JEWISH LIFE IN AMERICA SERIES

# Occupational Patterns of American Jewry

By
NATHAN GOLDBERG

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J. T. S. P. University Press, New York City

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## Editor: Bernard D. Weinryb

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# FOREWORD

We know little about the occupational stratification of the Jews in America. The decennial census of the U. S. has no breakdown according to religion, and the studies that have been made so far have not been systematic. They are for the most part based on small samples which are hardly representative. And again, the investigators used different methods, so that it is scarcely possible to compare the results of their inquiries.

Despite the serious flaws in these investigations, they constitute the only material indicating the patterns of Jewish occupational development in this country. For this reason, Nathan Goldberg undertook to examine this material, to summarize the results of the inquiries, and to evaluate their methodological approach.

Piecing together the available scraps of information Mr. Goldberg has been able to discern some pattern in the occupational development of the Jews in the U. S. The Jewish immigrants from Russia and Poland who reached the shores of this country at the end of the nineteenth century were compelled, as immigrants generally are, to take up work in the lower-paid branches of industry. In the 1890's a majority of the immigrants were engaged in this kind of occupations. The opportunities inherent in the American environment, however, gave the immigrant or his children the possibility of ascending the economic and social ladder. The reduction of immigration after World War I and the growing up of a second (and third) generation among the Jewish immigrant groups resulted in a change in the economic structure of the Jewish population showing a trend in favor of those occupations which were ex-

panding during that epoch in America—trade, white-collar work and the professions. In the future it is to be expected that the number of proprietors of retail stores among Jews will decline. "American born Jews do not want to be grocers or proprietors of candy, cigar or other retail stores."

Goldberg's methodological analysis of this material is a helpful guide for future investigators. By comparing various figures he questions the reliability of the results of many an inquiry and shows the loopholes in their techniques.

The suggestion for centralization of the material and its proper utilization through the establishment of a central agency deserves attention. Only such a central body would be able to reduce the margin of error in future investigations thus making available more exact data on the economic structure of the Jews in America.

Bernard D. Weinryb
*Editor*

## *Chapter I*

# FACTS AND FICTIONS

Friends and foes alike not infrequently exaggerate the economic position, importance and power of the American Jews. Isaac Markens, an American Jew, wrote in 1888 that "within half a century the Hebrews of this country will control the balance of trade." [1] Three years later the *New York Sun* wrote on the subject of the Jewish immigrants from Europe that the United States is the land of promise for their race at the present day.

"Nowhere else have they advanced so signally as here. They land on our shores poor, start out oftentimes as peddlers, with their packs on their backs, and yet in a few years the majority of them are well to do in the world, and many of them are competitors in trade feared by their Christian neighbors. Broadway from Fourteenth Street down is lined with the signs of Jewish firms. Wall Street is full of them. They have obtained an immense place in the retail dry goods trade in New York. In the professions of the law and medicine they are numerous and powerful. Very many of the most accomplished musicians are Jews, many of the actors, and many of the caterers for public amusement and refection. In every department of activity where intellectual acuteness and keenness of perception are requisite they are forging ahead." It then added: "Of late years, also, they have become conspicuous for investments in landed property. Some of the most notable of the purchasers at the Real Estate Exchange are Jews." [2]

New York City, according to this newspaper, was not an exception. "Everywhere the Jews are prospering. They push their way with every advance of civilization, and wherever they plant themselves they win in the competition." The *Sun* observed, however, that the Jews "seem to be far more

numerous than they are really" and that they were easily discoverable "because of their physiognomy."

Some twenty years later Professor Sombart wrote that New York's Jewish merchants had almost conquered Broadway, that the economic control of the Jews was increasing daily, and that the entire real estate business and the clothing industry were in Jewish hands.[5]

Inimical as such statements are, American Jews are not always in a position to prove that they are exaggerations of fact. Their socio-economic status is to a certain extent part of the realm of the "great unknown," for the reason that the U. S. Census Bureau does not collect any data on the religious or ethnic origin of the population.* Statements on the economic position of the American Jews often go unchallenged because of a lack of accurate and authentic data. If, however, we analyze the available facts, then the story is an altogether different one.

These facts show that changes have occurred in the economic structure of the American Jews and that there is a certain degree of interdependence between the occupational trends of the general population and those of the Jews, although there are also considerable differences.

The economic development of the United States since 1900 has been marked by an expansion of the commercial, clerical and professional services. The percentage of those engaged in agriculture, forestry and fishing decreased from 35.9 per 100 gainfully employed in 1900 to 17.9 in 1940. The percentage of persons engaged in manufacturing and in construction dropped from 31.1 to 28.8, although their absolute number increased from approximately 9,055,000 to 14,235,100. On the other hand, the percentage of those rendering professional and related services increased from

* The Census Bureau publishes data on the mother tongue and country of birth of the inhabitants. The Jews are not classified as Jews except those who state that Yiddish is their mother tongue. The gainfully employed are not classified even according to their mother tongue.

3.9 to 6.9. There was also an upward trend in the demand for transportation, communication, and office workers.[4] Recent technological developments, changes in our standard of living, and certain other factors account for the present occupational pattern of the American people,

Although the occupational changes of the Jews have, to a certain extent, been similar to those of the general population, we must also bear in mind that there is a certain relationship between their occupations, concentration in the largest urban centers, and specific vocational preferences.

Our large cities do not have the same occupational pattern as our small or rural communities. The former are industrial, commercial, financial, and educational centers. Thus we find that 34.8 per cent of the gainfully employed in New York, Chicago and Philadelphia in 1940 were engaged in manufacturing and in construction as compared with 28.8 per cent for the country as a whole; 7.4 per cent of the former and 6.9 per cent of the latter were in the professions; 21.6 per cent of those living in these three cities, but only 16.4 per cent of the total population, were wholesalers or retailers.

Moreover, each city has its own occupational pattern. According to the Census Bureau, 8 per cent of the New Yorkers and only 6.4 per cent of the Chicagoans were rendering professional and related services in 1940; 40.6 per cent of the Philadelphians and only 31.7 per cent of the New Yorkers were engaged in manufacturing and in construction. The economic structure of communities varies with their natural resources, manpower, accessibility to markets, proximity to raw materials as well as with certain historical and psychological factors. And the occupational pattern of cities is changing. The percentage of New Yorkers in the several professions increased from 5.2 in 1900 to 8.0 in 1940 and of those in manufacturing and construction decreased from 36.3 to 31.7. The Census Bureau reports a similar trend for Chicago, Philadelphia and other communities. The rate of

change varies, however, from locality to locality. The percentage of Philadelphians in the several professions increased from 4.6 in 1900 to 7.0 in 1940 and that of the Chicagoans from 5.5 to only 6.4.

The economic pursuits of an ethnic group also vary with its geographical location, history, occupational preferences, traditions, values and many other psychological and sociological factors. The Jews are not an exception. We cannot understand their occupational preferences if we overlook the fact that there was a time when they were excluded from certain economic activities, that their social, political and economic status was that of outcasts and that they had to live behind ghetto walls. Their religion was another important factor. The desire to observe the Sabbath led them to seek employment in trades and in shops which would not interfere with their religious customs. There was a demand for Jewish bakers, butchers, and food dealers because of the desire to observe the Jewish dietary laws; there was a demand for Jewish tailors because the Jews wanted their garments to be made in accordance with the Mosaic law. In brief, the religious needs of the Jewish community had an effect on the economic structure of the Jewish people.

The changes which have occurred in the occupational structure of the Jews in America since the beginning of the present century stem from the American environment plus the Jews' own vocational preferences, traditions, and values which, like those of any other ethnic group, are a result of historical development, religious traditions, and the like.

## *Chapter II*

# AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

Very little is known of the economic position of the American Jews prior to 1900. Most of the available information [5] is based on opinions or impressions rather than on careful observation and study.

Two studies of the economic structure of the Jews prior to 1900 are, however, worthy of mention. Dr. John S. Billings analyzed the economic pursuits of approximately 18,000 gainfully employed Jews in 1889. More than four-fifths of this group were immigrants from German-speaking countries with their American-born children. Bankers, brokers, company officials, and wholesale merchants constituted approximately 15 per cent of the informants; retail dealers about 35 per cent; accountants, bookkeepers, clerks and copyists 17 per cent; salesmen, commercial travelers, collectors, agents, and auctioneers about 12 per cent; those employed in professional service almost 5 per cent; the rest were skilled and unskilled workers, farmers, planters, drovers, and stock breeders. It is interesting to note that only 0.9 per cent of this group were hucksters and peddlers, and that not more than 3 per cent were tailors. [6] Whether or not this group was representative of the German Jews in this country, the other Jewish immigrants certainly lived under less favorable economic conditions.

This observation is based in part on the results of a study made in 1890 by the Baron Hirsch Fund. It was found that three-fifths of approximately 22,400 gainfully employed Jews

living in three of New York's Jewish districts were needle workers, and fifteen per cent were bakers, carpenters, machinists, etc.; peddlers constituted 11 per cent and retail store proprietors almost 13 per cent; the rest were teachers or musicians.[7]

These figures can, however, hardly be regarded as representative of all Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. Although it is a well known fact that the Jewish immigrants from Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, Galicia and Rumania lived in those days under less favorable social and economic conditions than their brethren who had settled here prior to 1880, it is, nevertheless, questionable whether three-fifths of them were actually clothing workers and capmakers. In brief, this group was probably no more representative of the Jews who came here in the 1880's than was Dr. Billings' group of the German Jewish immigrants. The most these two studies indicate is a general trend.

More valuable for a knowledge of the economic structure of the American Jews will be our analysis of the occupations of the Russian Jews in the United States at the time of the 12th census in 1900. They and their American-born children now constitute, numerically speaking, a very important element of the Jewish population; they have also played a leading role in the economic, social and cultural evolution of the American Jewish community. For this reason, the analysis of the occupational distribution of these erstwhile immigrants may serve as a basis on which to trace the changes in the economic activities of American Jews in general since the beginning of the present century.

This analysis of the occupational distribution of the Jewish immigrants from the former Russian empire is based on a report, published by the U. S. Census Bureau, which has been hitherto practically overlooked. To be sure, nothing is said in the report under consideration about the economic activities of this particular group. It can be shown, however, that the overwhelming majority of those who were

reported in 1900 as Russians were actually Jews from Russia. This is particularly true of those immigrants from Russia who, at the time of the 12th census (1900), lived in cities with 250,000 or more inhabitants.

This assumption is based on the following facts. The U. S. Census Bureau did not classify Finns and Poles, groups which immigrated to the United States in 1880-1899, as Russians and we may, therefore, assume that very few, if any, of them were reported as Russians. Very few immigrants whose mother tongue was Russian, and Lithuanians from Russia were to be found in America before 1900.

77,321 immigrants whose mother tongue was Russian arrived here in the years 1899-1910 and only 40,542 foreign-born Russians were here at the time of the 1910 census; 168,740 Lithuanians from Russia arrived here in 1899-1910 and there were only 137,046 Lithuanians and Latvians from Russia in 1910. Approximately 364,000 immigrants from Russia, not including Finns, Poles and Jews from that country, arrived here in the years 1899-1910 and there were only about 340,400 foreign born from Russia, excluding Poles, Jews and Finns, at the time of the 1910 enumeration.[8] It thus appears that the overwhelming majority of these non-Jews from Russia arrived here after 1900, even if we assume that some of these 364,000 immigrants returned to their country of origin and that a certain percentage of those here died before 1910.

We may therefore, arrive at the conclusion that practically all the Russians in the cities of the United States in 1900 were Jews from Russia. There were, of course, non-Jews from Russia at the time of the 12th census, but their number was exceedingly small and, moreover, very few of them lived in large cities.

An analysis of the geographical distribution of the several ethnic groups from Russia in the United States leads to the same conclusion. The correlation coefficient (degree of association) between the geographical distribution of the Yid-

dish-speaking immigrants in 1910 and of the Russians in 1900, most of whom, according to our assumption, were Jews, is $+0.984 \pm 0.003$; the correlation coefficient between the geographical distribution of the Russians and of all the Jews in the country in 1900, as reported in the *American Jewish Year Book*, 1900, is $+0.972 \pm 0.005$. The difference between these coefficients is statistically not significant. * The results are not inconsistent with the hypothesis that those reported as Russians in 1900 had the same geographical distribution as the Yiddish-speaking immigrants and the total Jewish population in the U. S., while the non-Jews from Russia show a different geographical distribution.[9] This would mean that the distribution of those reported in 1900 as Russians was practically the same as of the Yiddish-speaking immigrants but unlike that of the non-Jews from Russia. **

The United States Immigration Commission is of the same opinion. It says in its analysis of the occupations of

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* The following formula was used for testing the significance of the difference between two correlation coefficients: $\frac{Dz}{\text{Sigma } Dz} = 0.48$.

** The assumption that a large percentage of the Poles in 1900 were Jews (*Yevereyskaya Entziklapedia*, II, pp. 264-265; Lestchinsky J., "The Social Physiognomy of American Jewry," *Yivo Bleter*, Vol. XVII, No. 3, p. 197 [in Yiddish]) is open to question. The U. S. Census Bureau says very explicitly that "it is probable that the persons reported born in Poland in 1900 and at earlier censuses were mainly Poles by blood, as persons of other nationalities coming from Poland would be likely to report Austria, Germany, or Russia as their birthplace." At any rate, there is a difference between the geographical distribution of the Russians in 1900 and the Poles, and less similarity between the occupational patterns of the Poles and the traditional economic pursuits of the Jews. 0.48 per cent of the gainfully employed Russian males in New York City in 1900 were physicians, surgeons or dentists and only 0.2 per cent of the Poles living there; 5.2 per cent of the former and only 2.9 per cent of the latter were hucksters or peddlers. In the case of Chicago, one of the principal centers of the Poles in the U. S., the dentists, physicians and surgeons constituted only 0.14 per cent of the Russian males; 1.5 per cent of the former and 7.9 per cent of the latter were peddlers or hucksters. There were more bookkeepers and accountants, clerks, typists and salesmen among the second generation Russian males than among the native born children of parents from Poland; the proportion in 1900 was 2.7:1.

immigrants in 1900 that "the distinctive features of the occupational classification of those male breadwinners in the United States whose parents were born in Russia doubtless reflect the characteristics of the Russian Jew." [10]

At the time of the 12th census there were 15 cities with a population of 250,000 or over—Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, St. Louis, Washington. About 60 per cent of the total number of Russians and 61 per cent of the gainfully employed Russians lived in these 15 cities in 1900. These Russian Jews probably constituted more than 60 per cent of the total number of Russian Jews in this country, for the reason that they were more concentrated in the largest urban centers than their non-Jewish compatriots.

TABLE 1

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF RUSSIAN JEWS IN CITIES WITH 250,000 INHABITANTS OR MORE, 1900 [11]

| | Number | | | % | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Occupation | Total | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female |
| Total | 150,694 | 120,052 | 30,642 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Manufacturing | 89,748 | 68,491 | 21,257 | 59.6 | 57.1 | 69.4 |
| Trade | 31,047 | 27,971 | 3,076 | 20.6 | 23.3 | 10.0 |
| Domestic and Personal Service | 12,138 | 8,349 | 3,789 | 8.0 | 7.0 | 12.4 |
| Clerical | 10,016 | 8,127 | 1,889 | 6.7 | 6.8 | 6.2 |
| Professions | 3,958 | 3,521 | 437 | 2.6 | 2.9 | 1.4 |
| Transportation and Communication | 2,613 | 2,467 | 146 | 1.7 | 2.1 | 0.5 |
| Agriculture, Fishing, Forestry, Mining | 698 | 651 | 18 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.2 |
| Public Service | 476 | 475 | 1 | 0.3 | 0.4 | —— |

Approximately three-fifths of the Russian Jews in the United States living, in 1900, in cities with 250,000 and more inhabitants were engaged in manufacturing and in construction. Manufacturing and trade were the two most important economic activities of the Russian Jews. More than one-third of the gainfully-employed Jews, 35.3 per cent, were engaged in the production of men's and women's clothing, hats, caps and other apparel.[12] No other ethnic group had such a relatively large number of workers in the garment industry as the Jews. Four of every 100 gainfully employed Jews were in the building trades and 3.5 per cent of them were in the tobacco industry. Very few, 2.1 per cent, of those in industry were manufacturers or officials of manufacturing establishments. Most of the Jews in industry were engaged in the production of consumers' goods.

