EARLY HISTORY OF THE JEWS OF MIDDLETOWN, CONNECTICUT

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Nature of the Undertaking

One of the major trends which has emerged in the study of American Jewish history since the end of the Second World War has been an interest in community studies. A number of these studies have emerged, examples of which are New York,[1] Charleston,[2] Rochester,[3] Philadelphia,[4]

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[1]Hyman B. Grinstein, The Rise of the Jewish Community in New York (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1945).

[2]Charles Reznikoff, The Jews of Charleston: A History of an American Jewish Community (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1950).

[3]Stuart E. Rosenberg, The Jewish Community in Rochester, 1845-1925 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954).

[4]Edwin Wolf 2nd and Maxwell Whiteman, The History of the Jews of Philadelphia from Colonial Times to the Age of Jackson (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1957).

Utica,[5] Buffalo,[6] Milwaukee,[7] New Orleans,[8] Hartford,[9] Los Angeles,[10] Baltimore,[11] and the small rural communities of New Jersey.[12]

A perusal of the titles of these works shows that the majority of them deal with large urban communities. The one major exception is Brandes' work whose interest was mainly with small rural communities. Clearly, there exists a void when we consider that a sizeable proportion

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[5]S. Joshua Kohn, The Jewish Community in Utica, New York, 1847-1948 (New York: American Jewish Historical Society, 1959).

[6]Selig Adler and Thomas E. Connolly, From Ararat to Suburbia: The History of the Jewish Community of Buffalo (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1960).

[7]Louis J. Swichkow and Lloyd P. Gartner, The History of the Jews of Milwaukee (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1963).

[8]Bertram Wallace Korn, The Early Jews of New Orleans (Philadelphia: The American Jewish Historical Society, 1969).

[9]Morris Silverman, Hartford Jews, 1659-1970 (Hartford: The Connecticut Historical Society, 1970).

[10]Max Vorspan and Lloyd P. Gartner, History of the Jews of Los Angeles (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1970).

[11]Isaac M. Fein, The Making of an American Jewish Community: The History of Baltimore Jewry from 1773 to 1920 (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1971).

[12]Joseph Brandes, Immigrants to Freedom: Jewish Communities in Rural New Jersey Since 1882 (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1971).

of Jews settled in the smaller communities around the United States. These communities cannot be considered rural, nor do they constitute populations sizeable enough to fall under the rubric of large urban communities. One such small town settled by Jews was Middletown, Connecticut, the subject of this work.

In the minds of many, American Jewish history is typically viewed as having taken place in the context of the large urban centers such as New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia. Although this is true to a great extent, universally,[13] the Jewish saga in America will remain incomplete until more attention is paid to the smaller communities.

During the height of immigration into America, between 1899 and 1910, 923,549 immigrants or 86 per cent of the total gave the North Atlantic states as their destination.[14] During the twenty-year period 1886-1906, 669,453 people or 72.9 per cent stated that they wished to remain in New York, while 248,935 individuals or 27.1 per cent claimed that they wished to settle in other

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[13]Arthur Ruppin, The Jews of Today (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1913), pp. 98-105.

[14]Samuel Joseph, Jewish Immigration to the United States, from 1881-1910, doctoral dissertation (New York: Columbia University, 1914), p. 149.

areas.[15] Between 1889 and 1910, Connecticut was the choice of 16,254 or 1.6 per cent of the arrivals.[16] Many of the future Connecticut residents probably moved to Hartford, New Haven, and Bridgeport, while others settled in the small communities such as Middletown.

The experience of these small towners is an integral part of the development of American Jewry. Small town Jewry has been making its contribution financially, culturally, and spiritually to the American scene but has gone relatively unnoticed by students of history.

Today, there are virtually no carefully executed studies of the historical development of small town Jewry. Something of what we know can be drawn from Sophia Robison's edited book entitled Jewish Population Studies,[17] which is a collection of Jewish demographic data on ten cities. Bessie Bloom Wessel's article in the above cited volume addresses itself to the demographic position of the Jews in the relatively small Connecticut communities of New London and Norwich in 1938 and is of particular value for our purposes, as is a study of the Jews of Stamford,

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[15] Ibid., p. 151.

[16] Ibid., p. 150.

[17] Sophia M. Robison, ed., Jewish Population Studies (New York: Conference on Jewish Relations, 1943).

Connecticut, done by the late Samuel Koenig[18] during that same era. We nevertheless are in no position to answer very much about the demographic and economic patterns of the communities no less discern to what degree such Jews deviated from the patterns their coreligionists developed in larger cities. This study is a case history of one very small town, Middletown, Connecticut. Of its purposes, the principal one is to describe the patterns these Jews created using readily available vital statistics and City Directories for which constituent data are available on an annual basis.

