 per month, with a range from \$49 to \$64. Since the median rental of all areas in which there were Jews was about \$58, it would seem reasonable that the death rates found in this area are biased neither in favor of the poor nor of the rich.

In the following paragraphs several criteria of internal consistency will be indicated for evaluating one set of rates as opposed to the other. On the basis of these criteria, it would appear that both sets are faulty, but that the population structure obtained on the basis of the Jewish rates is the more plausible. Hence the Jewish population is estimated here on the basis of the Jewish death rates. The results obtained from the use of these two sets of rates, however, do not differ greatly; the total population obtained on the basis of the Jewish rates is only 7 percent greater than that obtained from the rates for all whites.

The estimates of the Jewish population in Chicago for 1940 and 1950 were made in accordance with Whelpton's method of calculating the future population of the United States.¹⁵ Since no estimates could be made of future specific birth and death rates, it was assumed that the Jewish rates of the five-year period

¹² These rates were obtained from a special study of fertility and mortality in Chicago conducted by Dr. P. M. Hauser.

¹³ See Hauser, P. M., *Differential Fertility, Mortality, and Net Reproduction in Chicago, 1930*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1938, p. 37-38.

¹⁴ *Jewish Population of Chicago, 1931, by Community Areas and Census Tracts*. Mimeographed bulletin of the Jewish Social Service Bureau, Chicago, July, 1934.

¹⁵ Whelpton, P. K., "An Empirical Method of Calculating Future Population," in *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, vol. xxxi (1936) 457-73.

1928-1932 would remain constant through 1950. In the absence of any basis of estimation it was assumed that there would be no net migration either to or from the city. Assuming no net migration, the influence of the various changes which may take place in the specific birth and death rates may be as follows:

1. If the specific birth rates should *decrease* and the specific death rates should remain unchanged or decrease, the average age of the population would rise above that previously calculated (about 39 years in 1950). The percentage of the population under 15 years of age would then be less than the previously estimated 17 percent (1950), and the percentage of the population over 65 years of age would be greater than the estimated 8 percent (in 1950) (Table VII).

2. If the specific birth rate should *increase* and the specific death rates should remain unchanged or decrease, the average age of the population would remain approximately the same as in 1930.

Table V, which gives the number of survivors at various ages out of every 1,000 births, is based on these two sets of death rates. The computations involved are the same as those for the construction of any life table.

In each specific age and sex category the two estimates differ and it is impossible to determine which is correct; perhaps neither is a reliable estimate. There are several criteria for determining the internal consistency of a population classified by age and sex, and when tested by these it appears that the Jewish death rates yield a more consistent population than do the other rates. One of these criteria is the sex ratio. Unless there has been considerable migration, the sex ratio of a population should approximate 100. The adult Jewish population in Chicago has been affected by migration, but the population under 15 years of age is preponderantly of American birth. In this age-group, therefore, there should be approximately equal numbers of males and females, or perhaps a very slight excess of males. In the population estimated from the Jewish death rates the females in the four age-groups under 15 are more numerous. In the other estimate females outnumber males in only two age-groups, 5-9 and 10-14, but less than in the former estimate. In the group under 1 year of age, however, males exceed the females by far, whereas in the population estimated from the Jewish death rates, females outnumber males but slightly in the age-group under 1.

In the age-group 15-19 immigration already may begin to play an important part; nevertheless, the number of males in this group, as estimated from the total white death rates, seems to be too high. There are almost twice as many males as females, whereas in the population estimated from Jewish death rates the sexes are almost equally balanced. These inconsistencies in the sex composition, however, do not affect the analysis of the sex composition presented above, because that analysis was limited to the population 15 years of age and over on the basis of the Jewish death rates. The inconsistencies appear only in the age-groups below 15.

In a population in which the number of births has remained unchanged for a period of 15 years there should be about 2 percent more persons under 5 years of

age than in the group 5-9 years of age and about 1 percent more in the group 5-9 than in the 10-14 group. The population under 1 year should constitute slightly more than one-fifth of the total population under 5 years of age. Such a pattern would be found in a life table of the population for the years 1929-1931. If the number of births each year did not remain constant, or if there was a large net migration of persons in these age-groups, this pattern might not appear. The conditions under which the number of births per year would change are: (1) change in the specific birth rates; (2) alteration of the age composition of the female population; (3) change in the total number of females in the reproductive age; (4) any combination of the foregoing factors.

In the case of the Jews the limited evidence suggests declining birth and net reproduction rates. The large influx of Jews in the first 25 years of this century fell off with the restriction of immigration in 1924. Accordingly, the age distribution of the population under 15 as estimated from the Jewish death rates appears most plausible. The number of births was greatest in the period 1915-1919 and fell off in each succeeding five-year period. In addition the number of children under 1 year of age constituted just one-fifth of the total population under 5.

On the other hand, the age distribution of the population under 15 estimated from the death rates of the white population is less consistent and less plausible. The number of births was greatest in the period 1915-1919, declined in the next five-year period, increased greatly in the period 1925-1928 and then sharply decreased in 1929. If the number of women in the childbearing ages had increased greatly since 1925, the increase noted in the number of births in these years would be reasonable, but this assumption does not explain the very sharp decrease in the year 1929. Although such changes in the number of births conceivably could have occurred, it is more plausible to assume that such a distribution deviates considerably from the "true" distribution.

On the basis of the comments above regarding the sex distribution in the age-group below 15, it seemed more reasonable to balance the sexes than to allow the obviously incorrect original division to remain. This was done in the presentation of the population by age and sex (Table VI).

3. If both the specific birth and death rates should *decrease*, the population would age even more than in the first assumption.

Assuming a net migration *from* Chicago, the net effect, regardless of changes in the specific birth and death rates, would be to decrease the number of Jews in the city. If this migration should be to distant places, the majority of the older people would probably remain in Chicago, so that the average age of the population would exceed that of 1930. If the migration should be chiefly to suburban areas near Chicago, the older people might participate proportionately in the movement. In that case the Chicago population would vary according to assumptions 1, 2, or 3.

If there should be a large net migration *to* Chicago, regardless of changes in

the specific birth and death rates, the number of Jews would obviously increase. The age composition would perhaps remain much the same as in 1930.

In the light of known population movements in the United States, the most likely trends are a decline in the specific birth and death rates and a movement to the suburbs of Chicago. Such a situation would be similar to that of hypothesis 3 if, instead of Chicago proper, the Jewish population of *metropolitan Chicago* be considered.

Data for computing the Jewish birth rates (Table III) were obtained from the study which furnished the death rate data and apply to the same neighborhoods and the same population. The female births in the years 1928-1932 were used; the rates are thus centered on 1930. The total population on which the rates are based was taken from the 1930 Census of Chicago. By using data for five years, enough cases were obtained to give fairly stable rates.

An indirect method has been devised for computing the net reproduction rate¹⁶ which allowed separate computation for the total native and the foreign-born Jewish population in Chicago. Application of this method revealed net reproduction rates for the total Jewish population identical with those observed in the selected areas.

The true rate of natural increase, r , was calculated from the formula:

$$P_0 = P_n(1 + r)^n$$

where P_0 = the net reproduction rate, $P_n = 100$ (the original number of mothers), n = the length of a generation (30 years).

In estimating the nativity composition of the Jewish population it was assumed that the native and foreign-born Jews had the same age and sex specific death rates. Accordingly the population in each age and sex group was distributed in the same proportion as the deceased persons. That this is a justifiable assumption is amply demonstrated by the data in the study of P. M. Hauser, cited above, which showed no differentials by nativity in the death rate.

In building up the population by marital status, it was assumed that the death rates were the same for persons of differing marital status within each age and sex group in spite of evidence that the death rates of married males for each age are lower than those of single persons. Similar differences are found among females, except in the childbearing years, when married women may have a death rate as high as or even higher than single women. No evidence which would permit the computation of differential death rates, however, was available for the purposes of this study. As in the distribution of the population by nativity, the population in each age and sex group was distributed in the same proportions as were the deceased persons. Because of the relatively small number of deaths in each age and sex group, certain desirable cross-tabulations could not be made,

¹⁶ This method is described in Karpinos, B. D., "The Differential True Rates of Growth of the White Population in the United States and Their Probable Effects on the General Growth of the Population," in *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. xlv (1938) 251-73.

i. e., by nativity and marital status, by occupation and nativity and by place of origin.

The number of deaths fluctuates from one year to the next, but a five-year average reduces the chance fluctuations. It is proposed to investigate the problem more thoroughly and to determine the size of the chance errors. The number of deaths is known for each of five years for each age and sex group. Accordingly, it was possible to calculate the mean number of deaths for each age and sex group and the standard error of the mean¹⁷ showed almost no upward or downward trend during the five-year period. If the unknown "true mean" is α , the probability that the observed mean or any other sample mean drawn from the same universe differs from α by more than one standard error is about 1 in 3.

TABLE XI
ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION, MALE AND FEMALE, AND STANDARD ERROR,
CHICAGO, 1930, CLASSIFIED BY AGE-GROUP

Age-group	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	Standard error	Number	Standard error	Number	Standard error
All ages.....	265,450	4,650	135,410	3,260	130,040	3,320
Less than 1.....	3,310	210	1,660	140	1,650	150
1-4.....	14,300	1,230	7,150	1,000	7,150	710
5-9.....	17,140	1,260	8,570	810	8,570	970
10-14.....	22,760	2,120	11,380	1,700	11,380	1,250
15-19.....	29,030	2,450	14,610	1,290	14,420	2,060
20-24.....	27,350	1,740	12,950	1,190	14,400	1,270
25-29.....	31,110	1,240	17,250	1,120	13,860	510
30-34.....	21,940	1,310	10,850	950	11,090	890
35-44.....	43,060	930	20,320	590	22,740	730
45-54.....	28,900	730	16,570	410	12,330	590
55-64.....	16,760	450	9,350	410	7,410	180
65-74.....	7,610	290	3,710	140	3,900	260
75 and over.....	2,180	90	1,040	70	1,140	50

Accordingly, the size of the population (in each age and sex group) in terms of one standard error was computed (Table XI). From these data it is possible to evaluate the influence which chance variation in the numbers of deaths may have had on the results of this study. Although the standard error is large in some of the specific age and sex categories, the standard errors for the totals are proportionally rather small. The standard error for the total males is only about 2.4

¹⁷ The standard error was computed from the following formula: $\sigma_m = \frac{\sigma}{\sqrt{n-1}}$ where σ is the standard deviation of the five individual annual observations.

percent of the total male population. For the total females the error is about 2.6 percent and for the total population (males and females), 1.8 percent.¹⁸

In summary it appears that the use of a five-year average eliminates chance errors to a large extent. The total population as estimated from the known deaths has a maximum chance variation of about three standard errors, or 1.8×3 , or 5.4 percent. In terms of the total population this means that the probability that chance fluctuations in the number of deaths would have given an error greater than 4,650 is only about 2 out of 1,000. The estimated size of the Jewish population is in error, however, to the extent that not all the Jewish deaths were obtained.

¹⁸ The errors for the total populations were arrived at from the formula $\sigma_{\text{total}} = \sqrt{\sum(\sigma_x^2 \omega_x^2)}$ where: σ_x = the standard error of any given age and sex group, ω_x = the reciprocal of the death rate for the corresponding age and sex group.