Approximately one-fifth of the Jews were engaged in trade. Almost one-fourth, 24.5 per cent, of those in trade were hucksters or peddlers and nearly one-half, 47.4 per cent, were proprietors of retail stores. 72 of every 100 Jews in trade were hucksters, peddlers or owners of retail stores. Only one per cent of the Jews in trade were in wholesale business.

Almost one-fourth, 24.2 per cent, of the professionals were teachers. About one-eighth of this group, 12.8 per cent, were physicians and surgeons and 2.9 per cent were dentists. 117 of every 1,000 professionals were clergymen and 66 were lawyers. The medical men, lawyers, teachers and clergy constituted, however, only 1.5 per cent of the total gainfully-employed Russian Jews. As a matter of fact, the percentage of Jewish immigrants from Russia who were rendering professional services was smaller than stated, for the reason that some of them were American-born children of parents born in Russia. As we shall see, there was a relatively larger number of professionals among the native born than among their immigrant parents.

Four-tenths of those in clerical occupations were clerks or copyists. Bookkeepers and accountants constituted 15.7

per cent of those rendering clerical services. More than one-third, 36.7 per cent, of the bookkeepers and accountants were women. More than four-fifths, 82.1 per cent, of the 532 typists and stenographers were women. Included in this entire group are second-generation Americans, who, as in the case of the professional group, had a relatively larger representation than their immigrant parents. The percentage of Russian Jews in the clerical occupations was therefore less than stated.

Of the 2,613 in transportation and communication, 50.6 per cent were hackmen, draymen, teamsters and the like. They constituted, however, only 0.9 per cent of the gainfully employed. Almost one-seventh, 14.8 per cent, of the transportation and communication employees worked for railroad and street car companies.

More than two-fifths, 42.3 per cent, of the group "domestic and personal service" were laborers "not specified." Many of them were unskilled laborers willing to accept any job. They constituted 3.4 per cent of the labor force. More than one-fourth, 27 per cent, of this entire group were domestic servants or waiters. Almost seven-eighths, 84.8 per cent, of the servants and waiters were women.

The occupational pattern of the Russian Jews in the United States was significantly different from that of the Jews who lived in Russia in 1897.* The first point to be noted is that only 39.5 per cent of the gainfully employed Russian Jews, in cities with 100,000 and more, excluding

* We must, however, bear in mind that the two groups are not strictly comparable because of differences in the classification of occupations. The Russian census bureau included forestry and the extraction of minerals under the heading "manufacturing;" the manufacture of artificial flowers, shoes and textiles under "clothing;" proprietors of hotels, restaurants and of furnished rooms under "trade;" professions under "public service." Secondly, the Russian group lived in cities with 100,000 and more inhabitants, and the American group in cities with 250,000 and more inhabitants. There were also differences in the political, social and in the educational status of these two groups which undoubtedly had a certain effect on their economic activities.

those in military service, were engaged in manufacturing, forestry and mining.[13] Three-fifths of the American group and only two-fifths of those in Russia were in industry. It is questionable whether the observed differences can be attributed entirely to differences in classification. The difference is statistically significant and we may safely assume that a relatively smaller number of the Russian group was engaged in manufacturing than of those who had settled in the United States. We may also assume that a larger percentage of the American group in industry were wage workers than of those in Russia.

Equally significant are the differences in the proportions of those in the apparel industry. 37 per cent of the American group were engaged in the manufacture of men's and women's garments, shoes, caps and hats, but only 17.2 per cent of the Russian group were engaged in the manufacture of these articles as well as in the manufacture of textiles, artificial flowers and similar commodities. The difference is again statistically significant. There was also a relatively larger number of the American than of the Russian group in the tobacco industry, the proportion being 3.5:0.9.

There was a greater concentration of the Russian than of the American group in trade. The percentages were 30.9 and 20.6 respectively. It is interesting to note that 18.6 percent of the gainfully employed Russian Jewesses and only one-tenth of those in the United States were engaged in trade.

The Russian Jews also had a larger percentage of those in domestic and personal service. The percentages were 16.1 and 8.0, respectively. There was, however, almost no difference in the relative number of Russian and American Jewish males who were rendering such services; the percentages were 7.6 and 7.0, respectively. The observed difference (16.1 and 8 per cent) was actually due to the number of women engaged in such occupations. 39 per cent of the gainfully employed Russian Jewesses and only 12.4 per cent of their sisters in America were rendering such

services. There is reason to believe that many of the Russian Jewesses who were servants and maids came from small towns where the economic opportunities were limited. The Jewesses in the United States apparently preferred to work in factories and to be free after work.

As shown in Table 1, the number of Russian Jews in America in the professions was rather small. Professionals and government employees constituted only 2.9 per cent of the labor force. In the case of the Jews living in Russia in cities with 100,000 inhabitants or more, 3.6% were rendering such services in 1897. Because of differences in classification, it is difficult to ascertain whether there were actually significant differences in the number of Russian and American Jews who were professionals and government employees. It seems, however, that there was a relatively larger number of physicians among the Russian than among the American group: 1.5 per cent of the former were physicians or sanitary workers and only 0.4 per cent of the American group were physicians, surgeons and dentists.

Finally, 26.4 per cent of the gainfully employed Russian Jews and only 20.3 per cent of those in the United States were women. The differences were probably due to differences in age, marital and economic status as well as to differences in the system of enumeration and classification. Let us recall the fact that the homes of some of the Russian Jews in the United States were in 1900, to a certain extent, boarding houses under the care and supervision of their wives, who probably hesitated to report that they were contributing to the support of their families; the same may be said about some married Jewesses who worked at home for a contractor or helped their husbands who were doing work for a contractor or sub-contractor. We may therefore assume that the number of Russian Jewesses in the U. S. who were at that time (1900) actually contributing to the family income and might be regarded as gainfully employed, was actually greater than reported by the Census Bureau.

The preceding analysis has shown that there were sig-

nificant differences between the occupational pattern of the Russian Jews and that of their brethren and compatriots in the United States. This was due to a variety of causes. Many of the immigrants were poor men and women who, being without any means, went to work in factories and shops. Many of them became garment workers because, among other reasons, some of their compatriots were already in the clothing industry and its was probably easier for them to get a job there than in some other industry. It was probably also easier to learn to use a needle, scissors or an iron than to use more complicated tools. Moreover, immigration is a process of selection. Some of those who were willing to work and to take a chance came to the United States and remained here. Another fact to be remembered is that immigrants are more free to do certain things than others because they are strangers. It is known that some immigrants who had hesitated to work in a factory in their native town, because of their social status or family ties, were glad to become a "hand" in a shop or factory in New York.

If we compare the occupational distribution of the Russian Jews in the United States with that of the general American population, we find significant differences between these two groups. An analysis of the economic pursuits of those who lived in Chicago, New York and in Philadelphia in 1900 shows that 61 per cent of the Russian Jews and only 37.6 per cent of the general population there were engaged in manufacturing and in construction; 2.7 per cent of the former and 5.1 per cent of the latter were rendering professional services; the proportion of those in clerical occupations was 69:117, respectively, and of those in transportation and communication 16:69. The Jews had, however, a larger percentage, 19.1, in trade than the general population, 12.6. It should be noted that the former had a relatively smaller number of bankers and wholesalers and a larger percentage of hucksters, peddlers and proprietors of small stores than the general non-Jewish population.

No less significant is the fact that there were important differences in the economic activities of Russian Jews and Jewesses in the United States. It will be recalled (Table 1) that 69.4 per cent of the gainfully employed women and only 57.1 per cent of the men were in manufacturing and in construction. The difference is statistically significant which means that the observed difference is not due to pure chance. The relatively large number of women in industry was due to the fact that the garment industry was demanding such workers and the Jewish women were willing to work for less than other workers. Whatever the cause, the fact is that 53.6 per cent of the Jewesses and only 30.7 per cent of the gainfully employed Jews from Russia were in the apparel industry; the former constituted 77.3 per cent and the latter only 53.7 per cent of those in manufacturing. There were also a relatively larger number of women than of men in the tobacco industry, the proportion was 53:31, respecticely.

Only one-tenth of the gainfully employed women and 23.3 per cent of the men were in trade. Almost two-thirds of the women in trade, 66.2 per cent, were saleswomen; the salesmen constituted only 16.3 per cent of the men in trade. Few women were hucksters or peddlers. The number of women in retail business was also very small.

The proportion of women to men in the several professions was approximately 1:2, respectively. Almost two-fifths, 38.2 per cent, of the professional women were teachers. A larger percentage of women than of men were in the domestic and personal services. Almost three-fourths, 73.4 per cent, of these women were servants or waitresses. Finally, 1,015 of the 1,889 women in the several clerical occupatians were stenographers, typists or bookkeepers. The men were rendering other types of clerical services.

The occupational pattern of the Russian Jews in the United States varied from locality to locality. 53.7 per cent of those in Baltimore and only 20.3 per cent of those in Chicago were in the garment industry. The proportion

of those in Boston and in New York who were engaged in trade was 286:184, respectively. Only 2.0 per cent of the Philadelphia group and 3.0 per cent of those in Chicago were professionals.

Briefly stated, the present analysis shows that there were statistically significant differences in the economic activities of the Russian Jews who lived in the various types of American cities. The larger cities had relatively more Jews in industry and fewer in trade. 36.7 per cent of those in cities of 250,000—499,999 inhabitants were in trade, 27.4 per cent of those in communities with a population of 500,000—749,999 and only 21.8 per cent in the three largest cities. On the other hand, the percentage of the gainfully employed males in manufacturing was 38.1, 55.0 and 58.6, respectively. The selection of occupations probably varied with the skills and experiences of the immigrants, their ambitions, determination and adaptability, the economic opportunities a community offered, the presence or absence of relatives, friends and compatriots who were willing to give friendly advice and some financial aid and with many other economic, social and psychological factors.

To sum up, our analysis has shown that three-fifths of the Russian Jews in 15 of the largest American cities were engaged in manufacturing. The percentage of the general population living in these cities who were engaged in such activities was significantly smaller. The results are, howevr, only approximations in the sense that they show a general trend at a particular moment in the economic history of the Russian Jews in the United States.

The concentration of Jews from Russia in industry was to a certain extent due to their poverty, type of education, and the training they had received, as well as to their inability to understand or speak English. Moreover, many of them were total strangers in a country radically different from their own. Few of them had relatives or friends here who could give them friendly advice or some financial as-

sistance. In brief, many of the Jewish immigrants at the end of the 19th century became factory workers because they had no other choice. Some of them, for reasons that cannot be dwelt on here, soon succeeded, however, in becoming manufacturers, executives, merchants or professionals.

It was somewhat different with the Jews who came here at the beginning of the present century. Many of them came to their parents, children, brothers, sisters, relatives or friends who were willing and ready to help them. Some of them could, therefore, select the particular occupation which they preferred. Even those who had come on their own initiative and had no one to help them had in those days better opportunities to prepare themselves for the economic activities in which they were interested than their brethren who had preceded them. The working day was already shorter than at the close of the 19th century; and the earnings of the workers were on the increase. The educational opportunities were not bad. American colleges and professional schools had no *numerus clausus* in those days; some of them did not even charge any tuition fee; a considerable number of high schools and colleges were offering evening courses. It was, therefore, to a certain extent, easier to become a professional than in the 1890's, when tailors, cloakmakers and others had to work twelve hours and even more a day. Similar opportunities were offered those who were interested in vocational or industrial training or in clerical work.

Whatever the opportunities, the fact is that a smaller percentage of the more recent newcomers went to work in the clothing industry than of those who had come here prior to 1900. The study made by the U. S. Immigration Commission (appointed in 1907) shows that 74.2 per cent of the 1,223 Russian Jews of both sexes in the several branches of industry who had been in the country 10 years or longer, were in the clothing industry, whereas only 64.8 per cent of the 2,548 who had been less than 5 years in the United States, were in this branch of industry.[14]

In the case of Jews from other countries, only 69.6 per cent of the 423 less than five years in the country but 79.3 per cent of the 719 Jewish immigrants here ten years and longer were in the clothing industry. The difference is statistically significant. We may, therefore, conclude that a smaller percentage of the more recent immigrants probably became clothing workers than of those who arrived in the 1890's or before. It is true that the report of the Immigration Commission is not based on a sample of the Jewish immigrants in general but of a particular group in certain localities.[15] We may, nevertheless, assume that this has been the trend since the beginning of the present century.[16]

The same study reveals that there were statistically significant differences between the occupational distribution of Jewish immigrants from Russia and those who came from other countries. Of those employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries, sixty-eight per cent of the Russian Jews and seventy-five per cent of those from other countries were in the clothing industry.* Other differences to be noted are: almost 11 per cent of the Russian Jews, but only 3.7 per cent of their co-religionists from other countries were in the shoe industry; there were 8.5 times as many of the latter as of the former in the iron and steel industry. There was a greater concentration of the Russian Jews than of the others in the several branches of the textile industry and a relatively larger number of the latter in the leather and meat industries.

There were other equally important and significant differences between the occupational patterns of Russian and other Jews in the United States at the time of the study made by the Immigration Commission. A relatively smaller percentage of Russian than of other Jews were rendering domestic and personal service; the ratio was 10:34, respec-

* It is interesting to note that 22 per cent of the Russian Jews and 27.5 per cent of the other Jews in the clothing industry were engaged in trade before coming to the United States.

tively. In the case of those rendering professional service, the ratio was 100:165, respectively; the difference is not statistically significant. There was practically no difference between these two groups in the case of trade: 34.9 per cent of the Russian and 37.4 per cent of the other Jewish immigrants were in business. As for those in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 57.2 per cent of the Russian Jews in this country at the time of the investigation and only 43.9 per cent of Jewish immigrants from other countries were engaged in such work. [17]

Finally, the occupational pattern of the Jews varied from locality to locality. 61.5 per cent of 364 Jews in Boston and only 42.9 per cent of 240 in Chicago were in manufacturing; almost one-half of 161 Jewish immigrants in Cleveland and approximately one-third of 166 in Philadelphia were engaged in trade. [18] (Although the observed differences are statistically significant, one should, however, bear in mind that the results are based on small samples).

The differences between Jewish and other immigrants were, however, greater * than those between the Russian and other Jews. Of 9,256 non-Jewish male immigrants, 16 years of age and over, in Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Milwaukee, New York and Philadelphia, only 16.1 per cent were in trade; of the 2,109 Jewish immigrants in the same seven localities, 35.3 per cent were in business. There were five times as many of the non-Jewish group as of the Jewish in domestic and personal service. A larger percentage of the Jewish than of the other immigrants was engaged in manufacturing. The reverse was true in the case of transportation. But a relatively larger number of

* 3.2 per cent of approximately 286,400 non-Jewish immigrants and 70 per cent of 7,152 Jews were in the clothing industry. There were 24 times as many of the former as of the latter in the coal-mining industry, approximately 14 times as many in the iron and steel industry and 13 times as many in the cotton goods industry. A larger percentage of the non-Jews than of the Jewish immigrants was engaged in the mining and smelting of copper and in the manufacture of glass, furniture, leather, oil and sugar.

non-Jewish than of Jewish immigrants was engaged in the production of durable or producers' goods; the Jews were primarily engaged in the manufacture of consumers' goods. Finally, 1.8 per cent of the Jews, but only 1.1 per cent of the others were rendering professional services.[19] The observed difference in this particular case is not quite statistically significant.

There were, however, very definite indications at the time when the Immigration Commission was making its study that the number of Jews in the professions would rapidly increase. Of 2,979 foreign-born male students in American colleges and universities, 37.1 per cent were Jews. Moreover, of 6,652 native-born male students of foreign-born parents in such schools, 16.1 per cent were of Jewish descent.[20] In brief, the Jews constituted almost one-fourth, 22.6 per cent, of these two groups of students, a percentage which was several times higher than the proportion of Jews to non-Jews in the general population. Thus a relatively larger number of Jewish immigrants and of native-born Jews of immigrant parentage were preparing themselves for the professions than those of other ethnic groups.

If we compare the results of the study made by the Immigration Commission with those of our analysis of the 1900 census, it appears that there were several significant differences between these two groups. The percentage of Jewish men in trade and in the clerical occupations increased from 30.1 to 34.9; the relative number of those in domestic and personal service was about one-half of the 1900 figure; the percentage of those rendering professional service declined. There was practically no change in the relative number of those engaged in manufacturing and in transportation. The results of these two studies are not, however, strictly comparable for the reason that the findings of the Immigration Commission were based on a small sample and that the 1900 group was not 100 per cent Jewish, but they may indicate a general trend of the changes occurring among the Jewish immigrant group in America.