As a group, Jews tend to be among the most highly educated, self-conscious, and articulate. Among the concomitants of high relative proportions and education are three factors. One is an increased influence upon the political, economic, and social development of the community, two is the tendency to leave extensive documentation, and three is the possession of a critical mass of scholars interested in working on the history of such areas. Generally speaking, Jews in the small communities did not constitute high relative proportions, did not leave extensive documentation, nor did they possess a critical

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[18]Samuel Koenig, "The Socioeconomic Structure of an American Jewish Community," in Jews in a Gentile World, ed. by Isacque Graeber (New York: Macmillan, 1942), pp. 200-242.

mass of scholars interested in researching them.

This is unfortunate in terms of a definitive history of the development of the American Jewish saga. The Small community played an inextricable role in the development of American Jewish history. It provided opportunities for those desiring a new start away from the urban centers and helped many a large Jewish manufacturer to popularize his product. The Jews in the small communities continued to fulfill their historical precedent of giving aid and comfort to many itinerant Jews. Among the first to acknowledge the potential contribution of the small communities were the charitable organizations based in the large urban areas who regularly and to this day sent "meshulachim," fund raisers, to these areas.

The contribution of the small town extends far beyond the pecuniary dimension. Many of today's religious and social leaders in the Jewish community never stepped foot into a large urban area for any period of time until they enrolled in institutions of higher learning located in the urban areas. These individuals did not grow up in a vacuum but rather represent the product of a certain socio-cultural milieu, one which deserves our attention.

If the norm is big city life, what unique characteristics, if any, can we attribute to those Jews who settled in the smaller communities? On what dimensions

can they be considered deviant from the general non-Jewish population? For example, did they marry later in life, die from different causes, have larger families, live in distinct areas and get involved in only certain occupations? The design of this study precludes a comparison on these dimensions with the larger community. On the other hand, it does provide the beginnings of a model for the development of the rest of the community as a control. The work is done in the hope that future studies may be replicated on other small towns. Hopefully some day carefully designed studies comparing the Jewish development in larger towns can be compared with those in smaller ones and we will be somewhat closer to a fuller understanding of the history of the Jews in America.

The Plan of the Work

Determining the sequence of the various elements of such a work presents its own set of challenges. On one hand, this study represents an attempt to reconstruct the history of the ethnic group of one small town, while on the other hand the nature of the data which were needed in order to begin such a reconstruction do not lend themselves readily to the writing of a traditional historical discourse. It was, therefore, decided to present the data in terms of the life history of an individual reminiscent

in many ways of Haeckel's statement that "ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny."

Having already discussed the nature of our problem, we will begin with a broad statement of some of the methodological problems encountered and how the author attempted to deal with them. We will then discuss some of the physical attributes of Middletown, such as size and location, followed by a brief history of this small community. A synoptic perusal of the Jews in nineteenth century Europe follows. The next five chapters reflect the life history of an individual dealing with birth, occupation, marriage, occupational mobility, and death, as these processes relate to the Jews of Middletown. A summary and concluding chapter ends the work.

Each chapter includes a brief discussion of the methodology used to gather the data. These discussions allude to specific appendices which offer further elaboration as to formating for IBM computers and the programs written specifically to handle the data.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this chapter we describe how the aims and purposes of the study were realized. Every research endeavor presents a unique constellation of both expected and unanticipated problems and this one proved not to be an exception. There are frequently no set procedures for the researcher to follow. The problems encountered and the procedures employed to solve them will be discussed.

The process of describing the patterns of a proportionately small ethnic group within a comparatively small community is both unique and challenging. Salo Baron[1] has addressed himself to some of the problems involved in writing small communal biographies.

> Communal autobiographies, like those of individuals, often suffer from acute failure of memory and nerve. Entire stretches of their respective lives and a great many intimate details are either forgotten or, consciously or subconsciously, suppressed. Communal experiences, are often blurred in the members' collective memory by serious interruptions in the continuity of their family

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[1]Charles Reznikoff, The Jews of Charleston: A History of an American Jewish Community (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1950), p. iii.

> affiliations and the absence of genuine interest in the historic factors shaping their common destinies.

In the case of the Jews of Middletown, there are very few records between 1900 and 1930, and practically none at all for the nineteenth century. In order to gather the material for this study, the following techniques were used in a three year search:

1. The rabbi of the community made announcements periodically from the pulpit urging congregants to come forward with records, articles, or other materials. These announcements were supplemented with further publicity about the study in the synagogue bulletin, in the Middletown Press, and the Hartford Jewish Ledger. These requests yielded very little in the way of response.

2. Many hours were spent talking with leaders of the Jewish community in Middletown, particularly those of advanced age. A number of these discussions were recorded on tape, while others involved extensive note-taking. Most people were pleased that their opinions and judgments were deemed worthy of recording.