The death rates used here as weights were those found in the "Jewish" areas of Chicago. If the death rates of the total white population living in areas in Chicago where the median rental is between \$60 and \$74 be substituted, the resulting errors remain substantially the same. That for the males would be reduced from 3,260 to 3,050 and that for the females would be reduced from 3,320 to 2,750.

CHAPTER IX

THE JEWISH POPULATION OF MINNEAPOLIS, 1936

BY SOPHIA M. ROBISON

THIS survey, conducted under the supervision of Mr. Charles I. Cooper, executive secretary of the Federation for Jewish Service, during the summer of 1936, followed the methods outlined by the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds for gathering Jewish population data in small communities.¹ There was a house-to-house canvass in the more densely populated Jewish sections of the city and, in the more sparsely settled sections, a canvass of those households which were designated as Jewish. Inquiry at each one of these households yielded the names of other Jewish families not found on the original list who lived in the neighborhood.

A master list, made up of approximately 2,190 subscribers to the 1935 campaign of the Minneapolis Jewish Federation, was supplemented by the names of 630 members of Jewish women's organizations, 860 families known in 1935 and 1936 to the Jewish Family Welfare Society, 240 Jewish families on the public welfare list, 60 names from the roster of the Downtown Talmud Torah and 775 families who were members of two large synagogues in the southwest section of the city. A card for each of these names was arranged by street address. The 1935 Minneapolis City Directory furnished many additional names of families presumably Jewish which did not appear on organization lists.

This enumeration of the Jewish population of Minneapolis returned a total of 16,260 persons, or 3.5 percent of the city's total in 1930 (464,356). It was important to know, however, not only the size of the Jewish population but also its distribution in the various sections of the city and to compare its sex, age and family composition with that of the non-Jewish population. To this end seven simple tables were prepared and are presented below.

Neighborhood Distribution

Table I below shows that the Jewish population was concentrated, since almost 70 percent (11,018) of the Jews enumerated lived in district 1, which corresponds in the main to ward 3, on the lower North Side, a neighborhood of one- and two-family dwellings, some rooming houses and very few apartment houses. It is reported that this district is in no way comparable to the Lower East Side of New York City. It is not a ghetto but a section of the city in which

¹ The writer is indebted to Dr. Kaethe Rabinow for clerical assistance in coding and tabulating the schedules.

middle-class Jews live more or less comfortably and closely. The second largest group of Jews was found in district 2, an area of four- to eight-family apartment houses, in which the Reform and the Conservative synagogues are located. In district 4, 997 Jews were enumerated. The remaining 2,223 Jews resided in the other eight districts of the city.

TABLE I
JEWISH POPULATION, MALE AND FEMALE, MINNEAPOLIS, 1936, CLASSIFIED
BY NATIVITY, EACH JEWISH CENSUS DISTRICT

District	All classes		Native				Foreign born			
			Total		Male	Female	Total		Male	Female
	Number	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent			Num-ber	Per-cent		
All districts	16,260	100.0	9,777	60.1	4,823	4,954	6,297	38.7	3,270	3,027
1.	² 11,018	100.0	6,179	56.1	3,061	3,118	4,728	43.9	2,411	2,317
2.	³ 2,022	100.0	1,463	72.3	674	789	524	27.7	284	240
3.	⁴ 609	100.0	482	79.1	248	234	119	20.9	73	46
4.	⁵ 997	100.0	570	57.1	303	267	414	42.9	217	197
5.	⁶ 758	100.0	546	72.0	257	289	197	28.0	109	88
6.	46	*	29	..	15	14	17	..	11	6
7.	⁷ 106	100.0	68	64.1	30	38	35	35.9	20	15
8.	⁸ 329	100.0	207	62.9	109	98	121	37.1	68	53
9.	207	100.0	148	71.5	79	69	59	28.5	33	26
10.	164	100.0	82	50.0	46	36	82	50.0	43	39
11.	4	*	3	..	1	2	1	..	1	0

* Percentages not calculated where the base is less than 50.
Footnotes refer to cases in which nativity was not recorded.
¹ 109 males and 77 females. ¹³ ..
² 111. ¹⁵ ..
³ 35. ¹⁷ 3.
⁴ 8. ¹⁸ 1.

Nativity

Whereas 81.5 percent of the total Minneapolis population was native in 1930, only 60 percent of the Jewish population in 1936 was reported as native. In district 3, the Lakes district in the southwest end of the city, in which single-family dwellings predominated and in which the younger couples resided, almost 80 percent of the Jews enumerated were native.

In some immigrant groups males greatly outnumber females. In the total Minneapolis foreign-born population in 1930 the males exceeded the females by some 8 percent, but in the foreign-born Jewish group males outnumbered females by only 243, or 3.9 percent of the total number in the group. The explanation for the lower ratio may be that the Jewish immigrant group is not a recently settled one in which males tend to reconnoiter for the family, a surmise which is borne

out by the data on the length of time the Minneapolis Jews reported they had been in the United States.

TABLE II
FOREIGN-BORN PERSONS IN THE JEWISH POPULATION, MINNEAPOLIS, 1936,
CLASSIFIED BY YEARS IN UNITED STATES AND YEARS IN MINNEAPOLIS

Years in United States	All foreign-born persons	Years in Minneapolis											
		Less than 5	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55 and over
Total.	6,297	309	310	672	937	987	1,140	851	384	199	224	128	22
Less than 5	30	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5-9...	68	10	58	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10-14...	2438	38	27	372	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15-19...	2605	33	21	36	514	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20-24...	3947	44	43	63	122	673	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25-29...	41,227	41	52	63	108	120	839	..	..	..	..	..	..
30-34...	1,254	54	48	57	83	96	171	733	..	..	..	..	..
35-39...	3602	20	7	26	44	47	58	65	333	..	..	..	..
40-44...	2294	6	17	17	18	13	27	15	20	160	..	..	..
45-49...	3555	9	11	12	15	12	23	21	14	26	210	..	..
50-54...	193	6	7	9	3	5	3	8	14	11	10	114	..
55 and over..	66	2	3	..	6	6	6	4	1	1	2	13	22
Unknown	218	16	16	17	24	15	13	5	2	1	2	1	..

Footnotes refer to cases in which the length of residence in the city was not recorded.

¹ 134.

² 1.

³ 2.

⁴ 4.

⁵ 12.

⁶ 3.

⁷ 106.

On the basis of the data in Table II above, the median number of years which the 6,297 foreign-born Jews in Minneapolis had been in the United States fell in the span 25 to 29 years. The largest single group, 1,254, had emigrated between 1902 and 1906 and had been in the United States from 30 to 34 years.² About half (49 percent) of those for whom data were recorded had been in the city for 25 years or more, indicating that the foreign-born Jewish group in Minneapolis was stable. Only 536, or 8.8 percent of the group, had been in the United States less than 15 years. The majority of the foreign-born Jews, who are the

³ The enumerators called attention to some discrepancies in the figures on length of stay in this country and on the ages of the foreign-born children. The persons canvassed showed a tendency to over-estimate slightly the length of time the immigrant had been in the United States and to under-estimate the age of foreign-born children.

parents of the native Jewish child population, had been in Minneapolis long enough to be no problem to the community's Americanization program. While no tabulation was made of the countries from which the immigrants came, Russian nativity predominated.

Age Distribution

Table III below provides the basis for comparison of the age distribution of the Jewish population in 1936 with the population of Minneapolis as a whole in 1930.

TABLE III
TOTAL POPULATION, MINNEAPOLIS, 1930, AND JEWISH POPULATION,
MINNEAPOLIS, 1936, BY AGE-GROUP

Age-group	Total population (1930)		Jewish population (1936)			
	Number	Percent	Total		District I	All other districts
			Number	Percent		
All ages	464,356	100.0	16,260	100.0	11,018	5,242
Under 5	34,177	7.4	873	5.4	550	323
5-9	38,685	8.3	1,147	7.1	814	333
10-14	36,986	8.0	1,447	8.9	1,017	430
15-19	37,008	8.0	1,747	10.7	1,294	453
20-24	43,308	9.3	1,832	11.3	1,330	502
25-34	81,852	17.6	2,641	16.2	1,658	983
35-44	78,272	16.9	2,465	15.2	1,540	925
45-54	53,310	11.5	2,048	12.6	1,402	646
55-64	33,212	7.2	1,178	7.2	824	354
65-74	20,158	4.3	584	3.6	423	161
75 and over	7,185	1.5	154	0.9	99	55
Unknown	203	*	144	0.9	67	77

* Less than 0.1 percent.

Since one of the purposes of this census was to test the basic assumption of the "Yom Kippur method,"² comparisons were made of the percent distribution of the 5- to 14-year-old group in the Jewish population and in the total population. In 1930, 16.3 percent of the population as a whole was in the 5- to 14-year-old group, while in 1936, 16.0 percent of all the Jews enumerated in Minneapolis were in that category.

Although the difference in the percent distribution of the Jewish population and the total population for this age-group was slight, Table III indicates that the differential for each five-year span, from the 5 to 9 through the 15 to 19 group, was greater in the Jewish population (7.1, 8.9 and 10.7 percent) than in the total

² See above, chapter I.

population (8.3, 8.0 and 8.0 percent). This may mean that the shift within the Jewish population into the older age-groups has been more rapid than that of the non-Jewish population.

The fact that the age distribution of the Jewish population differed somewhat from that of the total population may reflect the tendency of Jews of marriageable age to leave the city to join their mates or seek employment elsewhere more frequently than do the non-Jewish youth. If this relative shift of larger proportions of Jews than non-Jews to the older age brackets continues, the number of Jewish children in school will become less and less accurate as an index to the total Jewish population.

TABLE IV
JEWISH FAMILIES WITH BOTH PARENTS, MINNEAPOLIS, 1936, CLASSIFIED BY
NATIVITY OF PARENTS AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Number of children	All classes		Nativity of parents					
			Both native		One native, one foreign born		Both foreign born	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
All districts.	13,611	100.0	809	100.0	649	100.0	2,085	100.0
None	2772	21.4	274	33.9	143	22.0	352	16.9
1 child	3862	23.9	264	32.6	161	24.8	413	19.8
2 children	4952	26.4	183	22.6	197	30.4	552	26.5
3 children	590	16.3	67	8.3	94	14.5	415	19.9
4 children	6266	7.4	15	1.9	35	5.4	211	10.2
5 children	7101	2.8	6	0.7	10	1.5	84	4.0
6 children	742	1.2	..	..	7	1.1	34	1.6
7 children	13	0.3	..	..	..	..	13	0.6
8 or more	13	0.3	..	..	2	0.3	11	0.5

Footnotes refer to cases in which the nativity of one or both parents was not recorded.

¹ 58 (including at least 25 native parents).

² 3.

³ 14.

⁴ 24.

⁵ 5.

⁶ 20.

⁷ 1.