*Chapter III*

# AFTER WORLD WAR I

## *Occupational Trends in the 1920's*

The American economic, political, social and cultural environment had a definite effect on the evolving economic structure of the Jewish immigrants and their children. Being free to apply their abilities and talents and to settle in any part of the country, they could select any occupation they preferred and could prepare themselves for the economic activities in which they were particularly interested or which were more profitable. Their occupational choices were not the result of any legislative restrictions, but were mostly influenced by the situation of the country.

The changes in the occupational pattern of the American Jews since the beginning of the present century have, generally speaking, resembled those which have occurred in the economic structure of the country as a whole, although not of the same magnitude. The percentage of Jews in manufacturing and mechanical industries continued to decline in the 1920's, while the percentage of those rendering professional and clerical services and those engaged in commerce increased.

This trend comes to the fore in a study of immigrants made on the basis of the results of the 1920 census. N. Carpenter analyzed a sample of immigrants living in Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, comprising an area in which over a half of the Jewish population in America was concentrated. According to

this study, about three-fifths of the Jewish immigrants were in commerce. In 1920, 59.7 percent of 22,025 gainfully-employed Jewish male immigrants were salesmen; 26.6 percent were carpenters; 7.6 percent were foremen and overseers in manufacturing establishments and 4.1 percent were physicians and surgeons. In these four occupations were concentrated 98 percent of the Jews included in the survey. There were about twelve times as many salesmen and seven times as many medical men among the Jewish immigrants as among other newcomers. About two-thirds, 67.3 percent, of 17,840 gainfully-employed foreign-born Jewish women worked in 1920 in clothing factories and 22.1 percent were stenographers and typists. These two groups of workers constituted 89.4 percent of the 17,840 gainfully-employed Jewish women; only 24.5 percent of the gainfully-employed foreign-born non-Jewish women were engaged in these two occupations. [21]

Dr. Carpenter thinks that this was the economic structure of the Jews living at that time in Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, the area covered by his study. The validity of this assumption is, however, questionable for his sample may not have been representative. All that can be said is that his sample shows a general trend and that "the precise percentages do not, of course, carry any particular weight, because of the restricted nature of the data from which they have been computed". [22]

Studies made in the 1920's show that the occupational pattern of the Jews was not the same as that of Carpenter's group. A survey made in 1924 of the economic pursuits of Jews in 36 cities [23] showed that only 47.4 percent of 33,194 gainfully-employed were engaged in commerce and that 16.3 percent of them were in manufacturing. Studies made in 1925 [24] showed that manufacturing accounted for more than two-fifths, 42.8 percent, and trade for only 30.8 percent.

The results of the survey of 36 cities were reported by the American-Jewish Economic Commission of the Aleph Zadik Aleph (A.Z.A., B'nai B'rith Youth Organization) and were based on a sample. The other studies were prepared at the

request of Rabbi Edward L. Israel. According to him, "only in certain indicated instances does the survey claim to be exact, in the other cases it was accepted as a fairly approximate analysis by local people".[25] The two sets of studies are not strictly comparable because of differences in the methods of collecting the data and in the classification of the occupations. But the results of these studies probably show the approximate trend of the occupational distribution of the Jews in the smaller cities and towns.

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY-EMPLOYED JEWS IN 46 CITIES, 1924-1925

| Occupations | A.Z.A. Group (36 Cities) | | | Israel Group (10 Cities) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Male | Female | Total |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Trade | 47.4 | 51.1 | 35.4 | 30.8 |
| Manufacturing | 16.3 | 18.6 | 8.8 | 42.8 |
| Professions | 10.1 | 10.7 | 8.0 | 9.6 |
| Clerical | 16.8 | 9.5 | 40.8 | 8.4 |
| Domestic & Personal | 5.0 | 5.4 | 4.0 | 6.7 |
| Transportation and Communication | 2.2 | 2.2 | 2.1 | 1.0 |
| Public Service | 2.0 | 2.3 | 0.9 | ---- |
| Other | 0.2 | 0.2 | ---- | 0.7 |

It will be noticed that almost 43 percent of 25,351 (Israel group) and only 16.3 percent of 33,194 (A.Z.A. group) gainfully-employed Jews were in manufacturing and mechanical industries. The difference is in this particular case statistically significant. The Israel group had a relatively smaller number of persons in trade, in the several professions, in transportation and communication and in the clerical occupations than the A.Z.A. group, but a larger percentage in domestic and personal service.

These percentages were, of course, not alike in every one of the communities studied. The economic structure of the Jews, as of other groups, varies with prevailing local conditions—climate, natural resources, local demands, market conditions and the density of the Jewish population—as well as with the training and experiences of the individuals and their occupational preferences and economic interests. Some of them settle in certain cities because of the opportunities they offer; others are where they are for no particular reason. This then accounts to a certain extent for the local variations in the occupational pattern of the Jews.

The studies of 1924 reveal that 62 percent of 33,194 gainfully-employed were employees. More significant is the fact that wage earners and salaried persons constituted 72 percent of those in manufacturing, approximately 62 percent of the professional and semi-professional group, 97.9 percent of those engaged in clerical occupations and 50.6 percent of those in trade.

The study of 1925 showed that 9.6 percent of the gainfully-occupied Jews in trade were grocers, one-twelfth were hucksters or peddlers, 4.1 percent had retail clothing stores and 30.7 percent were salesmen. These 4,119 Jews constituted 52.8 percent of the Jews engaged in trade and 16.2 percent of the total gainfully-occupied Jews.

As was to be expected, the men had a different occupational pattern from that of the gainfully-employed women. Almost 41 percent of the women were doing clerical work. Equally significant is the fact that 93.7 percent of the gainfully-employed women were employees and only 52.4 percent of the men. Most of the women in trade, 90.6 percent, were employees: clerks in stores, salesladies and the like, whereas only 42.2 percent of the men engaged in trade were employees. The proportion of men to women employees in manufacturing was 10:14, respectively, and in the professions 10:29, respectively.

The results of these studies lead to the conclusion that most of the Jews are employees and that a relatively large

number of them are engaged in the manufacture and distribution of consumers' goods.

Furthermore, these two sets of studies show that the occupational pattern of the Jews in 1924-1925 was not the same as of the Russian Jews in American cities in 1900 (Table 1). The relative number of those in manufacturing decreased during these 25 years. 35.3 percent of the gainfully-employed Jewish immigrants in 1900 were in the clothing industry as compared with only 19.1 percent of the Israel group. The percentage of those in domestic and personal service also dropped. The relative number of those in the professions, clerical occupations and in trade increased.

To be sure, these groups are not strictly comparable. The 1900 group consisted of a large number of recent immigrants from Russia, while the A.Z.A. and Israel groups consisted of a considerable number of American-born Jews and of immigrants from various parts of the world who had arrived here prior to the beginning of World War I in 1914. Secondly, the 1900 group lived in cities with a population of 250,000 and more, and the A.Z.A. and Israel groups lived in various types of communities, most of them in small localities. Inasmuch as the occupational pattern of large cities is not the same as that of smaller communities, it is quite possible that some of the observed differences were not primarily due to changes in the occupational distribution of the Jews. Finally, the 1900 study was based on a census of the entire population and the Israel and A.Z.A. studies were based on samples or on estimates.

Although these groups are not strictly comparable, we may, nevertheless, assume that the A.Z.A. and Israel studies show changes in the occupational distribution of the erstwhile Jewish immigrants from Russia. A large number of the Jews in 1925 were still immigrants and probably three-fifths of the foreign-born Jews were from Russia. Moreover, about 63 percent of the A.Z.A. group lived in cities with a population of 150,000 and more in 1920 and about 83 percent of the Israel group lived in such communities. We may, therefore,

conclude that the occupational distribution of the erstwhile Jewish immigrants changed in the years 1900-1925. There was an upward trend in the professions, trade and in the clerical occupations, and a downward trend in manufacturing and in domestic and personal service. The erstwhile Jewish immigrants suffered and struggled; some of them managed, however, to save part of their meager earnings for the purpose of opening a shop or a store; others prepared themselves for some profession or clerical occupation in which some of them finally achieved success; and a certain number were promoted because of their outstanding ability, proficiency or resourcefulness. In brief, some of the former immigrants succeeded in their efforts and endeavors, and they tried to give their children a good start in life. It also happened that the sons and daughters helped their parents to attain economic independence and social security.

Other studies show that the occupational preferences of the Jews are not the same as of other ethnic groups. A study made of 1,536 gainfully-employed Jewish males, 17 years of age and older, in Scranton, Pa., in 1924, showed that 69 percent of them were engaged in trade, 23 percent in manufacturing, and 3.3 percent in the professions; the others were government employees, draymen, waiters, etc. [26]

The percentage distribution of 1,409 gainfully-occupied Denver Jews in 1924 was: 59.5 in trade, 16.3 in manufacturing, 10.6 in domestic and personal service, 6.5 in the professions, 5.2 in clerical occupations; about 2 percent were in agriculture, transportation and in public service. [27] (Some of this group were probably tubercular patients.)

Detroit, Mich., had during these years an upward trend in manufacturing while trade was somewhat on the decline. Studies made there of 424 Jews in 1910 and of 1,570 in 1922-1923 [28] showed that 23.1 percent of the former and 30.6 percent of the latter were in manufacturing; 65.1 and 61.2 percent, respectively, were in trade; and that 4.5 percent of the 1910 group and 5.7 per cent of the other group were professionals. The upward trend in manufacturing was probably

due to the opportunities offered by the rapidly growing automobile industry. (This study was based on a small sample and the results are perhaps suggestive but not conclusive).

The trends at the end of the 1920's were generally similar to those noted in the studies of the mid-1920's. The smaller communities had a relatively larger number of Jews in trade than the large American cities where many of the Jews were in the manufacturing and mechanical industries.

M. Langer's study of the so-called Easton community, a town near New York City with a population of 31,275 in 1930, approximately 10 percent of whom were Jews, showed that more than four-fifths, 81.6 percent, of 1669 Jewish heads of families were in 1931 engaged in trade; 12.4 percent were in manufacturing; and only 3.6 percent were rendering professional service. This occupational distribution is more or less typical of Jews in small communities where the economic opportunities are rather limited. The occupational pattern of 136 unmarried children of 200 Jewish families there was, however, not the same as of the older generation. Three-fifths of them were engaged in commerce; 17.8 percent were professionals; approximately one-tenth were doing clerical work; and about one-sixteenth (6.8 percent) were in manufacturing.[29] Although we are dealing here with a small sample, we may, nevertheless, say, assuming that most of the older group were immigrants and most of the unmarried children were American-born, that the economic opportunities and preferences of the immigrants are generally not the same as those of their American-born children.

Surveys made by the Bureau of Jewish Social Research in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1929, and in Pittsfield, Mass., in 1930, show that from five to six-tenths of the gainfully-employed Jews in these cities were in trade. Only 9.2 percent of 1,973 Omaha Jews were in manufacturing and 12.9 percent of 418 Pittsfield Jews were factory workers and 2.9 percent were manufacturers. Approximately one-seventeenth of the Omaha group and one-twelfth of the Pittsfield group were rendering professional services; the observed difference is, how-

ever, statistically not significant. About one-fourth of the Pittsfield group and almost 16 percent of the Omaha Jews were clerical workers.[30] This occupational pattern is not, however, typical of Jews living in large cities.

Jaffe, for instance, reports that one-third of 2,643 Chicago Jews, 35-64 years of age, were in manufacturing in 1930; 54 percent were engaged in trade; and approximately one-twentieth were rendering professional services.[31] His findings are, however, suggestive rather than conclusive, because they are based on data of a selected age group.

The several studies referred to above show that the economic structure of the Jews after the first World War was not the same as at the beginning of the present century. The relative number of Jews in trade, clerical occupations and in the professions increased, and the percentage of industrial and other workers decreased. These changes were, in a sense, due to the general development of the country and to the successful adjustment of a considerable number of our erstwhile immigrants to the socio-economic environment of the United States, as well as to the occupational preferences of their American-born children.

*Chapter IV*

## DEPRESSION AND RECOVERY

The 1930's were marked by a slump at the beginning of the decade, followed by the New Deal and partial recovery in the last pre-war years.

From a purely economic point of view, the 1930's were a very critical period in the history of the United States. Several attempts were made to reduce the number of unemployed, but with limited success. Almost one-fourth, approximately 11,065,000, of the labor force was still unemployed, or only partly employed, in 1937. Those seeking work and on public emergency work constituted, even in 1940, one-seventh, or 14.4 percent, of the total labor force; 7,622,316 persons were at that time without regular employment. [32]

During the first years of the crisis, a "back to the soil" movement, the unemployed taking up abandoned farms or returning to the farms of their parents, was discernible. In the later years of the 1930's this trend lost its impetus and the "normal" tendencies of advanced capitalism, urbanization and an increase in trade and clerical occupations, reappeared. The results of the 1940 census show that during the 1930's, the percentage of those employed in agriculture dropped from 21.4 to 17.7, and that of government employees increased from 1.8 to 3.9. There was also a slight increase in the relative number rendering professional service; physicians and dentists, for instance, constituted in 1930: 0.46 percent of the labor force and 0.52 percent a decade later. Similarly, the percentage of stenographers and typists increased from 1.7 to 2.3. There was also an increase in the number of persons

engaged in wholesale and retail trade, banking, insurance and real estate. Generally speaking, there was an increase in the number engaged in the distribution of goods as well as of those rendering professional, clerical and kindred services.

Although the exact effects of the economic depression on the Jews are not known, the following facts merit consideration. The years of the economic depression were also years when Hitler was in power in Germany and when anti-Semitism was on the increase. They were also years of discrimination in employment against Jews. Studies made of help-wanted advertisements show a decided rise in the "Christian only" type of notice.

**"Our survey indicates that discriminatory specifications have varied directly with the rise and fall of the business cycle, but that this tendency was true to a greater degree in the depression of 1932 than in that of 1921. We have also found that since the advent of Nazism, the frequency of discriminatory specifications has grown progressively higher, until 1937-1938, these frequencies, especially in the (employment) agency ads, have reached heights far in excess of the preceding years."** [33]

Another investigator reports that advertisements specifying Christians or Gentiles in the Sunday edition of the *Chicago Tribune* increased from 4 per 1,000 in 1921 to 4.8 in 1927-1931 and to 9.4 in 1937.[34]

It was in those days more difficult for a Jewish white-collar worker or professional to find employment than for a non-Jew. One investigator who had applied for 100 jobs as stenographer, secretary, accountant and auditor was in 91 cases told that a Jew would not be acceptable. A study made of young men and women in New York City in 1935 showed that unemployment was more widespread among Jewish than among Protestant white-collar workers.[35] We may assume that New York was not an exceptional case.

Equally significant for the economic situation of the Jews is the fact that unemployment was more widespread in the largest cities where the majority of the Jews in America are concentrated. There was a relatively larger number of unemployed, 17.1 percent, in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia,

Detroit and Los Angeles, where about seven-tenths of the Jews live, in 1940 than in cities with less than a million but with more than 100,000 inhabitants, where only 15.7 percent were unemployed. In brief, only 83.7 percent of those in cities with 100,000 or more inhabitants, in which about nine-tenths of the Jews live, were employed in 1940 as compared with 86.5 percent in the rest of the country. Unemployment was also more prevalent in such cities in 1930 and in 1937.[36]

This situation affected the Jews in more than one way. Inasmuch as they are a so-called marginal group, it is generally more difficult for them to find a suitable job, other things being equal, in places with a relatively large number of unemployed than in other localities. Moreover, Jewish storekeepers, whose clients usually are from the middle and poor classes, were somewhat affected because unemployment was more prevalent among these classes than among other groups. In some instances, however, unemployed Jewish workers began to engage in petty trade. Meeting with discriminatory attitudes in non-Jewish enterprises, some turned to Jewish commercial enterprises. Youth, unable to find employment elsewhere, entered the stores of their parents. These tendencies are depicted in the results of inquiries into the economic situation of the Jews made in the 1930's.

We present here a summary of surveys of the economic structure of the Jews in 72 communites. 50 of them were made in 1934, 2 in 1935, 1 in the following year, 8 in 1937, 7 a year later, 1 in 1939, 2 in 1941, and one in 1942. There is reason for the assumption that no very significant changes occurred during the years of 1934-1942 and that the results may, therefore, be combined and treated as a unit.