3. Articles and volumes owned by the Middlesex Historical Society, including items in the Frank Farnsworth Starr Genealogical Collection, were carefully read for clues to the history of the Middletown Jews. Further reading took place at the Russell Library in Middletown, the

Connecticut State Library in Hartford, and the extensive Sterling Memorial Library at Yale University.

4. An additional source of information was the vital statistics fortunately required by law. These data are commonly on file in the health department of each city and include among them certificates of birth, marriage, and death. Information on these documents is usually complete, generally includes most of the major social variables, and is gathered for most people, especially in modern times. Permission to examine marriage and death certificates was readily given by health department officials, but this was not so in the case of birth certificates. The law bars everyone from reviewing birth certificates except for members of the legal and medical professions and certain duly elected officials. It was only through the good offices of the presiding judge of probate, Judge Stanaczewsky, acting at the request of the Corporation Counsel Harry Edelberg, that access to these important data was permitted. (Appendix A represents Judge Stanaczewsky's letter of permission.) I agreed to three conditions: no person residing in the community either presently or in the past or having any relatives who were part of the community was to assist in the data gathering; no names were ever to be divulged; and the information was to be used only for statistical purposes.

5. Another source of information recorded over time is the City Directory. On deposit in Middletown's Russell Library are all the volumes of the City Directory dating back to 1870. These books were published annually except in a few instances and are divided into two major categories—an index of all the residents of the community 18 years of age and over, and a business section listing commercial establishments. Included in the list of residents is the name, address, occupation, name of employer, and place of employment. The business section of the directory contains a title for each generic type of business and occupation with a listing of the groups of businesses of professionals pursuing that line of trade or occupation.

The important procedure, of course, in assessing all of these data was the identification of those residents of Middletown over the years who were Jewish. The use of names as a sole indicator is a technique fraught with error. Many non-Jews have Jewish-sounding names. This is particularly prevalent among early German Protestants whose surnames sounded Jewish and complicated matters further by giving their children Biblical first names. On the other hand, many Jews anglicized their names. Thus, Joseph Burns might be a Jew, while Abraham Schoenfeld might be a Gentile. Still other Jews names their children after prominent non-Jews, thus producing Herbert Spencer, followed by a surname.

Further complicating the problem of identification of Jews by name is intermarriage. A Jew might have undergone conversion and baptism while retaining his Jewish-sounding name. The converse of this situation is the child of a Jewish mother and Gentile father who bears the non-Jewish sounding name but is brought up in his mother's faith. In addition, many names are difficult to identify ethnically. Halabi is a Turkish name which might or might not have its root in HaLevi and thus might or might not be Jewish. Finally, there are the non-Jewish sounding names bestowed by immigration officials upon the confused and non-English-speaking Jews at their arrival in the United States.

There is no sure way out of this dilemma. The best investigator in this situation is one who is familiar with the community and with each individual and family under consideration. A fact very helpful in the search of the records for Jews in Middletown was that the author's father served as a clergyman in Middletown from 1945 to 1956. This afforded the author with an indispensable first-hand acquaintance of the city and its Jewish residents. Fortunately, several alert Jewish octogenarians had survived and were always available for consultation.

Finally, since a major facet of the study involved the use of vital statistics, a very considerable amount of cross-referencing was made possible. Thus, for example,

if someone was originally considered to be Jewish but was later found through a death certificate to have been buried in a Catholic cemetery, he was dropped from the analysis. Among the guiding principles throughout the selection of the Jewish population was to drop any individual whom the author was not reasonably sure was a Jew.

Elements of the Study Design

One of the basic elements of science is the notion of control.[2] In looking at a given process in nature, the scientist tries to factor out, limit, or at least measure the effect of outside influences which bear upon the relationship he is examining. When one is interested in learning if the Jewish birth rate in a small community is affected by economic depression, it is not sufficient to look at Jewish birth rates before, during, and after the recession. For a scientific analysis, one must also gather similar information for non-Jews and compare both sets of data. In the same vein, when asserting that Jewish immigrants were engaged primarily in peddling, one must not only compare the number of Jewish peddlers to the total

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[2]Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research (New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, Inc., 1964), pp. 11, 12, 298, 299.

number of Jews in the various occupations but also count all of the people in all of the existing occupations and form a ratio of all the Jewish peddlers to the non-Jewish peddlers and do the same for every known occupational pursuit. In both instances we are controlling, among other things, for religious background.

This study is somewhat unique because it is probably among the very few which employ the method of control in the study of Jews over time in America. For every certificate belonging to a Jew residing in Middletown, one was gathered for a non-Jew. Hence, there are equal numbers of birth, death, and marriage certificates for both Jews and Gentiles. Controlling did not end with religious background but was employed further on a selected basis wherever possible for other factors which it was thought might influence the relationship under consideration. For the occupational analysis over time, every single occupational pursuit whether or not it contained Jewish representatives entered into the analysis. Further elaboration of the methodology and design will be discussed, toward the beginning of each data chapter.