Family Composition

The tables which follow show the distribution of the 16,260 Jews enumerated in 1936 in families with both parents, in broken families⁴ and as unattached persons. Classifying the 3,611 families for whom data on both parents were available according to the nativity of the parents and the number of children (Table IV), it appears that in 1936:

1. Slightly more than one-fifth of the Minneapolis Jewish families had no children. There was a variation, however, from 19.7 percent of families without

⁴ The term "broken" is used to describe families in which data were obtained for only one of the parents. It includes cases in which one of the parents was not Jewish as well as those in which the home may have been broken by death, desertion, divorce or separation.

children in district 1, containing the bulk of the Jewish population, to 24.7 percent of Jewish families in the other districts combined who reported no children.

2. One- and two-children families accounted for slightly more than one-half (50.3 percent) of all the families. As would be anticipated, district 1 had the largest proportion of families with three or more children (33.2 percent), in contrast to 18.9 percent for the other districts combined.

3. Only 16.9 percent of families headed by foreign-born parents had no children, whereas 33.9 percent of families in which both parents were native reported no children. Of the 2,085 families in which both parents were foreign born, 19.9 percent had three children, compared with 8.3 percent of the 809 families in which both parents were native.

These differences in the number of children reported in families headed by native or foreign-born persons are related to differences in the ages of the mothers. The median age of the foreign-born Jewish mothers was 45, whereas the median age of the native mothers was approximately 32, pointing to the fact that a large proportion of the families with native parents was potentially not yet complete.

The size of the families of foreign-born parents in this study is undoubtedly underestimated in comparison with the size of the families headed by native parents. A much greater proportion of the families with foreign-born parents had reached the stage in which the adult members of the families had probably left home, either to marry or to work elsewhere. Undoubtedly many of the families of foreign-born parents which were reported without children were families in which all the children had already left home. Since, as was pointed out above, the tradition of large families is associated with the mores of an immigrant group, it would appear that there is less likelihood that the native Jewish mothers will in future have as many children as their own foreign-born parents had. Unless immigration restrictions are lifted, there is additional support for the hypothesis that the size of the Jewish family in Minneapolis will continue to decrease.

In addition to the 3,611 families for whom data on both parents were obtained, there were 412 family cards on which the enumerator listed the mother only and 113 on which the father only was listed. Assuming that instances of intermarriage were not numerous, over 85 percent of the families reported as having the mother only (356 out of 412) were headed by a foreign-born person. About 15 percent of these foreign-born mothers had four or more children.

Brothers and sisters keeping house without their parents, persons living outside family groups, or as roomers or boarders in a family or in a hotel, are classified in Table V below according to nativity, sex and residence in districts. More than half of all these unattached persons lived in district 1. It will be noted in Table V that outside of district 1, in which more than half of these unattached individuals lived, only two other districts had more than 59 persons living alone or as boarders in other households: district 2 with 111 and district 4 with 93.

TABLE V
UNATTACHED PERSONS IN THE JEWISH POPULATION, MALE AND FEMALE,
MINNEAPOLIS, 1936, CLASSIFIED BY NATIVITY

Districts	All unattached persons	Native			Foreign born		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	1766	287	168	119	454	195	259
1	2423	111	56	55	301	119	182
2	1111	55	26	29	49	13	36
3	34	19	15	4	14	5	9
4	93	38	27	11	51	29	22
5	459	38	28	10	20	14	6
6-10	446	26	16	10	19	15	4

Footnotes refer to cases in which nativity was not recorded.

¹ 15 males and 10 females.

² 11.

³ 7.

⁴ 1.

⁵ 4.

Comparisons between the number of persons in Jewish families in 1936 and in families in the total population in 1930 can be made only by excluding single-person families from both tables. This fact and the fact that the Jewish census

TABLE VI
TOTAL FAMILIES, MINNEAPOLIS, 1930,¹ AND JEWISH FAMILIES, MINNEAPOLIS, 1936,
CLASSIFIED BY NATIVITY OF HEAD AND NUMBER OF PERSONS PER FAMILY²

Number of persons	All classes			Native head			Foreign-born head		
	All families (1930) in per cent	Jewish families (1936)		All families (1930) in per cent	Jewish families (1936) ³		All families (1930) in per cent	Jewish families (1936) ⁴	
		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent
Total	100.0	4,136	100.0	100.0	870	100.0	100.0	2,536	100.0
2 persons	28.5	981	23.7	29.7	306	35.2	24.7	520	20.5
3 persons	25.4	1,028	24.9	26.4	283	32.5	23.3	557	22.0
4 persons	20.7	1,035	25.0	20.9	190	21.8	20.6	627	24.7
5 persons	12.4	633	15.3	12.0	68	7.8	13.7	457	18.1
6 persons	6.6	281	6.8	5.9	17	2.0	8.3	224	8.8
7 persons	3.3	107	2.6	2.7	6	0.7	4.6	90	3.5
8 persons	1.6	45	1.1	1.3	..	..	2.4	37	1.5
9 persons	0.8	13	0.3	0.6	..	..	1.3	13	0.5
10 persons or more	0.7	13	0.3	0.5	..	..	1.1	11	0.4

¹ *Fifteenth Census of the United States, Population*, vol. vi.

² Families of one person are not included because one-person families in the U. S. Census and the classification "single persons" in the Jewish census are not comparable.

³ Includes only families in which both parents were native.

⁴ Includes only families in which both parents were foreign born.

was made six years after the United States Census weaken the validity of the comparisons. On the basis of Table VI the median for all families fell between 2 and 3 persons and that for Jewish families between 3 and 4 persons. The calculated medians were 2.85 for the total population and 3.05 for the Jewish population.

Classifying the families according to the nativity of the head of the family, the median for all Jewish families headed by a foreign-born person (3.3) was slightly larger than that for the total population (3.1). Since with restricted immigration the Jewish families in Minneapolis will increasingly fall into the category of those headed by a native person, a more significant comparison is that of the median size of families headed by native persons in both groups. In the total population the median size of families headed by native persons in 1930 was 2.77, in comparison with 2.46 for the Jewish families headed by native-born parents. The significance of the difference in the size of the two sets of families is not as great as it seems because of the smaller number of families in the Jewish group in this category and because of the fact that the median age of the Jewish mothers was only 32 years and the probability that their families were not yet complete.

Summary

This census enumerated a Jewish population in Minneapolis in 1936 of 16,260 persons, of whom almost 70 percent lived in a district of middle-class character. The ratio of foreign born in the Jewish population (40 percent) was more than twice that in the total population (18.5 percent), but about half of this Jewish group had been in the city for at least 25 years. The ratio of Jewish children of school age (5-14) in 1936, 16 percent, was practically equal to the corresponding ratio in the total population in 1930, but the Jewish population was seen to be aging more rapidly than the total population.

Half of the Jewish families with both parents had one or two children and about one-fifth had none; the median-size family consisted of three persons. The largest Jewish families were headed by foreign-born parents, while one-third of those in which both parents were native were childless. To a certain extent the difference was due to the lower median age of the native (32) as compared with the foreign-born Jewish mothers (45).

In view of the important difference in the number of persons in Jewish families of native and of foreign parentage and the shift of the parent group from the foreign-born to the native category, and considering that in the latter category the number of persons per Jewish family is smaller than among the families of native parentage in the total population, the "*Yom Kippur* method" would under-estimate the number of Jews in Minneapolis. This method would lead to increasingly greater errors with the passage of time.

CHAPTER X

A STUDY OF SAN FRANCISCO JEWRY, 1938

BY SAMUEL MOMENT

THE data of the present study were gathered during the months of April-June, 1938, after the project had been endorsed by representatives of the leading Jewish institutions and societies in San Francisco.¹ These communal leaders recognized that their work ought properly be guided by such basic considerations as the extent of the Jewish population in the various neighborhoods, the age distribution of the Jews in the community and their occupational structure. The data obtained have since been utilized by the Jewish Educational Society, the Jewish Vocational Guidance Bureau and by agencies concerned with the Americanization of recent immigrants. The Federation of Jewish Charities of San Francisco has also found the results of this survey useful in planning its activities.

Method

As a preliminary step, lists were obtained representing the membership, client and mailing lists of some seventy Jewish organizations in the city. These were supplemented (1) by the names of Jewish guests at the principal hotels, (2) by the names received in response to a printed announcement of the survey mailed to all the listed families and (3) by names obtained by the canvassers. Together, these sources yielded a total of 32,600 names. When all duplicates had been eliminated, there remained a master file of 12,389 cards, each representing a household with one or more Jewish persons.

After almost half of the listed families (5,720), arranged by census tract and consecutive street address within each tract, had been canvassed, it was clear that the available funds would not cover the cost of the complete enumeration of the remaining families. In order to collect representative data on the remainder (6,669 families) it was decided to interview every third family. After eliminating

¹The survey was directed by the writer with the aid of an advisory committee consisting of Mr. William B. Cherin, Mr. Hyman Kaplan, Executive Director, Federation of Jewish Charities, Mr. R. C. Resnik and Mrs. A. Saber, Secretary of the Jewish National Welfare Fund. The master list was compiled under the supervision of Miss Rhea Blue, who also aided in the tabulation. Space for headquarters and considerable equipment were provided by the Hebrew Free Loan Association, whose secretary, Mr. William G. Weiss, and his assistant, Miss C. Glickman, simplified many administrative problems. Too numerous to mention are the representatives of the more than 70 co-operating societies which made available their lists and in certain instances took a hand in compiling the master list.

non-residents, non-Jews, households already canvassed and those which were impossible to reach, 1,358 families out of this second group remained as a basis for estimating the characteristics of the listed Jewish families who were not visited. In the final tabulations data from this sample were multiplied by three and then combined with the data previously obtained. It is assumed that because the sample group was large and chosen at random this procedure did not significantly affect the main findings of the survey.

Check on Coverage

The final step of the canvass was to determine the extent to which the 12,389 household cards in the file accounted for the total number of Jewish families in San Francisco. A house-to-house canvass was made of forty blocks (four blocks in each of ten census tracts) and the number of Jewish families enumerated was found to exceed the number of family cards in the file for the blocks studied by 16 percent. Allowing for this margin of omission, the number of Jewish families in San Francisco in 1938 becomes 14,725 and the number of persons 41,000, or 6.5 percent of the total population of the city (634,536 in 1940).

Definitions

The term "family" or "household" is used here substantially as in the 1930 Census. A single person living alone, or a group of related or unrelated persons living together and sharing common household facilities, constitutes a family. In households or rooming houses with three or more lodgers each lodger was regarded as a single-person family, on the assumption that his status was similar to that of a person living alone. Less than fifty such lodgers were found in the survey.

For the purpose of this survey, a Jew is one who regards himself as Jewish either by race or religion. Because no acceptable racial or cultural definition of a Jew is available, the only practical criterion was an admission by the individual.³ Thus, only persons who acknowledged that they were Jews were included in the survey.