Approximately 2,817,000 Jews lived in these communities. They constituted about three-fifths of the total Jewish population. More than four-fifths, 84.2 percent, lived in cities with a Jewish population of 50,000 and more; 6.5 percent were in places with 20,000-49,999 Jews; 4.6 percent lived in cities having a Jewish population of 10,000-19,999; 3.2 percent were in communities with 5,000-9,999 Jews; 1.1

percent lived in towns having 1,000-4,999 Jews; only 0.4 percent of the entire group were in communities with a Jewish population less than 1,000 .

Several methods were employed for the collection of the data. Some of the investigators used the method of sampling, others made a survey of the entire population. One organization, however, made 48 of these surveys, which covered approximately 7 percent of the gainfully employed under consideration; one individual made six of these studies; two individuals made two studies each. There was also lack of uniformity in the classification of the occupations. Although these studies are not strictly comparable, they do, nevertheless, show the approximate occupational trend in the 1930's.

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY-EMPLOYED JEWS

| Occupations | 61 Communities [38] | 5 Communities [39] |
|---|---|---|
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Manufacturing | 12.4 | 34.8 |
| Trade | 47.3 | 33.3 |
| Professions | 11.9 | 11.3 |
| Clerical | 15.7 | ---- |
| Domestic and Personal | 6.8 | 12.4 |
| Public Service | 2.9 | 2.6 |
| Transportation and Communication | 1.9 | 3.7 |
| Other and Unknown | 1.1 | 1.9 |

The table summarizes the occupational distribution of 913,276 gainfully-employed Jews. 835,605 of them lived in the 5 communities: New York, Detroit, Stamford, Worcester and New Orleans; almost 800,000 of them were in New York City. The occupational pattern of these five cities as presented in the table is, therefore, in a sense the occupational distribution of the New York Jews, which is based on estimates. Approximately one-eighth of those in the 61 communities and 34.8 percent of the other group were in industry;

47.3 percent of the former and only one-third of those in the 5 communities were engaged in trade.[40]

There were, to be sure, differences in the classification of occupations; the investigators of the five cities did not single out the clerical workers. It is doubtful, however, whether differences in classification account in this particular case for the observed differences in the occupational distribution. Furthermore, although this may be the cause of the difference in the relative number of persons in manufacturing, it does not account at all for the relatively smaller number of persons engaged in trade in the cities where the clerical workers, a large number of whom were working in mercantile establishments and were, therefore, included among those in trade, were not classified separately.

The differences are rather due to the fact that the occupational distribution of Jews living in large cities which are industrial centers, is not the same as of those living in smaller communities. Thus we find that the manufacturers and industrial workers constituted 35.3 percent of the gainfully-employed Jews in New York City, 23.3 percent of those in Detroit and only about one-ninth of those in Dallas in 1939.

These studies also show that the occupational pattern of the Jews, like that of other ethnic groups, varies from locality to locality. 22.5 percent of the gainfully-employed Jews in Passaic in 1937 and only 11.7 percent of those in Trenton in the same year were engaged in manufacturing; 43.2 percent of the former and 53.7 percent of the latter were engaged in commerce. Inasmuch as the same investigator made both these surveys, we may assume that the differences were not in any way due to differences in the classification of occupations. In the case of New London and Norwich, Conn., the percentages of the gainfully-employed Jewish males in manufacturing were 18.5 and 24.5, respectively, and of those rendering professional service 11.2 and 8.2, respectively. The observed differences in this particular case are not, however, statistically significant. In 11 of 47 cities surveyed by

the A.Z.A., one-eleventh of the gainfully-employed Jewish population was in industry and in the other 36 cities almost one-eighth; almost three-fifths of the former and only 43.4 percent of those in the 36 cities were in commercial pursuits; in the case of those rendering professional services the percentages were 7.4 and 13.8, respectively. The observed differences are statistically significant. The data at hand suggest that the occupational distribution of the Jews varies to a certain extent, directly or inversely, with the occupational pattern of the general population [41] as well as with the training, opportunities and occupational preferences of the Jews.

This does not, however, mean that the American Jews have no occupational pattern of their own. Although their occupational distribution varies from locality to locality, there is, nevertheless, a certain uniformity in this very diversity. It can even be shown that the occupational distribution of the Jews is nowhere the same as of the general population. A comparison of the percentage distribution of the gainfully-employed Jewish males in 47 communities in 1934 and of the total gainfully-employed males in 41 of these cities in 1930 shows that there were approximately 3.2 times as many of the general as of the Jewish male population in industry and 5 times as many in transportation and communication. The reverse was true in the case of those engaged in commerce and in the professions. The ratio of Jewish to the general gainfully-employed male population engaged in trade was 2.6:1; in the case of those in the professions, the ratio was 2.3:1. The differences were probably somewhat greater, for the reason that, in computing the percentages, the Jews had not been excluded from the general population. [42]

There were also statistically significant differences between the occupational distribution of the gainfully-employed Jewish and other women. Of 14,740 women in 47 cities (A.Z.A. group), only 5.4 percent were engaged in industry; 19.7 percent of the total gainfully-employed women in 41 of these 47 cities were, in 1930, doing similar work. In the case of those engaged in trade, there were 363 Jewish women per 100

gainfully-employed women in the general population; 1.8 times as many of the Jewish women as of those in the general population, were doing clerical work; there was no significant difference between the percentage of professional women among Jews and other groups.

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY-EMPLOYED MALES, 1930 AND 1934

| Occupations | Jews, 1934 [43] | General Population, 1930 [44] |
|---|---|---|
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Manufacturing | 13.7 | 43.6 |
| Trade | 51.1 | 19.6 |
| Professions | 13.1 | 5.7 |
| Clerical | 9.3 | 8.7 |
| Domestic and Personal | 6.8 | 6.7 |
| Transportation and Communication | 2.2 | 11.1 |
| Public Service | 3.6 | 2.7 |
| Other and Unknown | 0.2 | 1.9 |

The Jews, moreover, are primarily engaged in the manufacture and distribution of consumers' goods. Because of this, the position of the Jews in the American economy is of minor importance; they certainly do not control the ebb and flow of the production and distribution of commodities.

As in the case of the general population, the occupational pattern of the Jewish males was not the same as of the females. Almost one-fifth, 18.6 percent, of 64,638 gainfully-employed males were engaged in manufacturing and only 7.7 percent of 20,201 females; there was also a relatively larger number of the former than of the latter in trade. The reverse was true in the case of those engaged in clerical occupations.

## *Chapter V*

# SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

There was a relatively larger number of employees than employers among Jews in the 1930's than in the 1920's. According to the A.Z.A. study, 38 percent of 33,194 gainfully-employed Jews in 36 cities in 1924 were employers and only 35.8 percent of 46,610 in the same cities in 1934. Small as the difference is, it is, nevertheless, statistically significant. The results of this study seem, therefore, to suggest that the

TABLE 5

EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES [45]

| Industry | Total Number | Percent Employers | Percent Employees |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 60,360 | 37.1 | 62.9 |
| Manufacturing | 7,105 | 36.7 | 63.3 |
| Transportation & Communication | 1,227 | 27.3 | 72.7 |
| Domestic & Personal Service | 4,394 | 44.8 | 55.2 |
| Clerical Occupations | 9,652 | 2.5 | 97.5 |
| Public Service | 2,062 | ---- | 100.0 |
| Professions | 7,477 | 60.3 | 39.7 |
| Trade | 28,344 | 44.6 | 55.4 |
| Agriculture | 99 | 74.7 | 25.3 |

relative number of Jewish employees is increasing and the percentage of Jewish employers is decreasing. This is probably due to the fact that our native-born children, who are on the increase among our gainfully-employed, prefer to be employees rather than proprietors of small groceries, candy

and cigar stores and similar retail establishments. Thus we find that the percentage of employees among those in trade increased from 50.66 in 1924 to 55.9 ten years later. The American-born Jews are interested in commerce; they prefer, however, to be salesmen or buyers rather than proprietors of small retail stores. A recent study of the vocational interests of Jewish high school graduates shows that the majority of them prefer to be salaried workers.[46] The percentage of employees among Jews in large cities is even greater than in the cities studied by the A.Z.A. It is estimated that 91 percent of the New York City Jews in manufacturing and 71 percent of those in trade were in 1937 employees. The corresponding percentages for the non-Jewish employees were 97 and 88.[47]

An analysis of 592,285 gainfully-employed Jews in 55[48] large and small cities shows that fully 78.2 percent of them were employees in the 1930's. The Jews in the very large cities are essentially employees.

The largest concentration of employers and self-employed was in trade and in the several professions. Of 22,381 employers and self-employed, 56.5 percent were in commerce and 20.1 percent were rendering professional service. This was, to a certain extent, to be expected. Many professionals are self-employed; two-thirds of the professionals under consideration were such persons. A considerable number of those in commerce are usually proprietors of stores or some other mercantile establishments. The Jews have more self-employed among those who are in trade because they have a relatively larger number of small shopkeepers than other ethnic groups.

Practically all of those in the clerical occupations, 97.5 percent, were employees. Almost three-fourths of those in transportation and communication were wage or salary workers. More than three-fifths of those in manufacturing and approximately fifty-five of every hundred in trade were employees.

As stated above, this is the approximate distribution of Jews who do not live in the very large cities. The percent-

age of employees among those who live in New York City, Chicago and other large cities is much greater.

The socio-economic distribution of the Jews is not the same as that of other ethnic groups. We usually have a relatively larger number of professionals, clerical workers and proprietors. As in the case of the occupational distribution, this also varies from locality to locality. One-seventh of the Buffalo Jews and approximately one-ninth of the San Francisco group were professionals. Buffalo had three times as many skilled workers as San Francisco. San Francisco had a relatively larger number of proprietors and clerks and three times as many semi-skilled workers as Buffalo. Finally, the San Francisco Jews had a larger percentage of professionals, proprietors and clerical workers but less skilled and unskilled workers than the other ethnic groups there.

TABLE 6

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF JEWS IN 7 COMMUNITIES [49]

| Status | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Total | 58,635 | 100.0 |
| Clerks and Kindred Workers | 22,935 | 39.7 |
| Proprietors, Managers, Officials | 15,932 | 27.6 |
| Professionals | 5,678 | 9.8 |
| Skilled Workers | 5,018 | 8.7 |
| Semi-Skilled Workers | 6,236 | 10.9 |
| Public Service | 34 | 0.1 |
| Laborers | 1,510 | 2.6 |
| Others | 371 | 0.6 |

Table 6 shows that 4 of every 10 Jews are clerks or kindred workers. This includes those who work in offices as well as salesmen, saleswomen, buyers and the like. Approximately 28 of every 100 are proprietors, managers and officials. One-tenth are professionals and another tenth are semi-skilled workers. The others are skilled workers, government employees, and unskilled workers.

Many Jewish proprietors are owners of small business and manufacturing establishments. We have a relatively smaller number of bankers, brokers and of proprietors of large industrial plants than some other ethnic groups. When we compare the socio-economic status of Jews with that of other groups, it is, therefore, important to bear in mind that there are significant differences between Jewish and other proprietors, managers and officials.

## *Chapter VI*

# ROLE OF JEWS IN AMERICAN ECONOMY

A study made of bankers in the United States showed that only 0.6 percent of them were of Jewish descent, although the Jews constituted approximately 3.5 percent of the total population. The ratio of Jews to non-Jews in the population and in banking was, in other words, about 6:1. The New York Jews constituted approximately 28 percent of the total population, but not more than 6 percent of the bankers; Jews constituted 8 or 9 percent of the Chicago population and only 2.8 percent of its bankers. There are many cities which have no Jewish bankers and no Jewish bank officials. Moreover, the Jewish bankers play, as a rule, a minor role in the financial world. One cannot find a Jew among the executives or officials of the largest commercial banks and investment houses. [50]

Let us also recall, in this connection, the results of the study made in 1935 by the Editors of *Fortune*. They found that only 7.1 percent of the directors of the 19 members of the New York Clearing House in 1933 were Jews. Moreover, the most important Jewish investment house in New York City had only 2.88 percent of foreign loans outstanding on March 1, 1935, while the poorest non-Jewish investment house there had 4.23 percent of such loans. Approximately 18 percent of the members of the New York Stock Exchange were at that time of Jewish descent; this was much less than the proportion of Jews to non-Jews in the general population.

According to the Editors of *Fortune,* there were very few

Jews in the important industries. Steel is not a Jewish industry, although Jews control about 90 percent of the scrap iron and steel business. The coal industry is almost entirely non-Jewish; so are the telephone and telegraph, lumber, rubber, automobile, shipping, petroleum, chemical and many other industries. The control by the Jews of the motion picture industry is declining. They do, however, have an appreciable control of some branches of the textile and clothing industries.[51]

Their conclusion is that "the number of Jews who can be thought of as threatening non-Jewish control of U. S. industry is not so large as the *seeming* prevalence of Jews would make it appear. The Jews *seem* to play a disproportionate part for two reasons: the Jews and particularly the Polish Jews with their ghetto background are the most urban, the most city-loving of all peoples, and the favored occupations of Jews in the cities are those occupations which bring them into most direct contact with the great consuming public." (pp. 34-35)

The Jews, in other words, seem to play an important part because a relatively large number of them are proprietors of retail stores, groceries, candy and cigar stores. It is estimated, for instance, that four-fifths of those who were selling apparel in New York City in 1937 were Jews and that they constituted 62 percent of the drug store employees and approximately 47 percent of those working in food stores. The Jews constituted, however, only one-eighth of those in the automotive business in New York City. Similarly, 82 percent of those in the manufacture of fur and fur goods in New York in 1937 were Jews and 55.5 percent of those engaged in the manufacture of clothing, cloth goods and headwear. The Jews constituted, however, only one-fifth of the New Yorkers in the manufacture of rubber and composition goods, 18 percent of those in the metal industry, less than 5 percent of those engaged in the production of transportation equipment and about one of every twenty-five in the machine-shop industry.[52]

Koenig's study shows that the Stamford Jews are also

concentrated in the retail rather than in the wholesale business. A relatively large number of those engaged in the distribution of food, wearing apparel, dry goods, furniture, cosmetics and other consumers' goods were Jews. The role the latter played in the financial world of the town was, however, "entirely negligible". The two financial houses controlled by Jews were "quite small, and their place in the economic life of the town" was "of comparatively little importance". As for the Jewish real-estate and insurance agencies, they were "far from holding a leading position in the field." [53]

These studies show that the Jews do not play a dominant role in the economic life of the United States. Very few of them are in agriculture. There is also a smaller percentage of them than of other groups in banking. Although a relatively large number of Jews are engaged in commerce, they are primarily concentrated in the distribution of consumers' goods. Few of them are engaged in the production and distribution of producers' goods. Inasmuch as they deal with the consumer, some people, therefore, think that the Jews are actually playing a dominant role in the economic life of the country; inasmuch as consumers see the Jewish storekeeper, but not the non-Jewish producer and wholesaler, some non-Jews conclude that Jews control the ebb and flow of commodities and prices. Studies made by the Opinion Research Center of Colorado University in 1942 and 1943 show, for instance, that three-fifths of a group of non-Jews thought that Jews had too much economic power; two percent said they had just as much as they were entitled to. [54]

The Jews' share is being exaggerated because, among other things, a relatively large number of them are in retail business. The same applies to the professions. Inasmuch as there is a relatively larger number of Jews in the medical, legal and other self-employed professions than of non-Jews, some assume that they control these professions. The truth of the matter is not so; Jews play a relatively minor role even in those professions in which a relatively large number of them are engaged.

*Chapter VII*

## AMERICAN-BORN JEWS

The changes in the occupational pattern of the American Jews are generally due to one or more of the following causes. The pattern varies with the general technological progress and market conditions; new inventions and an increased or decreased demand for certain commodities invariably lead to changes in the occupational distribution of the general population as well as of the Jews. The desire for a higher standard of living and for more or greater economic security and social prestige is another factor. Add to this the proverbial devotion of Jewish parents to their children; some of them seek better economic opportunities in the hope that their new position or business will eventually enable them to give their children a better start in life. Discrimination in employment leads to changes in the occupational pattern. Finally, the changes are at present also due to an increase in the number of native-born among the gainfully-occupied Jews, for the reason that the vocational preferences, economic interests and social values of American-born Jews are not quite the same as those of their immigrant parents.