Limitations of the Data

Accuracy of results was assured by careful selection of enumerators through tests, minute editing of schedules, checking by telephone and payment of a premium of two cents for each schedule accepted by the editors without correction. Misrepresentation of facts by persons interviewed is believed to have been

³In practice difficulties were occasionally encountered. Thus, certain persons known to be Jews and affiliated with Jewish organizations who, nevertheless, claimed to be non-Jewish, were naturally included in the enumeration as Jews who declined to answer the enumerators' questions. Non-Jewish members of a mixed household were included only if related to either the male or female head and if they expressed no wish to be omitted; all such persons who requested it were omitted from the enumeration.

negligible for most questions because of the emphasis placed upon the confidential treatment of the information and the assurance that the ultimate removal of the stub from the schedule would leave no identifying name or address. To offset understatement in the ages of women, the population was classified in five-year age-groups, and in this respect the survey probably contains no greater error than the United States Census.

Various limitations of the survey should be kept in mind in the interpretation of the findings. In the first place, the survey data represent 10,369 families³ or 28,645 persons rather than all the listed 12,389 families (about 34,000 persons), which is in turn less than the estimated total Jewish population of 14,725 families or 40,910 persons. The survey dealt with 83 percent of the listed families and approximately 70 percent of the estimated Jewish population of San Francisco.

In the second place, while the characteristics of the surveyed families were recorded in considerable detail, the findings cannot always be applied in every respect to the estimated Jewish population. For example, although it is reasonable to suggest that the age distribution of the surveyed population corresponds to that of the entire Jewish population, calculations as to the number of Jewish doctors in San Francisco or the proportion of families affiliated with synagogues are subject to the limitations of the sampling process.

Distribution by Census Tracts

The recent inclusion of San Francisco in the census tract cities will make it possible after 1940 to study sections of the population according to the character of the neighborhoods or tracts in which they live. Inasmuch as the 1938 Jewish survey followed the new census tracts, when the 1940 census returns become available, it will be possible to determine with comparative accuracy the Jewish ratio of the population in each tract (barring any unusual intra-city migrations) and to compare the Jewish group living in a given tract with the total population of the tract.

Table I classifies by census district all the 12,389 families in the master file and the families and persons represented in the survey. Table II gives the estimated total number of Jewish families and persons in each census district and Figure 1 indicates the location of these districts as well as the forty blocks selected for a check on the completeness of the number of families in the master file.

Using Market Street, Seventeenth Street and Golden Gate Park as the boundary between the northern and southern halves of the city, it appears that in 1938 approximately four-fifths of all the Jews in San Francisco lived in the northern part of the city. Few Jews were found in Districts M and N, where the skilled, unskilled and semiskilled workers in the general population are most

³This total is made up of (1) the 6,295 families enumerated before the sampling method was employed and (2) 4,074 families of which every third one was enumerated, comprising 1,358.

numerous. District J is the old Jewish district from which many families have moved into the Richmond district (D, E, G and H).

The characteristics of the 10,369 Jewish families and the 28,645 individuals⁴ will be discussed separately. In the tables below the totals refer to the group of families regarding whom data were obtained by the canvass.

TABLE I
JEWISH FAMILIES IN MASTER LIST, AND SURVEYED FAMILIES AND PERSONS,
SAN FRANCISCO, 1938, EACH CENSUS DISTRICT

District	Families in master list (1)	Total ¹ (2)	Surveyed families interviewed, non-sample (3)	Interviewed sample (4)	Surveyed persons (5)
Total	12,389	10,369	6,295	1,358	² 28,133
A	1,989	1,391	449	314	2,373
B	2,278	1,971	1,140	277	5,271
C	7	1	1	..	1
D	490	441	303	46	1,347
E	800	683	440	81	2,325
G	1,200	1,139	773	122	3,966
H	395	356	227	43	1,157
I	1	1	1	..	3
J	3,141	2,613	1,758	285	6,961
K	229	146	77	23	236
L	100	78	45	11	212
M	299	264	180	28	834
N	404	341	197	48	1,049
O	505	412	286	42	1,224
P	255	234	141	31	758
Q	37	29	11	6	86
Institutions	259	259	259	..	310
Unknown . . . . .	..	10	7	1	20

¹ Column 3 plus three times column 4.

² Not including 512 non-Jews for whom schedules were filled out.

Age Distribution and Sex Ratio

When the 28,645 persons covered by the survey are classified according to age and compared with the corresponding groups in the total population in 1930

⁴The difference between this figure and the 28,133 given in Table I is made up by the 512 non-Jews who were living as members of Jewish households and who did not request that they be omitted.

(Table III), striking differences appear: (1) The Jewish population under five formed 4.1 percent of the total as compared with 5.1 percent of the total population. (2) The age-groups from 20 to 44, comprising persons most likely to be

TABLE II
ESTIMATED NUMBER OF JEWISH FAMILIES AND PERSONS, SAN FRANCISCO, 1938
EACH CENSUS DISTRICT¹

District and boundaries		Families		Persons	
District	Street boundaries or areas	Number	Per- cent	Number	Per- cent
	All districts	14,725	100.0	240,910	100.0
A	Market, Embarcadero, Van Ness	2,063	14.0	3,588	8.8
B	Van Ness, Marina, California, Ar- guello, the Presidio	2,362	16.0	6,457	15.8
D	Arguello, Geary, Funston, the Presidio	651	4.4	2,003	4.9
E	Funston, Geary, 33rd, the Presidio, Sea Cliff	1,063	7.2	3,656	8.9
G	Fulton, Funston, Geary, Clement, the Ocean	1,595	10.8	5,634	13.8
H	Fulton, Funston, Geary, Arguello	525	3.6	1,722	4.2
J	California, Van Ness, Market, 17th, Stanyan, Arguello, Fulton	3,652	24.8	9,877	24.1
K	Market, Van Ness, 17th, Embarcadero	261	1.8	422	1.0
L	17th, Van Ness, Army, Bayshore, Waterfront	114	0.8	320	0.8
M	Bayshore, Army, San Jose, Southern Pacific tracks	340	2.3	1,087	2.7
N	17th, Stanyan, Twin Peaks, O'Shaugh- nessy, Van Ness, Southern Pacific tracks	460	3.1	1,461	3.6
O	Junipero Serra, 19th, Lincoln, Stan- yan, Twin Peaks, Southern Pacific tracks	859	5.8	2,696	6.6
P	Lincoln, Sunset, 19th	434	3.0	1,432	3.5
Q	Lincoln, Sunset, the Ocean	63	0.4	198	0.5
C, I	The Presidio, Golden Gate Park	14	0.1	18	*
	Institutions	259	1.8	310	0.7
	Districts not known	10	0.1	29	0.1

¹ Based on a field survey and corrected for underenumeration as disclosed by a field check.

² Includes an estimated 757 non-Jewish persons, either heads of Jewish families or relatives of heads, living in Jewish households. Estimate corrected for underenumeration of non-Jews included in field survey with permission of informants.

* Less than 0.1 percent.

gainfully employed and the parent group of the next generation, comprised 40.4 percent of the Jewish as compared with 47.7 percent of the total population. (3) Jews 45 years of age and over accounted for 33.9 percent of their total group,

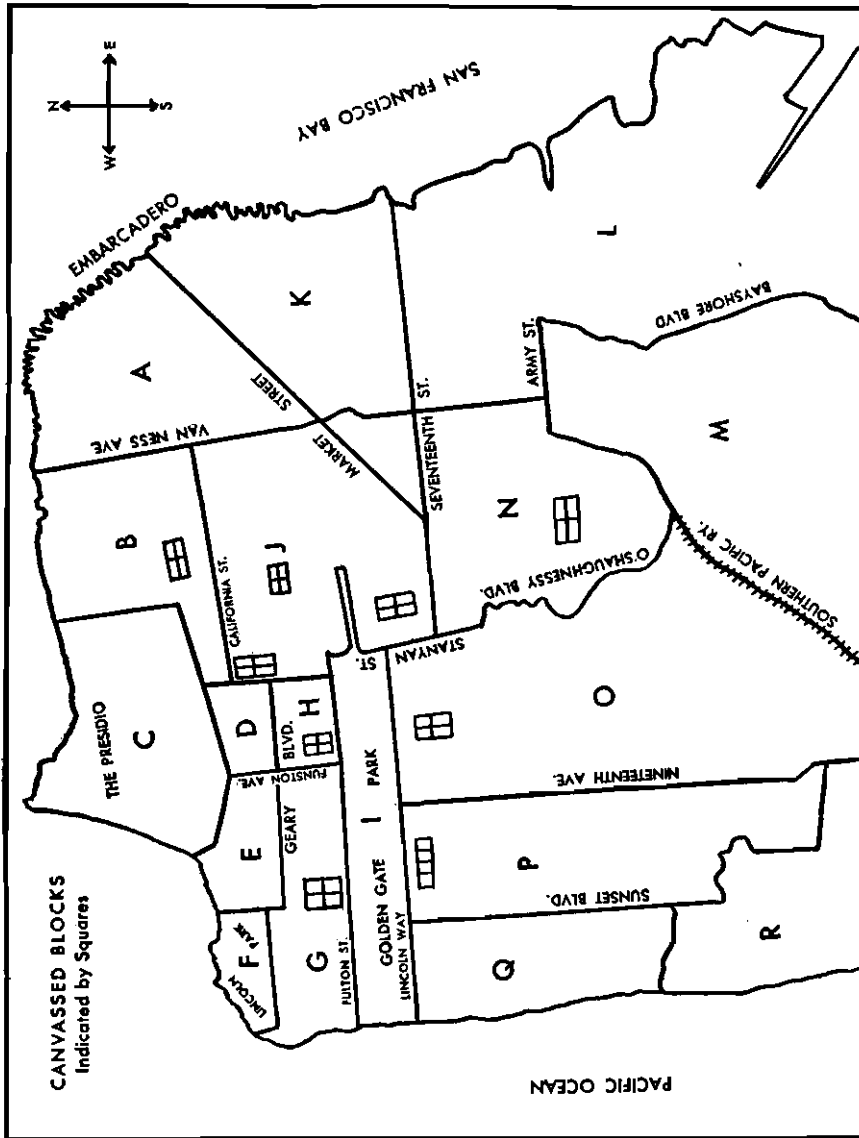


FIGURE I.—CENSUS DISTRICTS OF SAN FRANCISCO

whereas this age-span comprised 27.6 percent of the total population. The smaller ratio of Jews in the age-groups under 5 and the much larger ratio of those 45 years and over indicates a declining Jewish population.

There were about 100 males to every 107 females in the Jewish population in 1938 as compared with a ratio of about 114 to 100 in the total population in 1930. When sex is related to age a slight excess of females over males in the Jewish population is found in each age-group over 15 with the exception of the group aged 45 to 54. The large number of women who did not report their age suggests that the disparity between the number of men and women in the age-groups over

TABLE III
TOTAL POPULATION, SAN FRANCISCO, 1930, AND SURVEYED JEWISH POPULATION,
SAN FRANCISCO, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY AGE-GROUP

Age-group	Total population in percent ¹	Surveyed Jewish population			
		Total		Male	Female
		Number	Percent		
All ages.....	100.0	28,645	100.0	13,845	14,800
Under 1.....	0.9	279	1.0	147	132
1-4.....	4.2	902	3.1	460	442
5-9.....	5.9	1,320	4.6	699	621
10-14.....	5.7	1,713	6.0	871	842
15-19.....	6.7	2,085	7.3	1,000	1,085
20-24.....	9.4	2,223	7.8	1,100	1,123
25-29.....	10.2	2,516	8.8	1,154	1,362
30-34.....	9.8	2,309	8.1	1,084	1,225
35-44.....	18.3	4,503	15.7	2,203	2,300
45-54.....	14.0	4,247	14.8	2,174	2,073
55-64.....	8.3	2,969	10.4	1,477	1,492
65 and over.....	5.3	2,506	8.7	1,198	1,308
Unknown.....	1.3	1,073	3.7	278	795

¹ Source: *Fifteenth Census of the United States: Population*, vol. ii, p. 740-41.

25 was probably greater than Table III indicates. In the 1930 San Francisco total population there was an excess of males over females in each age-group over 15. In spite of the eight-year interval between that census and the Jewish survey the size of the differences suggests real rather than apparent differences in the age and sex composition of the Jewish and the total population.

Marital Status

The unequal number of men and women in the Jewish population undoubtedly bears upon the chances for marriage within the community, the proportion of

gainfully employed persons per family and the probable size of the future population. The larger proportion of married and widowed persons in the Jewish population in 1938 (68 percent) than in the total population in 1930 (59.8 percent; Table IV) points to important differences in marital status of the two groups.

TABLE IV

TOTAL POPULATION, SAN FRANCISCO, 1930, AND SURVEYED JEWISH POPULATION, SAN FRANCISCO, 1938, 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, CLASSIFIED BY MARITAL STATUS

Marital status	Total population, 1930 ¹		Jewish population, 1938	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	528,414	100.0	24,452	100.0
Single	184,619	34.9	7,074	28.9
Married	272,252	51.5	² 13,972	57.1
Widowed	43,789	8.3	2,655	10.9
Divorced	19,844	3.8	682	2.8
Unknown	7,910	1.5	69	0.3

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 968.

² Includes 225 separated persons.

Nativity and Length of Residence in the United States

Prior to the 1938 survey little was known of the number of years Jews had lived in San Francisco. Among the Jewish family-heads and their spouses 56.3 percent were born in the United States, 25 percent were natives of San Francisco and over 40 percent of the total came to San Francisco before 1920. That there has been some migration of Jews into the city in recent years is evident from the fact that 13.7 percent arrived in San Francisco between 1930 and 1938 (Table V). These facts about migration are of value to Jewish organizations concerned with the problem of absorption of newcomers into social and religious activities and the providing of special services.

Place of Birth and Year of Arrival

When the 9,463 native Jewish family-heads and their spouses are classified according to geographic region of birth (Table VI), it appears that almost half were born in San Francisco and that 60 percent were born in the Pacific coast region. It is interesting to note that almost one-fifth came from the Middle Atlantic States and one-sixth from New York State alone. By contrast in 1930, 3.8 percent of the entire native population of San Francisco had come from New York State.

The period of heaviest immigration of the San Francisco foreign-born Jewish population was from 1900 to 1909, when one-third of the foreign-born heads of

TABLE V
 JEWISH HUSBANDS AND WIVES, SAN FRANCISCO, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY
 PLACE OF BIRTH AND PERIOD OF ARRIVAL IN SAN FRANCISCO

Place of birth and period of arrival in San Francisco	Number	Percent
Total	16,806	100.0
Born in San Francisco	4,230	25.1
Born elsewhere in the United States	5,239	31.1
Born abroad	7,337	43.7
<i>Period of arrival in San Francisco</i>		
1935-1938	1,068	6.4
1930-1934	1,234	7.3
1925-1929	1,153	6.9
1920-1924	1,823	10.8
1910-1919	2,885	17.2
1900-1909	2,431	14.5
1890-1899	810	4.8
1880-1889	496	2.9
Prior to 1880	286	1.7
Unknown	390	2.3

¹ Includes single-person households and persons in institutions.

TABLE VI
 NATIVE JEWISH HUSBANDS AND WIVES, SAN FRANCISCO, 1938,
 CLASSIFIED BY REGION OF BIRTH

Geographic region of birth	Native heads of families and their spouses
Total	9,463
New England	184
Middle Atlantic	1,830
East North Central	559
West North Central	409
South Atlantic	146
East South Central	106
West South Central	131
Mountain	366
Pacific	25,675
Outlying possessions	24
Unknown	33

¹ 1,516 of this number born in New York State.

² Including those born in San Francisco.

families and their spouses arrived in the United States (Table VII). About 10 percent came before 1890 and 5 percent arrived in the United States after

TABLE VII
FOREIGN-BORN JEWISH HUSBANDS AND WIVES, SAN FRANCISCO, 1938,
CLASSIFIED BY PERIOD OF ARRIVAL IN THE UNITED STATES

Period of arrival in United States	Foreign-born husbands and wives	
	Number	Percent
All groups	7,367	100.0
1935-1938	258	3.5
1930-1934	136	1.9
1925-1929	180	2.4
1920-1924	938	12.7
1910-1919	1,513	20.5
1900-1909	2,432	33.0
1890-1899	851	11.6
1880-1889	600	8.1
Prior to 1880	203	2.8
Unknown	256	3.5

¹ Includes 24 persons born in outlying possessions of the United States.

TABLE VIII
FOREIGN-BORN JEWISH HUSBANDS AND WIVES, SAN FRANCISCO, 1938,
CLASSIFIED BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH

Country of birth	Foreign-born husbands and wives	
	Number	Percent
Total	7,343	100.0
Russia	2,774	37.8
Poland	1,053	14.3
Germany	878	12.0
Austria-Hungary	873	11.9
Rumania	451	6.1
British Isles	427	5.8
Canada	201	2.7
Asia	195	2.7
Latin America	33	0.5
All other countries	422	5.7
Unknown	36	0.5

1930. It is thought that about 1,150, or half of these recent arrivals, are Austrian and German emigrés. Germany and Austria-Hungary together, however, contributed less than one-fourth of the members of this group (Table VIII), while the majority of them (52.1 percent) came from Russia and Poland.

Citizenship Status

Among the foreign-born white persons in San Francisco who had not acquired citizenship the Jews presented a very favorable picture. In comparison with 27.7 percent aliens in the total foreign-born white population in 1930, only 17.4 percent of the foreign-born Jews in 1938 had not acquired citizenship (Table IX). The percentage of aliens among the Jews of San Francisco will no doubt be further considerably reduced when the recent immigrants from Germany and Austria will have had time to acquire citizenship status.

TABLE IX
TOTAL FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION, SAN FRANCISCO, 1930,
AND SURVEYED FOREIGN-BORN JEWISH POPULATION, SAN FRANCISCO,
1938, CLASSIFIED BY CITIZENSHIP STATUS

Citizenship status	Total foreign-born white population, 1930 ¹	Foreign-born Jewish population, 1938	
	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	99.9	9,124	100.0
Naturalized	53.8	6,663	73.0
Having first papers	11.9	715	7.9
Alien	27.7	1,590	17.4
Unknown	6.5	156	1.7

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 463.

Employment Status

The data available on the employment and occupational status of San Francisco Jewry indicated a relatively small ratio of dependent persons. According to Table IX, which distributes the Jewish population 15 years of age and over by employment status, over half of the total (55.6 percent) were employed or seeking employment. When classified by sex, wide differences appear: 70.4 percent of the women were classified as unemployed and not seeking employment, in contrast to 16.0 percent of the men. Among the Jews classified as employed or seeking employment, excluding WPA employes (Table XI), 86.9 percent of the men were employed. Part-time employment and unemployment respectively were relatively twice as frequent among the women as

among the men. Among the 310 unemployed with no previous employment, two-thirds were women.

TABLE X
JEWISH PERSONS 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, SAN FRANCISCO, 1938,
CLASSIFIED BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Employment status	Population 15 years of age and over					
	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	24,121	100.0	11,494	100.0	12,627	100.0
Employed or seeking employment	13,400	55.6	9,660	84.0	3,740	29.6
Unemployed, not seeking employ- ment	10,721	44.4	1,834	16.0	8,887	70.4

¹ Not including 310 persons in institutions and 21 others for whom no data were recorded.

TABLE XI
JEWISH PERSONS 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER EMPLOYED OR SEEKING EMPLOYMENT,
SAN FRANCISCO, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND KIND
OF EMPLOYMENT

Employment status and kind of employment	Employed or seeking employment					
	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	13,400	100.0	9,660	100.0	3,740	100.0
Employed	11,645	86.9	8,704	90.1	2,941	78.6
Self-employed	4,414	32.9	3,870	40.1	544	14.5
Employed by others	7,231	54.0	4,834	50.0	2,397	64.1
Full-time	6,033	45.0	4,186	43.3	1,847	49.4
Part-time	1,198	9.0	648	6.7	550	14.7
Unemployed and seeking em- ployment	1,490	11.1	806	8.3	684	18.3
Experienced	1,180	8.8	697	7.2	483	12.9
Inexperienced ¹	310	2.3	109	1.1	201	5.4
WPA	233	1.8	134	1.4	99	2.7
Other status	32	0.2	16	0.2	16	0.4

¹ Never having worked one month or more in any occupation.

Socio-Economic Groupings

Table XII compares the percentage distribution of the Jewish and the total population according to socio-economic groupings.⁵ The socio-economic groupings are graded according to the approximate amount of schooling and training they require and correspond in a rough way to popular social distinctions. Among those reporting a usual occupation, 40 in every 100 San Francisco Jewish men were either in business for themselves or managing the businesses of others, 30 were white-collar workers and 10 practiced a profession. Among the Jewish women, clerical occupations accounted for 60, the professions for 13, and proprietors, managers and officials for 12 in every 100 women. Only 2 Jewish women in every 100 reported domestic service as their usual occupation.

TABLE XII
ALL WORKERS, SAN FRANCISCO, 1930, AND JEWISH WORKERS,
SAN FRANCISCO, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATION, IN PERCENTAGE

Occupation	All workers ¹	Jewish workers ²
Total	100.0	100.0
Professional persons	7.7	11.4
Proprietors, managers and officials	9.4	30.8
Farmers (owners and tenants)	0.2	0.2
Wholesale and retail dealers	4.2	14.7
Others	5.0	15.9
Clerks and kindred workers	29.8	40.2
Skilled workers and foremen	14.4	5.6
Semiskilled workers	19.8	9.4
Unskilled workers	9.2	0.6
Domestic service	9.7	1.4
Unclassified . . . . .	..	0.6

¹ Gainful workers 10 years of age and over. From National Resources Committee, *Population Statistics, National Data* (Washington, D. C. 1938).

² Data obtained from 14,965 persons.

Table XII brings out some interesting differences between the occupational distribution of the Jewish population in 1938 and that of the total population of San Francisco in 1930: (1) A much higher proportion of the Jewish than of the total population was found in the professional group, 11.4 percent compared with 7.7 percent. (2) While less than one-tenth of the entire working population was classed as proprietors, managers and officials in 1930, three-tenths of the

⁵ Following the categories established by Edwards, A. M., *Alphabetical Index of Occupations and Social-Economic Groups* (Washington, D. C., U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1937).

Jewish population were recorded in this category. (3) In the total working population, unskilled workers and servants together accounted for almost 20 percent of the total as compared with only 2 percent of the Jewish working population.