According to the above-mentioned A.Z.A. studies, there was a relatively smaller number of Jews in manufacturing and commerce and a larger one in public service, professions and in domestic and personal service in 1934 than in 1924. These changes were to a certain extent due to the presence of a relatively larger number of American-born among the gainfully-employed Jews in 1934 than in 1924. Let us recall, in this connection, that the occupational pattern of the immi-

grants from Russia in 1900, most of whom, as shown above, were Jews, was not the same as that of their American-born children. The males of the latter group had, for instance, 6 times as many lawyers and 7 times as many bookkeepers and accountants and only one-third as many in the garment and headwear industries as the former. Similarly, approximately 46 of every 100 gainfully-employed women from Russia were in the several branches of the apparel and headwear industries and only 25 percent of the native-born whose parents were from Russia. The latter had, however, 3 times as many clerks and copyists, 2.2 times as many saleswomen and 5 times as many stenographers and typists as the former.[55] The occupational preferences of the American-born children were in many instances not the same as those of their foreign-born parents. Many of the latter sent their children, often at a great sacrifice, to college and helped them become professional men or women, office workers or merchants. In brief, the vertical social mobility of the second-generation American Jews was even then, in 1900, a fact.

Recent studies also show that a relatively larger number of our young generation than of those of other ethnic groups and of Jewish immigrants are doing clerical and professional work. According to the New York youth study, which was made in 1935, almost two-thirds, 65 percent, of the Jewish boys and girls 16-24 years of age were doing clerical and kindred work and only 43.3 percent of the non-Jewish youth, which comprised some Negro boys and girls. The difference is statistically significant. The Jewish youth group had 4 times as many bookkeepers, accountants and cashiers and about twice as many stenographers and typists as the other groups of the same age; the ratio of salesmen and saleswomen among Jews and others was 17:10. Moreover, we had only about two-thirds as many semi-skilled workers, almost one-fifth as many unskilled workers and only one-tenth as many service workers as the other youth groups. Finally, 3.8 percent of our youth and 3.2 percent of the non-Jewish youth

were rendering professional service.[56] The difference in this particular case is not, however, statistically significant.

The Baltimore study shows that there were differences between the occupational distribution of Jewish parents and their American-born children. This study embraced 408 Jewish boys and girls 16-24 years of age, 96 percent of whom were born in the United States. Of their fathers, about 85 percent were immigrants. Only 4.7 percent of the fathers and 13.4 percent of the children were rendering professional or technical services in 1936. More significant is the fact that almost one-half, 49.2 percent, of the children preferred to do professional or technical work. About one-sixth of the fathers and 53 percent of their children were office workers or salesmen. (It is interesting to note that only 25.6 percent of the children were actually interested in such work.) Only 2.4 percent of the children and almost one-third of the parents were skilled workers. There were, however, more semi-skilled and unskilled workers among the children than among the adults. This is quite natural because some youngsters have to start from the very bottom. Finally, there were less professionals, office workers, semi-skilled, unskilled and service workers, but significantly more proprietors, among the Jewish than among the other adults.[57] The lower percentage of professionals and office workers among the Jews was probably due to the fact that most of them were immigrants.

Of 282 young Jewish men and women in Cincinnati in 1941, most of whom were born in the United States, 54 percent were office workers or salespeople, approximately 21 percent were professionals, and 11.7 percent were proprietors, managers or officials; the others were skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. A relatively larger number of women than of men were professionals, clerical and skilled workers.[58] The occupational pattern of the Cincinnati group differed significantly from those in New York and in Baltimore; the two latter had fewer professionals than those in Cincinnati. The difference was probably due to differences in age; the Cincinnati group comprised the 13-34 years age group.

A recent analysis of the occupations of parents of 921 Jewish college students showed that the American-born parents did not have the same occupational distribution as those who had come from Europe. 41 percent of the American-born parents and only 26 percent of the immigrant group were professionals or were holding managerial positions; the difference is statistically significant. Moreover, the foreign-born group had about three times as many skilled and nine times as many semi-skilled workers as the native group. The percentage of office workers and salespeople was about the same in both cases.[59] The fact that 27 percent of this group of foreign-born parents were skilled, semi-skilled and service workers is very significant. It shows that Jewish parents are trying to give their children a college education. The 27 percent of foreign-born parents under consideration were sending their sons to a private college and were probably intending to send them to a professional school, although they themselves were poor workers.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY-EMPLOYED JEWS ACCORDING TO THEIR NATIVITY

| Occupations | Total | | Male | | Female | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Native | Foreign | Native | Foreign | Native | Foreign |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Manufacturing | 10.5 | 18.0 | 11.9 | 19.9 | 9.6 | 8.0 |
| Trade | 53.0 | 62.2 | 54.1 | 57.9 | 33.2 | 63.7 |
| Professions | 19.1 | 6.6 | 18.0 | 8.5 | 20.6 | 7.5 |
| Clerical | 5.4 | 1.5 | 6.4 | 1.7 | 22.5 | 6.6 |
| Public Service | 1.3 | 0.5 | 1.1 | 0.6 | 0.8 | 0.4 |
| Domestic and Personal | 4.3 | 7.2 | 3.2 | 7.1 | 3.9 | 10.6 |
| Transport. and Communication | 2.8 | 2.5 | 1.8 | 2.1 | 0.6 | 0.9 |
| Others and Unknown | 3.6 | 1.5 | 3.5 | 2.2 | 8.8 | 2.3 |

Table 7 shows the occupational distribution of 2,272 foreign-born and of 2,313 native-born Jews in New London and Stamford, Conn., and in Staten Island, New York City.[60] There were almost twice as many of the first as of the second generation American Jews in industry and approximately three times as many of the native as of the foreign-born Jews in the professions. The difference is in each case statistically significant. Equally important is the fact that some of the native-born Jews do not work in the same industries as the immigrant group. 3.6 times as many of the Americans as of the foreign-born were doing clerical work. A relatively smaller number of the native than of the immigrant group was in trade. The percentage of proprietors of groceries, clothing, cigar and stationery stores was greater among foreign-born than among American-born Jews. There were 2.6 times as many of the native as of the other group in public service. The American-born Jew has better opportunities to obtain a civil service appointment than the immigrant.

## *COLLEGE STUDENTS AND PROFESSIONALS*

The percentage distribution of students preparing themselves for the several professional services can to a certain extent be used for measuring and forecasting trends in certain occupations. The correlation coefficient between the percentage distribution of persons in certain professions in 1930 and of students preparing themselves for the same pursuits in 1934 is +0.955; the correlation coefficient between the percentage distribution of students in professional schools in 1918 and of those rendering certain professional services in 1920 is +0.73. Assuming that this holds true also to a certain extent in the case of Jews, we use the enrollment of Jews in professional schools for an analysis of the trends in professions among them.

There is a relatively larger number of Jews in American colleges and universities than of other ethnic groups. Foreign-

born Jews constituted approximately 36 percent of a group of 3,366 foreign-born students in American colleges and universities in 1908/09.* Moreover, 95.2 per cent of the foreign-born students at the College of the City of New York, 35.4 percent of such students at Columbia University and 29.5 percent of the students of the same nativity at Harvard were at that time Jewish immigrants. Native-born Jews of foreign parentage constituted 15.5 percent of 8,304 college and university students of the same parentage. American-born Jews of foreign-born parents constituted approximately four-fifths of students of such nativity at the College of the City of New York, 22.6 percent of students of the same parentage at Columbia University and one-fifth of those at Harvard. [61] In brief, these two groups of Jews constituted 21.4 percent of first and second generation Americans enrolled in various colleges and universities in 1908/09.

It is estimated that 2.8 percent of the total number of college and university students in 1915/16 were Jews and that the Jews constituted only 2.5 percent of the total population. According to this study, 15.7 percent of the Columbia University and 15.3 percent of the Johns Hopkins students were Jews. They constituted 7.7 percent of those studying at Harvard, 20.9 percent of the New York University students, 27.5 of those who were studying at the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute and 28.7 percent of the Hunter (N.Y.C.) students. According to the investigator, the results of this study "cannot be exact". They are an estimate based on "names as might fairly be assumed to be Jewish". [62] It is, therefore, possible that the percentage of Jews in colleges and universities was even higher.

According to another study, 9.7 percent of those enrolled

* It should be pointed out, however, that we are dealing here with a sample; the actual proportion of Jews to non-Jews in colleges and professional schools was considerably smaller because many colleges not included in this study had no Jewish students, but it was greater than the proportion of Jews to non-Jews in the general population at that time.

in 1918/19 in 106 colleges and universities in or near large Jewish population centers were Jews. This study, like the previous one, was based on a sample of 106 schools, and on the selection of names "judged Jewish". [63] Inasmuch as these schools were located in or near large Jewish population centers, it is very likely that the percentage of Jews among all college and university students was actually somewhat less than 9.7.

Finally, a study which was based on reports from schools and on estimates for schools not having any data relative to the religious affiliation of their students shows that 9.3 percent of the college and university students in 1934/35 were Jews. [64] At the time of the investigation the Jews constituted about 3.5 percent of the general population. In other words, the relative number of Jewish students was about two and one-half times as high as their share in the general population.

Although we are dealing with estimates and do not therefore know the *exact* number of Jewish college and university students, we may, nevertheless, assume that we have a relatively larger number of such students than the other ethnic groups. It is reported, for instance, that 14 percent of a group of Pittsburgh Jews under 30 years of age who were not attending school in 1938 were college graduates. More than one-fourth, 26.3 percent, of the New Orleans Jews had a college education. More than one-third, 34.7 percent, of a group of American-born Jews living in Dallas, Tex., in 1939 had a college education. One-third of a group of foreign-born Jews were sending their children to college. [65]

There are several reasons for the relatively large number of college graduates among Jews. Most of us live in the largest cities where many of the American colleges and universities are located. The higher I.Q. of Jewish children is another factor. The Jew's traditional respect for education has also to be taken into consideration; and finally, the Jews have a large number of college students because many of them intend to enter a professional school.

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS IN PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS [66]

| School | Jews | | | Non-Jews | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1908 | 1918 | 1934 | 1908 | 1918 | 1934 |
| Total | 99.9 | 100.1 | 99.9 | 100.1 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Pharmacy | 15.4 | 6.1 | 4.6 | 7.6 | 2.0 | 1.4 |
| Dentistry | 3.3 | 12.0 | 5.9 | 5.4 | 4.7 | 1.6 |
| Medicine | 21.2 | 18.4 | 12.8 | 22.9 | 11.2 | 6.6 |
| Law | 33.4 | 14.7 | 22.6 | 17.6 | 6.4 | 6.6 |
| Commerce & Finance | ---- | 23.2 | 22.2 | ---- | 11.8 | 10.9 |
| Education | ---- | 5.0 | 16.3 | ---- | 13.5 | 50.5 |
| Engineering | 26.6 | 16.3 | 9.2 | 46.6 | 30.9 | 12.9 |
| Agriculture & Forestry | ---- | 1.6 | 0.8 | ---- | 8.1 | 3.0 |
| Others | ---- | 2.8 | 5.5 | ---- | 11.4 | 6.5 |

The trend in professions, as shown in Table 8, has changed. The percentage of Jews studying pharmaceutics dropped from approximately 15 in 1908/09 to 4.6 in 1934/35. The American-born Jew is less interested in pharmacy than the one born abroad. There were, as a matter of fact, 3.6 times as many immigrant as American-born Jews in pharmacy schools in 1908/09. Inasmuch as most of our 1934/35 students were native born, we conclude that this was one of the reasons for the relatively smaller number of Jews now studying pharmaceutics, although a similiar trend is to be observed among non-Jews too.

A drop in the relative number of medical students is observable in both the Jewish and the general groups. In the case of the Jews, however, this was due to the fact that it is becoming increasingly hard for a Jew to enter a medical school. The Rev. Dr. Alphonse M. Schwitalla of the St. Louis University said in 1929 that the "selection of freshmen in our schools of medicine is based on other factors than scholarship alone." Dr. Richard B.

Dillehunt, dean of the University of Oregon Medical School, said: "I have been told that some medical schools have a policy of limiting the percentage of Jewish applicants, but I am not sure that it is true." According to Dr. William A. Pearson, dean of the Hahneman Medical College, Philadelphia, "it is unfair to admit a disproportionate number of Jewish students." Dr. Paul S. McKibben, dean of the University of Southern California Medical School, expressed himself that "it is undesirable that too large a proportion of the prospective physicians should be Jews." The opinion of Dr. H. E. French, dean of the University of North Dakota School of Medicine, is that "there are too many Jewish students seeking admission to medical schools." According to Dr. John Wyckoff, dean of the Bellevue Hospital Medical College, New York City, most of the medical schools "try to have a relationship between the racial group population in the school and the population content of the country." His school, he said, admitted students on the basis of "scholarship, personality and character." [67]

This *numerus clausus* unquestionably accounts for the drop in the number of Jews studying medicine. It is estimated that there were in 1938 almost one-third, 31 percent, less Jewish medical students than in 1933. [68]

According to Frank Kingdon, who recently made a study of discrimination in American medical schools, "the evidence of anti-Jewish discrimination is overwhelming. Although the annual applications for entrance by Jewish Americans has not declined, the number of Jewish students in medical schools has been reduced by roughly 50 percent in the last twenty years. 'The drop' has become precipitate in recent years. The class of 1937 included 794 Jewish students, the class of 1940 only 477—a 40 percent drop in three years." This decline was not in any way due to a decrease in the number of Jewish applicants. The survey shows that three out of every four non-Jewish applicants are given a chance to study medicine, while only one out of every thirteen Jewish applicants is admitted. "These ratios," says Kingdon "do not have the slightest relation to mental equipment, natural aptitudes and other rational, scientific standards of selection." [69] Jewish applicants are not admitted for the reason that they are Jews.

Moreover, it is often hard for Jewish physicians to find a place for interneship, post-graduate studies or for research. In view of this, a subcommittee of the Conference on Jewish Relations advised Jewish hospitals to provide facilities for specialized training. [70] It is stated in the report of this committee that "unless these institutions will take the necessary steps to meet both the technical requirements and the ethical standards which have been evolved, the time is not far off when Jewish physicians will find it extremely difficult to enter certain specialties and at best will find their opportunities very seriously restricted in others."

The Jews have a relatively larger number of those studying dentistry than the other ethnic groups. It is probable that some Jews turn to dentistry because they know that medical schools are restricting the number of Jewish students.

The ratio of Jews to others who were preparing themselves for the legal profession in 1934/35 was 3.4:1. Not all Jews who take such courses practise law. And, on the other hand, the large percentage of Jews in the legal profession does not mean that Jewish lawyers wield any great influence. The large industrial corporations as well as the railroad, insurance, banking and other companies are usually clients of non-Jewish law firms. This situation probably accounts for the fact that the income of Jewish lawyers, according to a study made in New York City, is less than that of their non-Jewish colleagues. [71]

There is a relatively larger number of Jews (and non-Jews) in the teaching profession now than at the beginning of the present century. Jews are turning to teaching because they anticipate less discrimination in this than in some other professions. Some colleges do, however, prefer to have non-Jews on their teaching staffs. Most of the Jewish teachers in the elementary and high schools are women.

The percentage of Jews and non-Jews in the engineering schools has declined. In the case of the Jews, the fact that the large industrial corporations prefer to employ non-Jewish engineers probably contributed to this trend.

As stated above, the enrollment in professional schools varies with the demand for professional services. In the case of Jews, however, we have also to consider the factor of discrimination. Hence we find that the correlation coefficient between the percentage distribution of Jews in professional schools in 1918/19 and 1934/35 is only $+0.6834 \pm 0.1198$ and in the case of the other students $+0.996 \pm 0.0018$. The difference is statistically significant. This was the time when certain professional schools very definitely limited the number of Jewish students. This, in turn, led to changes in the enrollment of Jews in professional schools. It should be pointed

out, however, that the correlation coefficient between the distribution of these two groups in the professional schools in 1934/35 is $+0.7128 \pm 0.1106$. The Jews, in other words, are generally preparing themselves for professions for which the others are also preparing themselves.