The Professions

Among the Jews practicing the various professions, lawyers, physicians and surgeons, and teachers were each more than twice as numerous as any of the other groups, with the exception of musicians and teachers of music (Table XIII). Almost one-third of the Jewish professional women were teachers. In acting, nursing and social service women far outnumbered men, while among authors, editors and reporters there were equal numbers of men and women.

TABLE XIII
PROFESSIONAL PERSONS IN THE SURVEYED JEWISH POPULATION,
MALE AND FEMALE, SAN FRANCISCO, 1938,
CLASSIFIED BY PROFESSION

Profession	Total	Male	Female
All professional persons	1,699	1,076	623
Lawyers, judges and justices	265	251	14
Teachers	258	61	197
Physicians and surgeons	236	212	24
Musicians and teachers of music	176	94	82
Dentists	103	102	1
Technical engineers	79	79	..
Social service workers	78	17	61
Trained nurses	77	..	77
Actors and showmen	54	8	46
Authors, editors and reporters	53	27	26
Designers, draftsmen and inventors	46	37	9
Other and miscellaneous	274	188	86

Proprietors, Managers and Officials

Table XIV classifies in considerable detail and in order of numerical importance the occupation or industry in which Jewish proprietors, managers and officials were found. Approximately one-third of the total (1,505) were retail dealers or managers and less than half as many (694) wholesale dealers, importers, exporters or managers. There were 49 Jews in the theatrical business, while hotel and apartment-house ownership and management together accounted for the livelihood of 175 San Francisco Jews, among the total studied.

TABLE XIV

PROPRIETORS, MANAGERS AND OFFICIALS IN THE SURVEYED JEWISH POPULATION,
SAN FRANCISCO, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY KIND OF BUSINESS OR OCCUPATION

Kind of business or occupation	Total	Male	Female
All proprietors, managers and officials	4,584	4,001	583
Retail dealers and managers	1,505	1,263	242
Wholesale dealers, importers, exporters, managers	694	659	35
Manufacturers	377	341	36
Brokerage, insurance and real estate	277	246	31
Owners and proprietors of cleaning, dyeing and pressing shops	179	153	26
Junk dealers	172	171	1
Buyers and purchasing agents	133	87	46
Pharmacists	121	113	8
Restaurant, cafe and lunchroom owners and managers	111	85	26
Hotel and apartment-house owners	88	64	24
Hotel and apartment-house managers	87	23	64
Managers and officials, manufacturing	72	69	3
Bankers and brokers	68	68	0
Builders and building contractors	57	56	1
Theater owners, managers and officials	49	47	2
Other and miscellaneous	594	556	38

Ratios in Selected Occupations

Table XV compares the number of Jewish workers in selected occupations in 1938 per thousand with the number of workers per thousand in these occupations in the total working population in 1930. Analysis of the category "professionals" shows that among the gainfully occupied Jews there was a much higher proportion engaged in law, medicine and dentistry, and a slightly larger proportion in teaching, than in the total population in 1930.

Of every 1,000 Jewish workers, almost 18 were lawyers, judges or justices, in contrast to 5 per 1,000 in the total number of gainfully occupied persons in 1930. Jewish physicians and surgeons in 1938 accounted for 16 in every 1,000 Jewish workers, as compared with only 5 in every 1,000 in the total population. The ratio of Jewish dentists was almost 7 per 1,000 against 3 per 1,000 in the total population, while among pharmacists the respective ratios were 8.1 and 3.1.

In 1938 the most important occupation among San Francisco Jews was trade. Jewish wholesale and retail dealers and managers were almost four times as numerous, in relative terms, as in the 1930 working population as a whole (147 against 38 per 1,000). Jews owned the large majority of cleaning, dyeing and pressing shops, as shown both by the ratios and by the actual number of Jews

so employed. The junk business, with 172 Jewish workers recorded, seemed to be entirely in Jewish hands.

TABLE XV

ALL PERSONS IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS PER 1,000 WORKERS, SAN FRANCISCO, 1930, AND JEWISH PERSONS IN SUCH OCCUPATIONS PER 1,000 JEWISH WORKERS IN SAN FRANCISCO, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATION

Occupation	All workers, 1930 ¹		Jewish workers, 1938 ²	
	Number	Rate per 1,000	Number	Rate per 1,000
Professionals				
Lawyers, judges and justices...	1,712	5.1	265	17.7
Teachers.....	4,595	13.8	258	17.2
Physicians and surgeons.....	1,694	5.1	236	15.8
Dentists.....	988	3.0	103	6.9
Proprietors, managers and officials				
Retail and wholesale dealers and managers.....	12,800	38.4	2,199	146.9
Owners of cleaning, dyeing and pressing shops.....	227	0.7	179	12.0
Junk dealers.....	172	0.5	172	11.5
Pharmacists.....	1,039	3.1	121	8.1
Bankers, brokers.....	2,155	6.5	68	4.5
Clerks and kindred workers				
Salesmen and saleswomen.....	24,724	74.1	2,501	167.1
Stenographers and typists.....	12,120	36.3	1,132	75.6
Telephone operators.....	3,231	9.7	55	3.7
Skilled workers and foremen				
Clothing workers (self-employed or employes).....	2,375	7.1	256	17.1
Painters, glaziers, varnishers:..	4,075	12.2	89	6.0
Mechanics (not otherwise classified).....	6,154	18.4	68	4.5
Electricians.....	2,463	7.4	35	2.3

¹ Persons 10 years old and over engaged in gainful occupations (333,562). From *Fifteenth Census of the United States: Population*, vol. iv, p. 174-81.

² Jewish persons 15 years old and over reporting a usual occupation (14,965).

In the classification "clerks and kindred workers," Jewish salespeople, stenographers and typists were relatively twice as numerous as in the total working population. The ratio of tailors among Jewish workers was more than double the ratio among all workers. On the other hand, only a few (68) San Francisco Jews in 1938 were bankers or brokers.⁶ Jews were rarely employed as telephone operators (55)⁷ and even more rarely as mechanics and electricians.

⁶ There were 2,155 persons in this occupation in 1930.

⁷ There were 3,231 persons in this occupation in 1930.

Intermarriage

Certain data on the extent of intermarriage were obtained by the enumerators. Two-thirds of all the non-Jews involved were identified during the 1938 survey by the enumerators with the aid of Jewish informants. In many instances these non-Jews chose to identify themselves with the Jewish group. Table XVI discloses that in the group studied, of every 100 Jewish families in San Francisco in 1938, 7 had one or more non-Jewish members. While this does not include the undetermined number of families in which the head or his spouse was born a Jew but no longer considered himself or herself one, perhaps as many as one in ten Jewish families had one or more non-Jewish members in 1938.

TABLE XVI
MEMBERS OF SURVEYED JEWISH FAMILIES, SAN FRANCISCO, 1938,
CLASSIFIED AS JEWISH OR NON-JEWISH

Jewish or non-Jewish members	Families	
	Number	Percent
Total families	110,110	100.0
All members Jewish	9,412	93.1
Some members non-Jewish	696	6.9
Unknown	2	*
	Persons	
Total persons reporting	128,596	100.0
Jews	27,817	97.3
Non-Jews	2773	2.7
Unknown	6	*

¹ Not including 259 families, representing 310 persons in institutions.

² Includes 512 non-Jewish members who wished to be included in the survey and 261 who did not wish to be included.

* Less than 0.1 percent.

Household Composition and Family Size

Defining a "single family" as one comprising only the immediate members of the family (parents and children), Table XVII discloses that approximately 80 percent of San Francisco Jewish families lived by themselves and 15 percent had relatives residing with them, while only a very small proportion housed non-relatives. Table XVIII, in which the families are distributed according to number of persons per family, shows that almost 19 percent were single-person families, less than 11 percent had five or six members and only about 1 percent had more than six members.

In order to compare the average number of persons per family in the Jewish and the total population it is necessary to adjust the census data for San Fran-

cisco to account for differences in the definition of family in the two enumerations. For the 10,110 Jewish families the average size was 2.8, slightly larger than that for all families in the city (2.5).⁸ When, however, single-person families

TABLE XVII
SURVEYED JEWISH FAMILIES, SAN FRANCISCO, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY
COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLD

Composition	Number	Percent
All households	10,110	100.0
Single family ²	8,301	82.1
Family and relatives	1,563	15.5
Family and non-relatives	185	1.8
Family with relatives and non-relatives	43	0.4
Unknown	18	0.2

¹ Not including 259 families in institutions.

² A "single family" may consist of a single person living alone, a married couple with or without children, or one parent with children.

TABLE XVIII
SURVEYED JEWISH FAMILIES, SAN FRANCISCO, 1938,
CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF PERSONS

Number of persons per family	Number	Percent
Total families	10,110	100.0
1	1,904	18.8
2	2,795	27.6
3	2,291	22.7
4	1,918	19.0
5	806	8.0
6	281	2.8
7	73	0.7
8 or more	39	0.4
Unknown	3	*

¹ Not including 259 families in institutions; includes lodgers in families or in rooming houses with three or more lodgers.

* Less than 0.1 percent.

were excluded from both groups, the average size of the Jewish family was 3.2, slightly less than that for the total population (3.4).

⁸ *Fifteenth Census of the U. S.*, vol. vi, p. 159.

Age Composition and Population Trends

Because of the position occupied by San Francisco and California in the nation's growth, *i. e.*, in the fertility and reproduction rate of the population, the age composition of the Jews in San Francisco is of special significance in relation to the future character and size of the Jewish population. California is outstanding among the states for the rate of growth of its population. From 1900 to 1930 its population increased 280 percent while the nation as a whole increased only a little over 60 percent. California's growth, however, was due mainly to migration. This is indicated by the fact that during the years 1929-31 its reproduction rate was more than 10 percent below the rate necessary to maintain its size.⁹ (The reproduction rate is based on the number of daughters who may be expected to be born to every 1,000 females beginning life together, according to the average birth and death rates.)

Despite a deficient reproduction rate, a population can temporarily continue to grow if there is an excess of births over deaths at a given time because of the high ratio of persons in the child-bearing ages. However, as the age composition of the population changes and the proportion of young persons declines the effects of the deficient reproduction rate will begin to appear. The number of deaths will exceed the number of births and the population will decline. Only two factors can offset this decline—changes in birth and death rates or changes in the amount and the character of migration. With deaths exceeding births in the total population of San Francisco in 1927-34, one would expect to find the same situation more strongly marked among the Jewish population because of the dominance of the white-collar classes, known to have a lower rate of natural increase than other occupational groups. The evidence presented below confirms the expectation of a declining rate of natural increase among San Francisco Jewry.

Ratio of Births to Deaths

To ascertain whether Jewish deaths exceeded Jewish births in San Francisco in 1937, the four Jewish burial organizations in the city were canvassed for the names, addresses and ages at death of persons whom they interred during 1937. A check of 100 selected cases against the death certificates filed with the County Bureau of Vital Statistics showed substantial agreement between the two sets of records. After all non-residents had been eliminated there remained 467 Jewish deaths for the year 1937, as a minimum figure (excluding residents of San Francisco who were buried outside the city, those interred by non-Jewish burial organizations and probably some unreported infant deaths).

The number of Jewish births in San Francisco in 1937 is estimated as 400 in an estimated population of 40,000, on the basis of the 279 children under one year of age found among the 28,645 persons studied. One child under one year

⁹National Resources Committee, *The Problems of a Changing Population* (Washington, D. C. 1938), p. 122.

of age in every hundred of the population is very likely a maximum rate because, among the remaining Jewish population, there was probably a lower ratio of children than among the group studied. The minimum number of Jewish deaths (467) in 1937 exceeded the maximum number of Jewish births (400). This means that if it were not for the influx of Jews from other places the number of Jews in San Francisco would decrease annually.

Declining Birth Rate

Statistics compiled by the National Resources Committee indicate that the number of children under five years per 1,000 women of childbearing age has declined in San Francisco for each decade since 1910. In 1930 the rate was 206 children under five per 1,000 native white women of childbearing age, and 295 per 1,000 foreign-born white women. According to Table XIX, in 1938 children under five numbered 196 per 1,000 Jewish women in San Francisco for the native group and 198 for the foreign-born, rates lower than those for the corresponding groups in the 1930 total population. Although there are no data for the total population for 1938, it may be assumed that the decline in the ratio of children under five was more rapid among Jews than in the total population because of the disproportionately large group of professional, business and clerical workers in the Jewish population and the lower reproduction rate known to be characteristic of these occupational groups.

TABLE XIX
JEWISH CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE PER 1,000 JEWISH
WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, SAN FRANCISCO, 1938,
CLASSIFIED BY THE NATIVITY OF THE WOMEN

Nativity of women	Women 20 to 44 years of age	Children under 5 years of age	Children per 1,000 women
Total	6,010	1,181	197
Native	4,347	852	196
Foreign-born	1,663	329	198

¹ Includes 21 children whose mothers were under 20 or over 44 years of age.

A declining Jewish population is of immediate significance to the San Francisco Jewish community. Barring a new migration, the San Francisco Jewish community will comprise an increasing proportion of older persons and a declining ratio of children, with consequently less demand for institutions devoted to the needs of the youth. These statistics suggest the need for a reorientation of Jewish educational programs in San Francisco.

Synagogue Membership

The San Francisco Jewish community was interested in ascertaining the number of synagogue members. (Membership was defined by payment of dues rather than by attendance at religious services.) While formal religious observance by adults was partly indicated by the extent to which synagogue members were found among Jewish families, there are, of course, many non-members who attend synagogues on the High Holy Days.

TABLE XX
SURVEYED JEWISH FAMILIES, SAN FRANCISCO, 1938, AFFILIATED WITH
SYNAGOGUES, EACH CENSUS DISTRICT

Census district	Jewish families		Synagogue member in household	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
All districts.....	10,110	100.0	1,839	18.2
A.....	1,391	100.0	201	14.5
B.....	1,971	100.0	393	19.9
D.....	441	100.0	88	20.0
E.....	683	100.0	135	19.8
G 1, 2.....	734	100.0	152	20.7
G 3, 4.....	405	100.0	82	20.2
H.....	356	100.0	60	16.9
J ^{a*}	390	100.0	46	11.8
J ^{b*}	559	100.0	122	21.8
J ^{c*}	1,664	100.0	285	17.1
K.....	146	100.0	11	7.5
L.....	78	†	6	†
M.....	264	100.0	82	31.1
N.....	341	100.0	65	19.1
O.....	412	100.0	71	17.2
P.....	234	100.0	35	15.0
Q.....	29	†	2	†
C.....	2	100.0	†	†
Not known.....	10	†	3	†

¹ Including 78 families for whom data were not recorded; excluding families in institutions.

* Census tracts of district J grouped as follows: J^a-15-20; J^b-4, 5, 14; J^c-1-3, 6-13.

† Percentages not calculated where base is less than 100.

Only 18 in every 100 families in the group studied reported one or more synagogue members (Table XX). A much smaller percentage of synagogue members would undoubtedly be found among the remaining Jewish families, which included families whose names did not appear on any membership lists. Classified according to census districts, the synagogue memberships ranged from

one-third of all the Jewish families in District M (the San Bruno district), in which there is a concentration of orthodox Jews, to less than one-tenth of the Jewish families in District L, an industrial district.

Religious School Attendance

It is of interest to relate the proportion of Jewish families who had synagogue membership to the percentage of children between the ages of 5 and 14 who were reported to be receiving some form of religious education. Only figures applying to religious school attendance at the time of the survey were obtained. The data shown in Table XXI were compiled by census tracts to serve as a guide

TABLE XXI
JEWISH BOYS AND GIRLS 5 TO 14 YEARS OLD, SAN FRANCISCO, 1938, RECEIVING RELIGIOUS SCHOOL INSTRUCTION,¹ EACH CENSUS DISTRICT

Census district	Boys			Girls		
	Total	Attending Sunday School	Attending Hebrew School	Total	Attending Sunday School	Attending Hebrew School
		Percent	Percent		Percent	Percent
Total.....	1,570	25.9	17.4	1,463	28.6	5.1
A.....	34	†	†	29	†	†
B.....	237	34.2	13.5	222	38.3	4.1
D.....	61	31.1	13.1	55	34.5	..
E.....	168	33.9	8.9	157	36.3	3.8
G 1, 2.....	169	21.3	22.5	154	24.7	2.6
G 3, 4.....	110	32.7	10.0	111	28.8	5.4
H.....	67	29.9	26.9	53	35.8	5.7
Ja*.....	44	†	†	53	24.5	7.5
Jb*.....	114	27.2	9.6	102	31.4	1.0
Jc*.....	208	10.6	27.4	177	16.4	9.0
K.....	1	..	..	..	..	..
L.....	15	†	†	14	†	†
M.....	61	11.5	31.1	61	32.8	21.3
N.....	76	5.3	28.9	81	7.4	4.9
O.....	² 137	53.3	1.5	² 123	40.7	..
P.....	65	13.8	12.3	68	13.2	5.9
Unknown.....	3	..	†	3	†	†

¹ Forty-two additional children were receiving religious instruction other than Sunday or Hebrew school.

² Including 70 who attended the Sabbath school of the Homewood Terrace Orphanage.

³ Including 50 who attended the school mentioned above.

* See footnote to preceding table.

† Percentages not calculated where base is less than 50.

to an independently conducted study of the problem of Jewish education in San Francisco. Of the 3,033 children between the ages of 5 and 14 represented in the survey, nearly 40 percent were receiving some form of religious education—43.3 percent of the boys and 33.7 percent of the girls.

When the figures above are compared with the results of the independent survey, some discrepancies appear, viz., 250 more children in Sunday school and 86 fewer pupils in Hebrew school in the independently conducted survey. The larger number of children attending Hebrew school may be traceable to the considerable turnover of children in the Hebrew schools in any one year. During the school year 1936–1937, 332 pupils attended the schools of the Jewish Educational Society but 96 left during that period, and during 1937–1938, 54 left. Probably some parents reported to the enumerators that their children were attending a Hebrew school even though they had temporarily or permanently withdrawn. While there was an approximately equal number of boys and girls attending Sunday school, the ratio among Hebrew school pupils was nearly four boys to one girl (273 to 74). The largest proportions of children in attendance at Sunday school lived in the Marina and Richmond districts, where the Reform synagogues are located. The smallest proportions were found in the districts south of Golden Gate Park, where there are no synagogues, and in the McAllister-Fillmore and Mission districts, where there are orthodox synagogues and where most of the children receiving religious instruction attended Hebrew schools. It should be noted, however, that a fair proportion of the boys in the Richmond district (G1, G2 and H) attended Hebrew schools. To obtain serviceable data on the extent of religious education among San Francisco Jewish youth, it would be necessary to maintain a central registration file covering all pupils attending the schools at any time during any year.

Summary

Compared to the total population of San Francisco in 1930, the Jewish population in 1938 showed a marked concentration in the northern section of the city, as well as differences in age distribution, in sex ratio and in family size. The occupational distribution of the Jewish population, similar to that found in surveys of the Jewish population in other cities, showed concentration in small business, slight representation in public utilities, domestic service and banking, comparatively little dependence on relief, and a favorable ratio of citizenship. There is evidence also that if the decline in family size continues, San Francisco Jewry will have to depend on immigration or on migration from other cities to maintain its present size.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

BY THE EDITOR

THE studies discussed above serve two purposes: (1) the application of alternative methods to determine the size of a particular Jewish population, a complete census not being feasible, and (2) the ascertaining of the facts regarding the Jewish population as a basis for intelligent planning of communal activities and welfare services. Despite the differences in method, the pattern of age distribution, sex ratio, size of family, length of residence of the foreign-born in the United States and the preponderance of Russian nativity among the foreign born is essentially the same in all the communities studied. When compared with the total white population, the Jewish group in each city showed a smaller ratio of children of elementary school age, a more even distribution among the sexes and a higher ratio of naturalized citizens among the foreign born than the 1930 census found among the other immigrant groups (Table I).

In each of the cities studied there was a concentration of Jews in certain sections of the city. In Trenton, *e.g.*, one-third of the total Jewish population was found in wards 3 and 4. In Buffalo one-half of the 18,000 Jews lived in two districts of the city, Humboldt and North Park. In Pittsburgh Squirrel Hill and Greenfield accommodated more than forty percent of the 55,000 Jews, while the "ghetto" in the Hill section accounted for another twenty percent. In Passaic 9,000 of the 10,000 Jews lived in three of the four wards. In Minneapolis seventy percent of the 16,000 Jews lived in the lower North Side. In San Francisco four-fifths of the Jews lived in the northern part of the city, and in Detroit ninety-five percent lived in two districts (Oakland and Dexter). In New London, on the other hand, with a much smaller Jewish population, approximately twenty percent lived in the areas adjacent to the beach, one of the best residential sections of the city. But there was no ghetto there in the sense of a district almost entirely Jewish.

Perhaps the most striking common characteristic of the ten communities lies in the concentration of the gainfully occupied group in retail trade. In no city studied was the ratio of gainfully occupied Jews in trade less than 43 percent (Passaic), whereas in Pittsburgh it was as much as 60 percent. Another category in which Jews are found more frequently than non-Jews in proportion to their numbers is the professions. In no one of the cities for which figures are available were there less than 8.5 percent (Chicago). In two of the cities, Pittsburgh and

Norwich, Jews in the professions accounted for more than 9 percent of all gainfully occupied Jews and in Trenton and Passaic the ratio of Jews in the professions was 12.3 percent.

In no city studied was the ratio of Jews in manufacturing and mechanical industries, in public service, in domestic service, in skilled and unskilled occupations anywhere near that of the ratio in the total population. As shown by Table II, the ratio of Jews in the manufacturing occupations varied from 11.7 percent in Trenton to 35.5 in Chicago.

While some of these comparisons are difficult to make because of the differences in definition and the time which elapsed since the 1930 census, it is safe to conclude that the Jews in these cities were and are found in retail trade and in the professions in greater proportions than the non-Jewish population. It is noteworthy that the similarities mentioned above appear in spite of the difference in definition of the "Jew" and the very different techniques—Jewish name, death certificates, canvass of the master lists—employed in the communities studied.