The percentage distribution of Jewish professionals in Trenton and Passaic in 1937 and in New London, Buffalo and San Francisco in 1938 was:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dentists | 6.3 | Teachers | 16.5 |
| Physicians | 12.9 | Pharmacists & Chemists | 7.6 |
| Lawyers | 18.1 | Others | 38.7 |

Their distribution varied from locality to locality. The dentists constituted 10.6 percent of the Jewish professionals in Trenton, but only 6.2 percent of those in Passaic; the former had 2.5 times as many physicians as the latter. Approximately one-fifth, 20.7 percent, of the Jewish professionals in Buffalo and only one-seventh, 14.2 percent, of those in San Francisco were teachers.

The percentage distribution of Jewish professionals in Worcester, Mass., in 1942, was: physicians 16.4, lawyers 17.5, dentists 7.4, accountants 10.6, teachers (excluding those who teach in Jewish schools) 12.7, others 35.4. There was a relatively larger number of physicians, dentists, lawyers and accountants among the native than among the immigrant Jews. The seven rabbis were immigrants but the 24 teachers were born in the U. S. Three-fourths of these teachers were women.[72]

A study made of Jewish professionals in Ohio[73] in 1938 shows that we have a relatively larger number of medical men, lawyers and pharmacists in the smaller than in the larger communities. Jews living in cities with 100,000-500,000 inhabitants had one Jewish physician for every 224 Jews there and those in cities with 10,000-100,000 inhabitants had one for every 168 Jews; the large communities had one Jewish dentist for every 555 Jewish inhabitants and one Jewish lawyer for every 148 Jews, while the other cities had a ratio of

1:215 and 1:117, respectively. Similar differences were reported for teachers, engineers and pharmacists.

The Jews had a relatively larger number of physicians, dentists, lawyers and pharmacists but a smaller percentage of teachers and engineers than the other ethnic groups. The Jews constituted about 7.7 percent of those in Greater Cleveland and almost 21 percent of the physicians there were Jews. There were approximately four times as many Jews among the dentists in Ohio as among the general population. One-eleventh of the lawyers and only 3.3 percent of the total population in cities with 100,000-500,000 inhabitants were Jews. The Jews in Greater Cleveland constituted, however, only 4.7 percent of the teachers and 2.6 percent of the engineers there, although it is estimated that 7.7 percent of the general population were Jews.

It thus appears that there is a greater concentration of Jews in the "self-employed" professions—medicine, dentistry, law, pharmacy—than in the "employee" professions—engineering, teaching, etc. Their preference for the former type of professions is to a certain extent due to the unwillingness of some individuals and firms to employ Jewish professionals.

*Chapter VIII*

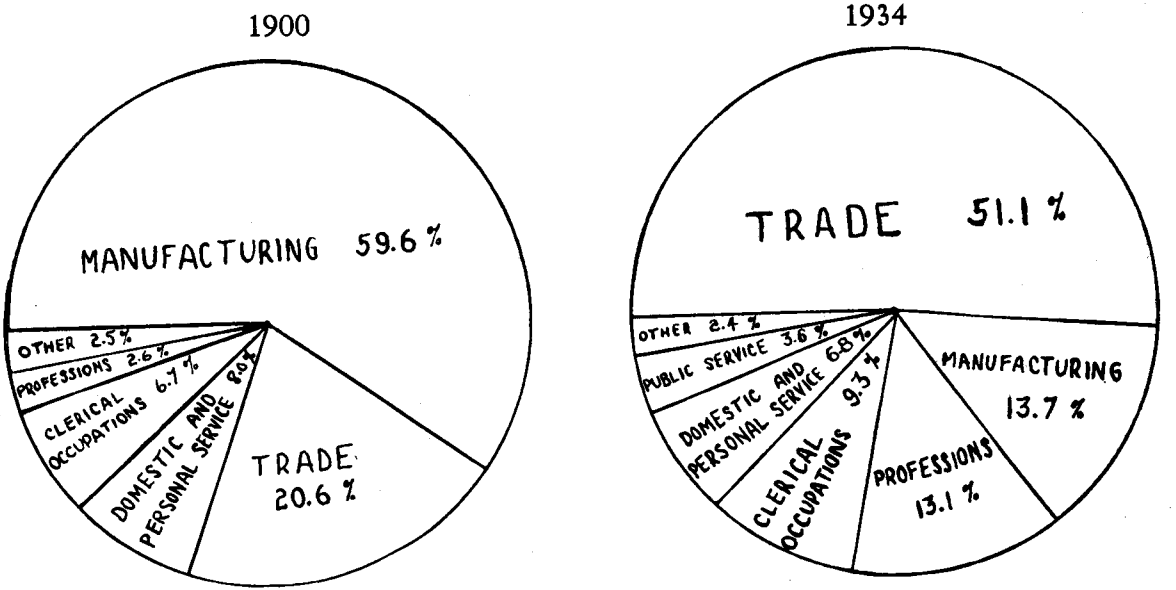
# SUMMARY AND OUTLOOK

The occupational distribution of the present generation American Jews is not quite the same as of the Jewish immigrants in the United States at the beginning of the present century. The change has been in the direction from factory to store and office.

Excluding manufacturers and officials of industrial plants, 57.5 percent of the gainfully-employed Jews from Russia living in the 15 largest American cities in 1900 were factory or shop employees. Next in importance was trade; approximately one-fifth of them were engaged in such occupations. Almost 7 percent of this group were clerical workers and approximately one of every forty was a professional. Approximately three-fifths of those in manufacturing or 35 percent of the gainfully-employed were in the various branches of the clothing industry.

The relative number of Jews in manufacturing was less and in trade and in the several professions more in the 1930's than in 1900. Approximately one-eighth of 77,671 gainfully-employed Jews in the 1930's living in 61 communities located in various parts of the country were in manufacturing, 47.3 percent were in commerce, 15.7 percent were clerical workers and almost 12 percent were professionals. Surveys of Jews in New York City, Detroit, New Orleans, Worcester and Stamford show, however, that approximately 35 percent of the Jewish labor force are in manufacturing, one-third is engeged in trade and that about one-ninth are professionals. Generally speaking, the large cities have a larger percentage of Jews in manufacturing and mechanical industries.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY-EMPLOYED JEWS



No less significant is the fact that the proportion of Jewish factory workers to manufacturers has decreased. 96.5 percent of the Jews from Russia in manufacturing were in 1900 employees and approximately only 63 percent in the 1930's.

The changes in our occupational pattern have to a certain extent coincided with those of the general population. The occupational preferences of the young American are not quite the same as those of his grandfather or even of his father. Recent trends in occupations are correlated with technological changes, cityward movement, growth of large-scale and highly integrated commercial and industrial enterprises and similar factors.

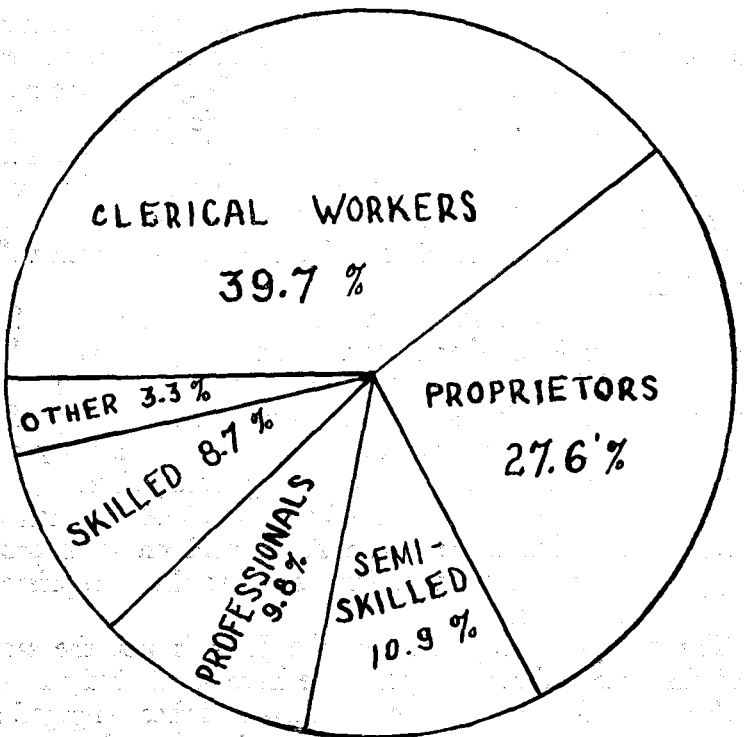
Changes in the occupational distribution of the Jews have also coincided with the acculturation and successful adjustment of some of our erstwhile immigrants. Many of these newcomers were young, ambitious and energetic persons. They learned to read and write English; they studied American life and American methods of production; they also tried to save money. Some of them went to college and prepared themselves for professional services and some of them eventually succeeded.

The gradual increase in the proportion of native to foreign-born Jews is another factor. The occupational preferences and training of the former are not quite the same as of immigrants. There is generally a larger percentage of professionals and clerical workers and a smaller one of factory employees among American than among foreign-born Jews. There is also a greater concentration of foreign-born than of native Jews in commerce. The American-born Jews probably prefer to be salesmen or buyers rather than proprietors of small retail stores.

The occupational pattern of the Jews is not the same as of the other ethnic groups. We have a relatively larger number of professionals, clerical workers and those engaged in trade, and a smaller one in manufacturing than the general population. While this is true, it does not necessarily imply

that the Jews play an important role in the economy of the country. Jews are generally engaged in the production and distribution of consumers' goods, such as clothing, food, and household wares. There are very few Jews in the metal, coal, automotive, wood, glass, rubber and chemical industries. Jews are also found less frequently than non-Jews, in proportion to their numbers, in banking, transportation and in communication. They may be numerous among those who are engaged in retail trade and among those who practise law, medicine and dentistry, but they wield no influence or power commensurate with their numbers.

In the light of what has been said, we may expect the number of proprietors of retail stores among Jews to decline.




SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF JEWS

Generally speaking, American-born Jews do not want to be grocers or proprietors of candy, cigar or other retail stores. If the chain stores continue to expand, then we may expect a further decline in the number of Jews in retail business.

The Jews may further be affected adversely by the relocation of some of our industries. It is quite possible that many of the war plants erected in the South and in other parts of the country, where the number of Jews is rather small, will eventually be converted into factories for the production of consumers' or producers' goods. Cities like New York and Philadelphia, where approximately 50 percent of the American Jews live, may lose some of their domestic or foreign markets. The Jews there will then be affected either directly or indirectly by the emergence of new industrial centers. They will be affected directly if the new plants produce the same or similar goods as they are producing. Even if they do not have to face any direct competition, they may, nevertheless, be affected adversely by the possible movement of some of the population from the Atlantic coast to the new industrial centers.

The economic position of the Jews may also be influenced by the emergence of new industries. The introduction of new products may eventually lead to the disappearance of some industries in which Jews are concentrated. On the other hand, new industries may offer new opportunities for the investment of capital as well as for the employment of Jews.

Another factor to be considered is the possible effect the war will have on the economic structure of the American Jews. Some of them worked in defense plants and thus succeeded in acquiring new skills; Jews also moved to the new industrial and commercial centers. Some of the Jews in the armed services learned new technical skills.

Equally important is the fact that many of the Jewish boys in the armed forces could not begin or successfully complete their professional studies. Will they return to the colleges and universities after having spent several years, in some cases, four or five years, in the armed services? The economic

reorientation of some of these veterans may have a certain effect upon the occupational pattern of the Jews in the years immediately following the war.

The number of Jews in the several professions and in other occupations will also depend, to a certain extent, upon the attitude of non-Jews toward them. Some of them became government employees in the 1930's because, among other things, of discriminatory practices on the part of certain employers. If discrimination diminishes or becomes non-existent some Jews will turn to other occupations. Given equal opportunities, American Jews will undoubtedly adjust themselves to the post-war economy and to other changes.

*Chapter IX*

# EVALUATION OF THE STUDIES

The foregoing analysis is based on a number of different surveys and estimates which give an approximate picture of the existing situation. We do not at present know the exact occupational distribution of the American Jews, for the United States Census Bureau classifies the gainfully-employed only according to race: White, Negro, etc. Privately-sponsored studies are at present our only source of information. Some of them are mere estimates; others are studies of samples of the Jewish population within a given locality, while still others are surveys or censuses of Jewish communities. The value of these studies varies with the care and thoroughness with which they were made.

The worth of some of these studies is questionable. The study made of the occupational distribution of the Jews living in New York City in 1937, for instance, was based on statements made by leaders of labor unions and heads of trade associations about the general and Jewish membership of their respective organizations as well as on directories listing names of proprietors.[52] We are told that the "information in this report is based on estimates". How good were these estimates?

They were, with one exception, far from accurate. According to this report, 670,843 of the gainfully-employed New Yorkers in December, 1937, were engaged in manufacturing; according to the Census Bureau,[74] however, 746,466 of those employed in April, 1940, were engaged in such occupations and 107,788 of those seeking employment wanted to do such

work. According to the 1937 study, only 19.9 percent of the labor force in New York was in manufacturing and mechanical industries; the Census Bureau reported, however, that 26.3 percent of the employed were in such industries and 25.9 percent of the employed and of those seeking employment. The 1937 estimate was that 330,728 New Yorkers, 9.8 percent, were in construction and the Census Bureau reported only 191,569, including the unemployed, 5.8 percent, in such occupations. There were, according to the New York survey, only 573,780 persons, 16.9 percent of the labor force, in retail and wholesale trade; the Census Bureau, however, found in trade 621,575 persons or 21.9 percent of the employed. The 1937 report probably overestimated the number of persons in transportation and in other public utilities and in domestic and personal service while underestimating the number of persons in public service, banking, insurance and in real estate business. It is doubtful whether these differences were due to differences in the classification of the gainfully-employed; it is also doubtful whether such increases and decreases actually occurred in the years 1938-1939.

This raises the question of the reliability of the estimated number of Jews in each of the several major occupational groups. If, as we have reason to assume, the 1937 study underestimated the number of persons in manufacturing, commerce and in the several professions, did it not also either underestimate or overestimate the number of Jews engaged in these occupations? Secondly, it is quite possible that the Jews did not constitute approximately 41 percent of those in trade, 31 percent of the professionals or 12 percent of those in banking and in insurance, because the number of non-Jews in these occupations was probably greater than estimated. In brief, the 1937 study gives us only the approximate, certainly not the exact, occupational distribution of the gainfully-employed Jews living in New York City.

The 1937 estimate is also at variance with the one made in 1929.[75] According to the 1937 survey, the Jews constituted 53.8 percent of the workers in the needle industry whereas

according to the 1929 estimate they constituted 58.85 percent of those in the needle trade unions. The difference is statistically significant. * The 1937 study reported that only one-fourth of the printers were Jews, but according to the 1929 survey they constituted 37.2 percent. The 1937 estimate was that the Jews constituted only 38.2% of the leather workers and the 1929 estimate was that two-thirds of those in the union of leather workers were Jews. These two estimates are not, to be sure, strictly comparable, for the reason that the one made in 1929 was based on union membership and the other on the total number of employers and employees in these industries. It is, however, doubtful whether this really accounts for the differences. As stated before, the 1937 study was also based on union membership; secretaries of labor unions were asked to state the number of persons belonging to their respective unions as well as the number of Jews among them and among the unorganized workers. Secondly, practically all the clothing factories and printing shops in New York City employ only union members. It thus appears that at least one of these two estimates has to be revised.

Again, the results of the 1937 study are at variance with those of Esther Kinzler's study ** of the occupational distribution of 16,736 gainfully-employed Jews living in Manhattan

* The difference may, however, be a result of changes which occurred in the years 1929-1937 (decline in the number of Jewish needle workers etc.).

** These two studies are not strictly comparable. Kinzler's study was based on a small sample, 16,736 persons, which constituted approximately two percent of the gainfully-employed Jews. Moreover, her group lived in only two of the five boroughs. She analyzed the occupations of only the Friedmans, Ginsbergs, Goldbergs, Goldsteins and Levys listed in the *New York City Directory* for 1932-1933. Furthermore, there were differences in the classification of the gainfully-employed; the group "clerical workers" does not appear in the 1937 study.

Incidentally, there are statistically significant differences between the occupational distribution of each of Kinzler's five groups of names used. Only 8.4 percent of the Friedmans, but 12.1 percent of the Ginsbergs were professionals. Almost one-fourth, 23.9 percent, of the Levys and only 13.4 percent of the Goldsteins were brokers or salesmen. Finally, 2.1 percent of the Friedmans and 4.8 percent of the Goldbergs were rendering domestic or personal services. In view of this, we cannot be certain that Kinzler had a really representative sample.

and Bronx (N.Y.C.) in 1933. The percentage of Jews in manufacturing and construction, excluding the unemployed, was 35.3 according to the 1937 survey and only 30.6 according to her study; Kinzler reported that only 7.4 percent were professionals whereas the 1937 estimate was 11.4 percent. The percentage of Jews in domestic and personal service was 5.3 according to Kinzler and 12.6 according to the 1937 survey. According to Kinzler's study, only 30.5 percent of the gainfully-employed Jews were in commerce; the 1937 estimate was that 32.3 percent were engaged in such occupations; again, the difference is statistically significant. The 1937 study reported three times as many Jews in public service as Kinzler.[76]

Whether Kinzler's group was a representative sample of the Jews living in Manhattan and Bronx or not, the Jews living in Staten Island, New York City, had, as far as we know, an altogether different occupational pattern. It was reported that only 13 percent of 752 gainfully-employed Jews in Staten Island in 1936 were in manufacturing, 44.5 percent were engaged in trade and 14.1 percent were professionals.[77] Kinzler reported, however, 30.6, 30.5 and 7.4 percent, respectively.

Again, the results of the Staten Island study referred to above differ to a certain extent from those of another study made there in 1934-1936.[78] According to the 1936 study, 16.7 percent of the gainfully-employed males were in manufacturing and 13.4 percent were professionals; according to the 1934 survey, the percentages were 10.9 and 21.4, respectively. The differences are statistically significant. Both investigators reported approximately the same percentage of Jews in trade—49.8 and 49.5, respectively—and in clerical occupations—10.7 and 10.2, respectively.

The observed differences may to a certain extent be due to differences in the method of selecting the samples. Fleischman's (1936) group consisted of 200 persons who were members of certain organizations; he excluded, however, those organizations comprising older persons or Yiddish-speaking in-

dividuals. He also made a house-to-house canvass of every fifth of the remaining 1,000 Jewish families. Fleischman's group consisted of approximately 750 persons. Ryckoff's group consisted of 885 gainfully-employed persons who were members of Jewish organizations. He obtained most of his information on their occupations from the *City Directory*. It is quite possible that the observed differences can be attributed to differences in the age composition of these two groups.

Similarly, the differences observed between the 1936 and 1938 studies of the occupational distribution of the Jews living in New London, Conn., may probably be attributed to differences in the age composition of the two groups. Meyer's study was based on the city directory for 1936, in which only the occupations of those 20 years of age and older were stated; Wessel's group consisted of all the known gainfully-employed Jews 15 years of age and over in 1938. Meyer reported that 15.9 percent of the males were in manufacturing and Wessel found that 18.5 percent were engaged in such occupations. The percentages of those in trade were 59.2 and 58.6, respectively. 10.9 percent of Meyer's group and 11.2 percent of Wessel's were professionals. The percentages of those in domestic and personal service were 6.6 and 6.3, respectively. The observed differences are not statistically significant. Both investigators reported the same percentage of males in clerical occupations.[79]

These seven studies have been selected here to show some of the problems which students of the economic structure of the American Jews are facing. For reasons stated above, privately-sponsored investigations are practically our only source of information. Those who make such studies often have to resort to the method of sampling because it is in many cases difficult to make a survey of the occupational distribution of all the gainfully-employed Jews living in a certain locality, especially of those who live in large Jewish communities, such as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia or Los Angeles. Some persons are inclined, however, to collect data which are easily obtainable; some samples may be adequate but not representa-

tive or typical of the group under consideration. Hence it is necessary to examine and to evaluate the methods of selecting samples and of collecting the desired or necessary data.

It is also important to know how each investigator classifies the occupations of his group. Some follow the classification used by the U. S. Census Bureau, while others do not adhere to it. The following are a few illustrations of the lack of uniformity in the classification of occupations. Fleischman, following the Census Bureau classification, included accountants in the group "clerical occupations"; Ryckoff and Koenig included them in the group "professions"; according to Kinzler, they are semi-professionals. Journalists, according to her, are semi-professionals, whereas the Census Bureau includes them among professionals. Kinzler's group "unclassified" includes bank employees, engineers, dental laboratory workers and post office clerks. Are not engineers professionals? Are not bank employees clerks? Ryckoff's group "miscellaneous" includes bankers, musicians, models, notaries and newspaper publishers. The Census Bureau, however, includes musicians among professionals and bankers among those engaged in commerce and finance.[80]

The Stamford Jews, according to Koenig, had no stenographers, typists, bookeepers and cashiers. One looks in vain down his list of occupations for persons doing such work. Is it really possible that there were no stenographers, typists or bookkeepers among the Stamford Jews? Koenig's group "unclassified" consists of 7.2 percent of the gainfully-employed Jews living in Stamford. Is it possible that one-fourteenth of them were engaged in such occupations for which it was impossible to find an appropriate classification? He had previously reported that 22.5 percent of a group of gainfully-employed Jews were engaged in "miscellaneous" occupations.[81] The inclusion of such a relatively large number of persons in the group "unclassified" and "miscellaneous" shows that the investigator's classification was far from adequate.

Other investigators have failed to include certain specifically Jewish occupations. If we are to accept the results of

Rabbi Israel's studies of the occupations of Jews,[24] then we have to conclude that the Los Angeles Jewish community, for instance, had no rabbi. Although the Vicksburg, Miss., survey was made by Sol L. Kory, at that time rabbi of the local congregation Anshe Chesed, he was, nevertheless, not included among the gainfully-employed Jews living there. Ten communities, according to Rabbi Israel's report, had no cantors. He reported, however, that Worcester, Mass., had six *Shochtim*. Like improper classifications, such omissions, though quantitatively not very significant, are open to criticism.

Uniformity in the classification of occupations is desirable since otherwise results of the studies are not always strictly comparable. Moreover, lack of uniformity in classification may at times lead to invidious comparisons. The inclusion, for instance, of accountants among Jewish and not among other professionals invariably increases the number of professionals among Jews; the inclusion of Jewish restaurateurs among Jewish merchants and not, as the Census Bureau does, among those who are in domestic and personal service, invariably increases the number of Jews in trade. Such reports may lead, especially in the case of uncritical readers, to incorrect conclusions.

Another point to be considered is who is or is not to be regarded as a member of the Jewish community.

"A Jew was defined", writes M. Taylor, "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."

Moment included in his survey of the San Francisco Jewish community only those who "acknowledged that they were Jews."[82] Others define a Jew as a person with a Jewish sounding name.

Is a member of the Episcopal Church a Jew? Consider the following case. *The New York Times* of March 28, 1944, reported that "more than 1,000 friends, relatives and busi-

ness associates of Jules S. Bache, banker and art patron, who died in his winter home . . . at the age of 82, attended a funeral service yesterday afternoon at St. Thomas Episcopal Church, Fifth Avenue and Fifty-Third Street", New York City. He appears, nevertheless, in the *Who's Who in American Jewry* and he is included among Jewish bankers.

A precise definition is important and necessary for the reason that intermarriage is on the increase. The San Francisco study referred to above disclosed that "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" (p 176). Koenig reported that "in 1938 there were 59 Jewish-Gentile families" in Stamford. He added that "this number of intermarriages is probably an underestimate, particularly in the case of the women, concerning whom data were less easily obtainable." These 59 couples constituted 7.2 percent of the Jewish families there.[83] Are we, then, to include the children and grandchildren of these couples among Jews? Whether they are included or not, the point to be remembered is that uniformity in this matter is highly desirable.

In view of what has been said, the data at hand are merely approximations. We do not know *exactly* the occupational distribution of the American Jews, because the results of many of our surveys are only based upon samples of the Jewish population and because there is a lack of uniformity in the collection, analysis and classification of such data.

There are, however, some ways in which we may supplement our information on Jews and thus make them more reliable. Many, though not all, Jewish parents send their children to various types of Hebrew, Yiddish, religious and Sunday Schools. If the teachers or principals of these schools were to ask their students for data on the regular occupations of their parents, brothers and sisters, the industries in which

they work and on their employer-employee status, then we would have very valuable information from an adequate and representative sample of the Jewish population.

The collection of such data annually will serve a very useful purpose. We shall be able, firstly, to ascertain the present occupational distribution of the Jews. Secondly, we shall eventually be able to study and analyze the changes in our economic structure as well as the economic history of certain individuals.

There is, moreover, another source of information concerning the economic activities of some American Jews. The Census Bureau collected data in 1910, 1920, 1930 and 1940, on the occupations of those whose mother tongue was Yiddish. It is quite possible that the Census Bureau will cooperate with those interested in the occupational distribution of the immigrant and native-born whose mother tongue is Yiddish and will facilitate the use of these data.

The centralization and proper utilization of such and similar data presupposes, however, the establishment of a central agency for the collection and analysis of such materials. Such a bureau will also be able to guide and aid individuals interested in such studies; it will be able to give them professional advice and aid, and will in due time introduce a uniformity in methods of collection and classification of occupations. Until such time, however, we must rely upon studies of the type analyzed and summarized here which, although far from exact, probably show general trends.

# NOTES

The following abbreviations have been used:

JPS—*Jewish Population Studies,* edited by Sophia M. Robison. New York, 1943.

JSS—*Jewish Social Studies.*

JSSQ—*Jewish Social Service Quarterly.*

## *Chapter I*

1 Markens, Isaac. *The Hebrews in America* (1888), p. 1.

2 "The Progress of the Jews," *The New York Sun,* May 31, 1891.

3 Sombart, Werner. *Die Zukunft der Juden,* (Leipzig 1912), p. 25.

4 U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Occupations,* (1900), pp. 7-9; *Occupations,* (1930), p. 6; *Labor Force,* (1940), III, part 1, Table 74.

## *Chapter II*

5 Markens, I. *op.cit.*; Cohen, M. "The Jews in Business" *American Hebrew,* May 22, 1891; "Will the Jews Own New York?" *New York Journal,* June 14, 1896; Isaacs, A. J., "Jewish Progress in the United States" *American Jewish Annual,* 1889.

6 Billings, John S., "Vital Statistics of the Jews" *United States Census Bulletin,* No. 19, December 30, 1890, pp. 7-8.

Of 47 gainfully employed German Jews who, in 1890, lived in Easton, Pa., 17 per cent were merchants, 4.5 per cent cattle and horse dealers, 8.5 per cent clerks, two were peddlers, one was in the insurance business, two were agents (not specified), four were gentlemen (the term is not defined), 4.3 per cent were tailors and 6.4 per cent clothiers, two tobacconists and 4.3 per cent laborers. (Trachtenberg, J., *Consider the Years* [1944], p. 234).

7 George M. Price's Correspondence in *Nyedyelnaya Khronika Voskhoda,,* November 1891, p. 489; also his *Russkie Yevreii v Amerike,* (St. Petersburg 1893), pp. 26-32.

8 U. S. Immigration Commission, *Reports,* III, pp. 62-63; U. S. Census Bureau, 13*th Census, Population,* I, p. 968; E. Tcherikower, ed. *History of the Jewish Labor Movement in the U. S.* (Yiddish) I, pp. 338-340.

9 The correlation coefficient between the geographical distribution of the so-called Russians at the time of the 12th census (1900) and of the Russians, Latvians, and Lithuanians from Russia in 1910 is, however, only $+0.685 \pm 0.05$. The difference between this correlation coefficient and the one between the geographical distribution of the Yiddish-speaking population in 1910 and of the so-called Russians in 1900 (+0.984) is statistically significant. The results are not consistent with the hypothesis that the overwhelming majority of those who were reported as Russians in 1900 were not of Jewish origin.

Finally, the correlation coefficient between the geographical distribution of the Yiddish-speaking immigrants and of the Russians, Latvians and Lithuanians from Russia in 1910 is only +0.606. The difference between this coefficient and the preceding one (+0.685) is statistically not significant.

10 U. S. Immigration Commission. *Reports,* XXVIII, p. 189.

11 U. S. Bureau of the Census, 12th *Census, Occupations.*

12 The income of these workers was, according to a recent study ("The Economic Status of the Jewish Clothing Worker in the U. S. 1880-1900, *Yivo-Bleter,* March-April, 1944), lower than of those in some other industries.

13 Brutzkus, B. D., *Professyonalny Sostav Yevreyskavo Naselenya Rossii,* (1908), p. 56.

14 U. S. Immigration Commission, *Reports,* XX, pp. 81, 97, 110-111.

15 The report is based on a study of 19,502 garment workers in New York City, Chicago, Baltimore and Rochester, N. Y. We are dealing here with a rather small group. It is therefore questionable whether the Immigration Commission really had an adequate and representative sample. The entire report on immigrants in manufacturing and mining is based on an analysis of 507,256 employees; 7,017 of them were Jewish immigrants. 5,211 of these Jews were from Russia; 5,183 of these Jewish workers were males. (U. S. Immigration Commission, *Reports,* I, p. 305; XX, p. 73).

16 A more recent study of the initiation dates of 5,720 members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers shows that nine-tenths of those who joined the union in New York in 1908-1912 were Jews, approximately 54 per cent of those who became members in 1918-1922 and not more than 23.6 per cnt of those who joined the union of the men's garment workers in 1933-1937. Although we are dealing here with a small and not strictly representative sample, we know, however, that not many American-born Jewish children become tailors and that the percentage of Jews in the clothing industry is decreasing. (Loft, J., "Jewish Workers in the New York City Men's Clothing Industry," *Jewish Social Studies,* II, p. 64.)

17 U. S. Immigration Commission, *Reports,* XX, pp. 61-62; XXVI, pp. 130-131.

18 *Op. cit.,* XXVII, p. 499.

19 *Op. cit.,* XX, pp. 61-62, 73; XXVI, pp. 130-131.

20 *Op. cit.,* XXIV, pp. 154-155.

### *Chapter III*

21 Carpenter, Niles. *Immigrants and Their Children, Census Monograph,* VII, 1927, pp. 286-290.

22 Carpenter, p. 284.

23 The American Jewish Economic Commission of the A.Z.A. (Aleph Zadik Aleph), *The* 1937 *Annual Report, Statistics of Surveys in* 48 *Cities,* submitted by Ernest O. Eisenberg, 1937 (typewritten), Table I. The cities are: Akron, O., Aliquippa and Allentown, Pa., Asheville, N.C., Atlanta, Ga., Atlantic City, N.J., Bangor, Me., Bethlehem, Pa., Camden, N.J., Columbus, O., Dallas, Tex., Dayton, O., Donora, Pa., Duluth, Minn., East Liverpool, O., Grand Forks, N.D., Granite City, Ill., Huntington, W.Va., McKeesport, Pa., Memphis, Tenn., Middletown, Conn., Milwaukee, Wis., Minneapolis, Minn., Montclair, N.J., Oakland,

Calif., Paterson, N.J., Portland, Ore., Pottsville, Pa., Pueblo, Colo., Reading, Pa., Rock Island, Ill., Toledo, O., Topeka, Kan., Warren, O., Waukegan, Ill., Woonsocket, R.I.

24 Israel, Edward L. "The Occupations of Jews", *Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis,* XXXVI, pp. 286-291. The cities are: Alexandria, Va., Erie, Pa., Jacksonville, Fla., Los Angeles, Calif., Omaha, Nebr., St. Joseph, Mo., Syracuse, N.Y., Vicksburg, Miss., Wilmington, Del., Worcester, Mass.

25 *Ibid.,* p. 286.

26 *Ibid.,* p. 292.

27 The American Jewish Economic Commission of the A.Z.A. *The* 1937 *Annual Report.*

28 Meyer, Henry J. "The Economic Structure of the Jewish Community in Detroit", JSS. II, (1940), p. 134. The study was based on the following names appearing in the Detroit city directories: Cohan, Cohen, Cohn, Cohone, Freidman, Friedman, Gold, Goldberg, Goldenberg, Goldman, Goldstein, Levene, Levenson, Levey, Levi, Levin, Levine, Levinson, Levy, Rosen, Rosenbaum, Rosenberg, Rosenblatt, Rosenfield, Rosenthal, Rosenzweig. Most of them were men.

29 Langer, Marion. *A Study of the Jewish Community of Easton,* New York: Graduate School for Jewish Social Work, 1936, (typewritten), pp. 258, 273.

30 Bureau of Jewish Social Research, *Jewish Communal Survey,* Omaha, 1929, p. 44; Pittsfield, 1930, pp. 450-451; quoted from Kinzler, E., *Some Aspects of the Occupational Distribution of Jews in New York City,* New York: Graduate School for Jewish Social Work, 1935, (typewritten), pp. 6-7, 225.