Any comparison of the various techniques of estimating the Jewish population raises the question of how to define the designation "Jew." In the Chicago study a Jew is one whose death certificate indicates that he was buried by an undertaking firm whose business it is to conduct Jewish burials. In the Detroit study a Jew is one who has a Jewish name. In the other reports Jews are defined as persons born of Jewish parents or of mixed marriages, who are members of Jewish communal and religious organizations, and as those who when interviewed were willing to be identified as Jewish by "race" or religion. It is clear that this last category excludes from the count those Jews by birth who are unaffiliated with Jewish organizations, but who would be considered Jewish by non-Jews, as well as those born of Jewish parents but not identifiable as Jewish.

The name method has the disadvantage that it does not reach Jews who do not have Jewish-sounding names, but would be willing to be identified as Jews, and it includes some who are not Jewish but may have Jewish-sounding names. The master-list method fails to reach all Jews unaffiliated with organizations who do not deny their Jewishness although they do not actively participate in Jewish communal life.

In Pittsburgh, where the canvass began with a carefully compiled master list, which included shekel payers, school children, clients of Jewish social agencies, as well as members of all Jewish organizations in the city, the size of the Jewish population and the resources available made it impractical to make a complete canvass of the census tracts in the outlying districts. Reliance was therefore had on a sampling procedure for these districts based on the ratio which each represents to the estimated total Jewish population. In San Francisco likewise the size of the Jewish community made it necessary to sample half of the master lists after the first half had been completely canvassed. To check the hypothesis that interviewing every third family on the second half of the list

would yield representative data for the whole list, four blocks in each of ten census tracts were completely canvassed. The proportion of newly discovered Jewish households in these blocks, approximately 16 percent more than were contained in the master list, furnished a correction factor for the number of Jewish households in the original list.

In the smaller communities, such as Trenton and Minneapolis, a complete canvass of the major areas of Jewish settlement and the interviewing of every third or fourth family on each block of census tracts in the outlying or sparsely settled districts seemed to assure reasonably complete coverage. In Passaic, as an additional check of the house-to-house canvass of the thickly settled "Jewish" districts, a sample canvass of 77 streets on which no Jewish name appeared on the original list was made, resulting in the addition of 19 families to the total.

In Buffalo the house-to-house canvass of the districts known to have a large Jewish ratio, and a sample canvass of the enumeration districts in which there was known to be only a sparse distribution of Jews, in addition to the method of accounting for households which were missed when the canvass took place, seems like the Passaic plan to assure fairly complete coverage.

In New London and Norwich an ethnic survey which covered the entire public school population simultaneously with the survey of the Jewish group substantiated the major results of the broader survey. Inasmuch as these cities have a total population of less than 35,000 each, it is presumably much easier to identify any one group in the total population, and it is probable therefore that the estimates of the Jewish population in these communities are fairly comprehensive. However, while the ethnic survey did add a few families to the list and does have the advantage of furnishing comparative data for the non-Jewish groups as well, it has the disadvantage, from the point of view of complete data for the Jewish group, of supplying information for only a portion of the total population, namely, that which has children in school.

The least satisfactory technique, even though it is the least expensive because it does not involve interviews, is that used in the Chicago study. The Chicago study gathered its data for Jews on the basis of death certificates identified as those of Jews through the name of the undertaking firm. The inferred population classified by age, sex, marital status and occupation was built up on the basis of the data entered on the 10,000 death certificates of "Jews" selected among a total of 180,000 for a five-year period (1928-32). While all possible precautions and mathematical checks were applied in the use of net reproduction rates and death rates assumed to be applicable to the Jewish population, in view of its concentration in certain areas and certain socio-economic groups, the net result is not entirely reliable, as the author himself indicates in his table of standard errors.

Apart from the margin of error, the use of death certificates limits the correlations to data available on them. It is not possible, for example, to determine the distribution of families by number and age of their children, occupation and

employment status, length of time in the country, citizenship and a wide variety of other facts needed in community planning. The author states that he expects to find a smaller Jewish population in the future if Chicago must depend on natural increase rather than on an influx of Jews from abroad. While the decline in the child population and the consequent ageing of the Jewish population is a matter of concern in planning for child care and services to the aged, it does not cover many of the items which the Jewish community would wish to know for more immediate planning.

The Detroit study likewise suffers from the necessity to build up the estimated number of Jews in the various occupational and industrial groups, as well as those of sex and age on the basis of calculations from percentages found among the schedules of those identified as Jewish; all doubtful cases were excluded in utilizing the unemployment survey, which covered approximately every fifth resident in Detroit in 1935. To be sure Mr. Meyer is very cautious not to claim more for his data than is warranted and states that an informal check revealed an equal distribution of Jewish-sounding names among members of wealthy social clubs and trade unions. Again, however, the data do not offer figures on nativity, length of residence in the city and number of years in the United States or family composition.

As a technique for estimating the total Jewish population this method, as well as that of the use of estimated birth and death rates and the "*Yom Kippur* method," seems less valid than that of the master list supplemented by careful canvass on a random basis of outlying areas. The fact that canvassing requires a greater expenditure of funds and the services of a field staff should not serve as an argument against using it since it obviously produces more complete results and a wider variety of relevant data. An appraisal of the relative worth of any of these techniques would require that two or more of them be applied simultaneously in one of the larger communities studied. As a technique for determining the size of the Jewish population, the "*Yom Kippur* method" tested in Pittsburgh, where public schools have for years kept statistics by religious affiliation of the children, gives a much smaller total Jewish population (45,000 as against 54,000); the Jewish school children accounted for only 6.5 percent of the total school population. In Pittsburgh also it should be possible to check the results of the sampling technique with an analysis of the schedules collected in the survey of unemployment identified, as in Detroit, as relating to Jews. It would be possible, for example, to check the estimate of size and distribution of Pittsburgh Jewry with the facts obtainable from the schedules of the United States Public Health Survey, a sample study in 1935 of some 20,391 households, or one-eighth of the total, among which the schedules relating to Jews might be identified by use of the name technique. Detroit also should offer a test of the unemployment sample with that of the Public Health Survey, which took a sample of one-nineteenth, and enumerated 21,389 households. In Trenton that survey covered 7,580, or one-fourth of the households, and in Minneapolis 12,295, or one-eleventh

of the households. These comparisons would offer a check of the master list with the name survey.

In conclusion some suggestions for further research which grow out of the studies above are offered. It is to be hoped that a test of the master-list technique will be undertaken in one or more of the communities in which large-scale surveys, such as the United States Public Health Survey of 1935-36, offer the possibility of identifying the households which are clearly Jewish and permit of the tabulation of data on residence, economic status, occupational and industrial distribution, sex, age, school grade completed, nativity and mobility, as well as many other items, such as types of illness and medical care.

Another group of studies might investigate the relation between the accommodation of the Jew in a community and the higher ratio among Jews of employment in petty trade and in the professions. While trade may make it possible for Jews to keep off the relief rolls, it also enables them to present a relatively more prosperous appearance in the general community than do the many persons who live on salaries and who cannot extend their credit as readily as self-employed merchants. It would be interesting to discover whether there is any relation between the choice of trade as an occupation and the discrimination practiced by various large corporations, big business and public utilities which prefer to employ non-Jews.

The significance of the concentration of Jews in the retail trade for their future adjustment will depend on the role which the small business man and middleman will occupy in our economy. What may have been in the past a godsend to the Jew who needed to have his capital in a more or less fluid condition easily transferable when disaster, political or economic, overtook him, may represent a handicap in an economic order in which large-scale planning and central control leave less place for the rugged individual.

The higher proportion of Jews in the professions is another reflection of the accommodation of a minority group in a culture in which the professions command greater prestige than does trade or skilled labor. The element of self-employment characterizes the professions as well as it does trade and is therefore attractive to minority groups. It would be of interest to study the extent to which fathers in trade have sons in the professions. It would also be useful to determine to what extent Jews in various communities tend after a time to move from the crowded centers to suburban areas, where they become more interspersed with the non-Jewish population.

These are only a few of the many questions which could well be pursued further in the interest of a better understanding of the place of the Jew in American life.

SUMMARY TABLE I

City	Estimated Jewish population	Percent Jewish of 1930 total population	Percent native group among Jews	Median number of years of residence of foreign-born Jews in the U. S.	Percent aliens		Percent in age-group 5-14	
					Jews	Total foreign born (1930)	Jewish population	Total population (1930)
Trenton.....	7,191	6.0	65.7	31	12.3	27.3	14.9	19.3
Passaic.....	10,066	16.0	62.0	29	23.0	39.9	15.2	20.9
Buffalo.....	18,000	3.0	64.1	1	1	1	16.9	18.1
Norwich.....	1,647	5.1	64.0	31.5	1	1	16.8	20.9
New London.....	1,885	6.4	64.3	32.7	1	1	15.9	17.1
Stamford ²	3,279	5.0	66.4	..	..	..	13.1	19.6
Pittsburgh.....	54,000	8.0	61.8	30.5	16.7	21.3	15.3	18.7
Detroit.....	82,000	5.6	1	1	1	1	17.6	17.9
Chicago.....	265,000	7.8	55.0	22	1	1	15.1	16.5
Minneapolis.....	16,260	3.5	60.1	28	1	1	16.0	16.3
San Francisco.....	41,000	6.5	56.2	1	17.4	27.7	10.6	11.6
New Orleans ⁴	9,000	1.9	80.5	1	1.3	28.4	13.0	18.5

¹ No data available.

² Koenig, S., "The Socio-economic Structure of an American Jewish Community," in Graeber, I., and Britt, S.H., ed., *Jews in a Gentile World* (New York 1942), ch. viii.

³ Age-group 5-13.

⁴ Feibelman, J. B., *A Social and Economic Study of the New Orleans Jewish Community* (Philadelphia 1941).

SUMMARY TABLE II

City	Number of Jews gainfully occupied	Percent occupied in			
		Professions	Trade	Manufacturing	All others
Trenton.....	3,061	12.3	59.0	13.3	15.4
Passaic.....	4,370	12.3	43.2	22.5	22.0
Pittsburgh.....	25,000	9.5	60.4	13.8	16.3
Chicago ²	¹	8.5	44.4	35.5	11.6
New London.....	597	13.7	54.5	16.2	15.6
Norwich.....	620	9.4	50.8	22.7	17.1
Stamford ³	1,540	12.5	52.4	15.0	20.1
New Orleans ⁴	2,590	12.5	48.6	14.5	24.4

City	Number of Jews gainfully occupied	Percent occupied as						
		Professionals	Proprietors, managers and officials	Clerks and kindred workers	Skilled workers	Semiskilled workers	Unskilled workers	All others
Buffalo.....	6,081	14.3	25.9	35.6	16.3	3.0	3.2	1.7
Detroit.....	29,300	7.6	26.8	39.1	8.9	14.8	2.8	..
San Francisco.....	13,400	11.4	30.8	40.2	5.6	9.4	0.6	2.0
Pittsburgh.....	25,000	10.8	22.3	42.7	9.9	1.4	2.3	10.6

¹ No data available.² Age-group 35-44.³ Koenig, *l. c.*⁴ Feibelman, *op. cit.*