31 Jaffe, A. J. "A Study of Chicago Jewry (1930) Based on Death Certificates", in JPS., p. 142.

## *Chapter IV*

32 *Census of Partial Employment, Unemployment and Occupations,* I, p. 1; U. S. Census Bureau, 16*th Census,* 1940, *Population,* III. *The Labor Force,* Part I, p. 3.

33 Cohen, Jacob X. *Towards Fair Play for Jewish Workers,* (New York, 1938), p. 9.

34 Severson, A. L. "Nationality and Religious Preferences as Reflected in Newspaper Advertisements," *American Journal of Sociology,* XXXXIV (1939), p. 541.

35 Cohen, Jacob X. *Jews, Jobs and Discrimination,* (New York, 1937), p. 10; McGill, Nettie Pauline, "Some Characteristics of Jewish Youth in New York City", JSSQ, December, 1937, p. 265; McGill, N. P., "The Religio-Cultural Backgrounds of New York City's Youth", *Better Times,* April 5, 1937, pp. 23-24.

36 U. S. Census Bureau, 16*th Census*: 1940, *Population,* Vol. III, Part I, pp. 58-59; *Census of Partial Employment, Unemployment and Occupations,* Vol. I, p. 3; 15*th Census*: 1930, *Unemployment,* Vol. I, p. 17.

38 The 36 cities enumerated in note 23; also: Augusta, Ga., 1934, Braddock, Pa., 1934, *A.Z.A. Report;* Bridgeport, Conn., Koenig, S., *Yivo Bleter,* XVII, pp. 14-27; Denver, Col., Fargo, N.D., Grand Rapids, Mich., 1934, *A.Z.A. Report;* Hartford, Conn., Koenig, *op cit.;* Hazelton, Pa., Kansas City, Mo., 1934, A.Z.A. Report; New Britain and New London,

Conn., Koenig, *op. cit.;* New London and Norwich, Conn., Wessel, in JPS., pp. 65-67, 77-79; Omaha, Nebr., 1934, A.Z.A. Report; Passaic, N.J., Robison, S.M., in JPS., pp. 30-35; Pittsburgh, Pa., JPS., pp. 98-107, Taylor, M., *Jewish Community of Pittsburgh,* Section IV; Sheboygan, Wis., South Bend, Ind., Spokane, Wash., *A.Z.A. Report;* Stamford, Conn., Koenig, *op. cit.;* Staten Island, N.Y., Fleischman, A.A., *Some Aspects of the Jewish Population of Staten Island,* New York: Graduate School for Jewish Social Work, 1937, pp. 49-57; Stockton, Calif., *A.Z.A. Report;* Trenton, N.J., Robison, S.M., in JPS., pp. 13-17; Urbana, Mandelbaum, D.G., "A Study of the Jews of Urbana", JSSQ., December, 1935, pp. 228-229; Waterbury, Conn., Koenig, *op. cit.*

See also: Wolff, Kurt H., "Traditionalists and Assimilationists", in *Studies in Sociology,* IV, nos. 1-2, p. 22, published by the Department of Sociology, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Tex. His study is based on a sample of the Jewish population in Dallas, Tex. Papo, Joseph M., "A Study of the Jewish Community of Duluth", JSSQ., December, 1941, pp. 222-223. Jewish Welfare Federation of Duluth, *Social, Recreational and Educational Survey of the Jewish Community of Duluth,* 1944, pp. 9-11. A summary of the occupational distribution of the Jews living in Dallas, New London, Norwich, Passaic and Trenton will be found in *Patterns of Jewish Occupational Distribution in the United States and Canada,* issued by the Jewish Occupational Council as Report No. 6, 1940.

[39] The cities are:

Detroit, 1935, Meyer, Henry, J., "A Study of Detroit Jewry, 1935", *in JPS.,* pp. 119-123, and his "The Economic Structure of the Jewish Community in Detroit", JSS. *April,* 1940; pp. 129-131; pp. 129-131;

New Orleans, 1938; Feibelman, J. B., *A Social and Economic Study of the New Orleans Jewish Community,* 1941, pp. 39-41, 51-52;

New York City, 1937, Committee on Economic Adjustment Information Service in Cooperation with the Conference on Jewish Relations, *Industrial Classification of Jewish Gainful Workers in New York City,* 1937, typewritten, pp. 9-13;

Stamford, Conn., Koenig, S., "The Socio-Economic Structure of an American Jewish Community", in *Jews in a Gentile World,* edited by I. Graeber and S. H. Britt, (1942), pp. 207-216;

Worcester, Mass., 1942, Mopsick, S., "The Jewish Population of Worcester", JSS., VII, (1945), pp. 57-59;

A summary of three of these studies, New York, Detroit and Stamford, will be found in the report of the Jewish Occupational Council referred to above.

[40] The approximate occupational distribution of the 14,832 Jews living in the Avondale district of Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1935, was: one-half in trade, one-fifth in industry, one-ninth were professionals, 4 percent in domestic and personal service and the others were engaged in transportation and communication, public service and in clerical work. (Jeter, H. R., *Leisure Time Needs and Resources of the Jewish Community of Cincinnati,* 1941, typewritten, p. 7).

According to L. Bloom, 7 or 8 percent of the dentists and lawyers in the so-called community of Buna, a city in the Midwest, were Jews, although the 5,000 Jews there in 1939 constituted only 2 percent of the total population. He says that a "disproportionate number of the (Jewish) population (there) is still to be found in the mercantile

| Occupation | Baltimore | | Boston | | Cleveland | | Detroit | | New York | | St. Louis | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Jewish | FERA | Jewish | FERA | Jewish | FERA | Jewish | FERA | Jewish | FERA | Jewish | FERA |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 99.9 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Professional | 1.6 | 1.7 | 2.4 | 2.1 | 1.2 | 1.9 | 2.5 | 1.9 | 1.8 | 4.9 | 0.5 | 1.3 |
| Clerical | 12.7 | 8.8 | 13.4 | 9.8 | 10.1 | 8.3 | 11.9 | 8.0 | 10.8 | 11.4 | 14.9 | 7.5 |
| Owners (including Hucksters) | 7.7 | 3.5 | 8.0 | 2.0 | 18.9 | 5.5 | 21.0 | 4.0 | 11.8 | 4.6 | 14.9 | 4.6 |
| Manual Workers | 55.5 | 73.2 | 54.9 | 69.2 | 42.3 | 66.3 | 43.2 | 72.2 | 54.8 | 64.0 | 41.6 | 66.7 |
| Trade | 18.9 | 7.9 | 18.0 | 7.4 | 21.0 | 8.0 | 14.5 | 6.1 | 11.1 | 6.7 | 22.5 | 7.7 |
| Domestic | 3.0 | 2.8 | 1.6 | 4.3 | 3.6 | 3.6 | 4.3 | 2.8 | 7.7 | 4.9 | 2.9 | 10.3 |
| Servants | 0.6 | 2.1 | 1.7 | 5.2 | 2.9 | 6.4 | 2.5 | 5.0 | 2.0 | 3.5 | 2.7 | 1.9 |

(*Notes and News*, June 1, 1935, p. 7).

occupations . . . The bulk of the poorer Jewish population is to be found working as small, independent merchants. There are many hucksters and peddlers and for these subsistence is a precarious matter which may hinge on a minor fluctuation in the price of junk . . . Numerous clerks and stenographers in Buna are Jews, and there are a considerable number in drugstores, dry-cleaning establishments and laundries . . . Jewish manual workers are to be found in fair number, largely in the building trades." (Bloom, Leonard, "The Jews of Buna", in *Jews in a Gentile World,* pp. 192-194.)

The percentage distribution of the gainfully-employed Jews living in Springfield, Mass., in 1941, was: 71 in trade, 14 in industry, 7 in the professions, 7 were doing clerical work, one percent was engaged in other work. (Springfield Study Committee, *Community Study of Springfield, Mass.,* 1943, typewritten, p. 4).

The so-called Yankee City, a town near Boston, Mass., had in the 1930's about 400 Jews, who constituted 2.4 percent of the total local population and 2.45 percent of the gainfully employed. A relatively large number of the Jews were proprietors of retail stores. (Warner, W. Lloyd and Lunt, Paul S., *The Social Life of a Modern Community,* 1941, pp. 257-259.)

41 The correlation coefficient between the percentage of Jews and of the general population in trade in ten cities is —0.5176 $\pm$0.156; in the case of those in the professions and in manufacturing, the correlation coefficient is —0.08 and $\pm$0.044, respectively. The results of this analysis are based on a small number of communities. Further studies along this line are necessary.

42 The percentage distribution of clients known to Jewish family agencies in 1932 and of those studied by the Federal Employment Relief Agency, FERA, among whom there were also Jews was:

The differences in the occupational distribution of Jewish and other applicants for relief reflect to a certain extent the prevailing differences between the economic structure of the Jews and others. There were also significant differences among the Jewish clients themselves as well as among those studied by the FERA.

43 A.Z.A. group, except Denver, Colo.

44 A.Z.A. group of cities, except Braddock, Denver, Donora, East Liverpool, Grand Forks, Middletown, Pottsville. The occupations of those living in these 41 cities were reported by the U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Population,* 1930, vol. IV.

### *Chapter V*

45 The cities are: A.Z.A. group, 47 cities, 1934; Norwich and New London, 1938.

46 *Jewish Occupational Bulletin* IV, 1944 No. 3 p. 11.

47 Committee on Economic Adjustment, Information Service in Cooperation with the Conference on Jewish Relations, *Industrial Classification of Jewish Gainful Workers in New York City,* (1937) pp. 10-11.

48 A.Z.A. group, 48 cities, 1934; New London, Norwich, New Orleans and Pittsburgh, 1938, op. cit., Buffalo and San Francisco, 1938, in *JPS.,* pp. 41-43, 170-175, New York City, 1937, *op. cit.*

49 The cities are: Buffalo, Engelman, U. Z., *"The Jewish Population of Buffalo,* 1938", in *JPS.,* p. 41; Pittsburgh, Taylor, Maurice, *Ibid,* 103; Detroit, Meyer, H. J., *Ibid,* 124; San Francisco, Moment, S., "Study

of San Francisco Jewry, 1938", *op. cit.* 175; New Orleans, Feibelman, *op. cit.*; Baltimore, Jewish Occupational Council, *Some Characteristics of* 408 *Baltimore Jews*; Los Angeles, Kohs, S. C., *Survey of Recreational and Cultural Needs of the Jewish Community of Los Angeles,* 1941, typewritten, Section 19, p. 30. "The Jewish Community of Los Angeles" *The Jewish Review II,* 124 ff.

### *Chapter VI*

50 Eisenberg, E. O. "93,000 Bankers; 0.6% Are Jews!", *The National Jewish Monthly,* February, 1939, pp. 190-191.

51 Editors of Fortune, *Jews In America,* (1936), Chapters 6-10.

52 Committee on Economic Adjustment Information Service in Cooperation with the Conference on Jewish Relations, *Industrial Classification of Jewish Gainful Workers in New York City,* 1937, pp. 10-11.

53 Graeber, I. and Britt, S. H. *Jews in a Gentile World,* pp. 207, 210-211.

54 Graeber, I. "The Economic Role of the Jews in the United States", *Zukunft,* June, 1945, p. 361 (in Yiddish).

### *Chapter VII*

55 U. S. Immigration Commission, *Reports,* Vol. XXVIII, Table IVa-IVb.

56 McGill, N. P. "Some Characteristics of Jewish Youth in New York City", *JSSQ.,* December 1937, p. 263.

57 Jewish Occupational Council. *Some Characteristics of* 408 *Baltimore Jewish Youth,* 1940, mimeographed, pp. 13-14.

58 Jeter, H. R. *Leisure Time Needs and Resources of the Jewish Community of Cincinnati,* 1941, mimeographed, pp. 13-14.

59 Shuey, A. M. "The Intelligence of Jewish College Freshmen as Related to Parental Occupation", *Journal of Applied Psychology,* XXVI, (1942), 663.

60 Meyer, Lena. *A Study of the Occupational Distribution and Early History of the Jewish Population of New London, Connecticut,* New York: Graduate School for Jewish Social Work, 1938, typewritten, pp. 64, 72; Koenig, S., *op. cit.*; Fleischman, *op. cit.*

The study of the Worcester Jews shows that 8.1 percent of the gainfully-employed native and only 3.6 percent of the immigrant Jews were rendering professional and kindred services; there were 3.4 times as many of the American-born as of the immigrant Jews in government service; 2.5 times as many of the native as of the other Jews were in amusement and recreation enterprises; 9.1 percent of the immigrant and only 3.7 percent of the other Jews were rendering personal service; the immigrants also had a relatively larger number of those in construction, the percentages being 6.5 and 1.5, respectively. Mopsick, S., *op. cit.*

61 U. S. Immigration Commission, Report, Vol. XXIX, pp. 154-156.

62 Feinberg, Charles, K., "A Census of Jewish University Students", *The Menorah Journal,* 1916, pp. 260-262; 1917, pp. 252-253.

63 "Professional Tendencies Among Jewish Students in Colleges, Universities and Professional Schools", *American Jewish Year Book,* XXII, (1920/1921), pp. 383-393.

64 Levinger, Lee J. *The Jewish Student in America,* (1937), pp. 8-9, 15-16.

65 Robison, S. M., ed., *Jewish Population Studies,* p. 96; Feibelman, *op. cit.,* p. 23; Wolff, K. H., *op. cit.,* p. 23; Hofman, B., ed., 1,000 *Years Pinsk,* 1941, p. 450 (in Yiddish)

The percentage of the white population 25 years old and over who had in 1940 a college education was: Dallas 6.7, New Orleans 6.1, Pittsburgh 5.9. (U. S. Census Bureau, 16*th Census of the U. S., Population,* II, Part 3, p. 429, Part 6, pp. 220 and 1,029.)

66 U. S. Immigration Commission, *op. cit.*; *American Jewish Year Book,* vol. XXII; Levinger, *op. cit.,* p. 70. "Other" includes: architecture, journalism, library science, social work, health, physical training, music, fine arts, household economy, optics and military training. The 1908 group is not strictly comparable with the 1918 and 1934 groups in which were included those specializing in commerce and finance, education, agriculture and forestry and others.

67 Broun, H. and Britt, G., *Christians Only,* pp. 141-142; Baumann, Leo, "What About the Jew in Medicine?" *The Jewish Examiner* January 18, 1935.

68 Goldberg, J. A., "Jews in the Medical Profession", *JSS.,* I, (1939), 327-336; Otis, D., "Discrimination in Medical Colleges", *Opinion,* January 25, 1932.

69 Kingdon, Frank, "Discrimination in Medical Colleges", *American Mercury,* October, 1945, pp. 291-299.

70 "Facilities of Jewish Hospitals for Specialized Training", *JSS.,* III, (1941), p. 382.

71 Fagen, M. M. "The Status of Jewish Lawyers in New York City", *JSS.,* I, pp. 87, 92, 98.

72 Mopsick, S. *op. cit.,* p. 59.

73 Levinger, Lee J. "Jews in the Liberal Professions in Ohio", *JSS.,* II, (1940), pp. 401-434.

## *Chapter IX*

74 U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Population,* 1940, III, Part 4, 460-461.

75 Linfield, Harry S., *The Communal Organization of the Jews in the United States,* (1930), p. 129.

76 Kinzler, E., *Some Aspects of the Occupational Distribution of Jews in New York City,* Table 113, p. 214. Tables 82-95.

77 Fleischman, Abraham A., *Some Aspects of the Jewish Population of Staten Island, N. Y.* p. 57.

78 Ryckoff, Irving M., *Jewish Organizations and Their Memberships, Staten Island, N. Y.,* New York: Graduate School for Jewish Social work, 1938, typewritten, pp. 82-95.

79 Meyer, Lena, *A Study of the Occupational Distribution and Early History of the Jewish Population of New London, Conn.,* 1938, typewritten, p. 77.

80 For the purpose of this study, the several classifications were made uniform, wherever it was possible.

81 Græber and Britt, *Jews in a Gentile World,* p. 209; Koenig, S., "The Role of Various Ethnic Groups in the Economic Life of Connecticut," *Yivo Bleter,* XVII, Table 1.

82 Robison, S. M., *op. cit.,* p. 83, 161.

83 Graeber and Britt, *op. cit.,* pp. 235, 237.

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