Some Thoughts on the Use of Quantification in History

This study is probably among the very first in the development of the writing of American Jewish history which makes extensive use of quantification in conjunction with the high speed electronic computer. It therefore represents a radical departure from tradition. Such departures frequently evoke negative reactions, and quantification as a method in historical analysis is no exception. Stephen Thernstrom quotes one disgruntled historian as saying that "almost all important questions are important precisely because they are not susceptible to quantitative answers."[3] On the other hand, historians of no less eminence than Schumpeter have commented that "we need statistics not only for explaining things but in order to know precisely what there is to be explained."[4]

The former attitude is unfortunate for a number of reasons. If records were assembled, the probabilities are great that a certain proportion of them contain

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[3]Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "The Humanist Looks at Empirical Social Research," American Sociological Review, XXVII (1962), 770.

[4]Quoted in Stephan Thernstrom, "Quantitative Methods in History: Some Notes," in Sociology and History: Methods, ed. by Seymour Martin Lipset and Richard Hofstadter (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1968), p. 67.

information which is important. If this information can be validly quantified, it can only further illuminate and extend the boundaries of what has already been established.

In the field of early American Jewish History as is probably the case with many ethnic groups, people did not assemble many records. The ones they did keep were largely synagogue or other organizational records which dealt with the issues concerning the respective organizations. While illuminating, these records are seriously biased in that they only deal for the most part with the members of these organizations. Generalization from these records to the larger community becomes very hazardous.

Fortunately, there are very many records available in the form of vital statistics, school and employment records among others, which can be used to enlarge our understanding of the historical dynamics of groups of people. Much data in these records are amenable to quantification and can be treated scientifically. Precision controlled studies as well as estimates of generalizability become possible. The high-speed electronic computer frees the researcher from tedious labor, allowing him to concentrate on the processes of interest to him.

Over the years, a number of studies[5] using quantitative sources have been notably successful in shedding new light on hitherto unknown socio-historical dynamics. Thernstrom[6] has written that:

> With the aid of a computer, it is possible to draw together, examine, and comprehend the life histories of thousands of ordinary men and women. The microscope can thus be applied to a large enough population over a broad enough time span to provide a dynamic view of the whole of a complex social organism.

while no lesser historian than Frederick Jackson Turner[7] has written:

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[5]See for example Sidney Aronson, Status Kinship in the Higher Civil Service (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964); Bernard and Lotte Bailyn, Massachusetts Shipping, 1697-1714: A Statistical Study (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961); Arthur F. Bentley, The Condition of the Western Farmer as Illustrated by the Economic History of a Nebraska Township (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1895); Crane Brinton, The Jacobins: An Essay in the New History (New York: Russell and Russell, 1961); Merle Curti et al., The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier Country (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959); Richard L. Merritt, Symbols of American Community, 1735-1775 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966); Lawrence Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965); Stephan Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964); Charles Tilly, The Vendee (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964).

[6]Thernstrom, "Quantitative Methods in History," p. 73.

[7]Frederick Jackson Turner, The Significance of Sections in American History (New York: H. Holt and Company, 1932), p. 20. Quoted sections written in 1904.

> . . . that no satisfactory understanding of the evolution of this American people is possible without calling into cooperation many sciences and methods hitherto but little used by the American historian. Data from studies of literature and art, politics, economics, sociology, psychology, biology and physiography, all must be used. The method of the statistician as well as that of the critic of evidence is absolutely essential.

There appears to be no reason why similar methods and technology cannot be applied to illuminate trends in American Jewish history.

Periodization

A central interest of historians is the issue of periodization. This problem revolves around an answer to the question of when one period ends and another begins. The answer to this largely depends upon the nature of the historical process being investigated. This study focuses on the development of a whole array of variables, many with their own cyclical patterns. It was deemed feasible therefore to arbitrarily decide upon certain time periods and treat all of them in a mutually exclusive manner. First all of the data were analyzed on an annual basis, allowing us to pin-point exactly when events occurred. Furthermore, we can observe how the variables distributed themselves naturally over time.

Following this, the data were grouped into the following eight periods:

Period I—1852-1869
II—1870-1879
III—1880-1889
IV—1890-1899
V—1900-1909
VI—1910-1919
VII—1920-1929
VIII—1930-1934

As can be readily appreciated, the finer the time periods into which the data are categorized, the more difficult becomes further controlling. This is the well appreciated problem of case attrition. The data were therefore further collapsed into three time periods as follows:

Period I—1852-1899
II—1900-1919
III—1920-1934

The data were also treated in their entirety.

Data Processing Procedures

Once the data were collected and coded, they were punched onto IBM cards, machine verified, run through the IBM printer, and checked for noticeable irregularities. Key variables were cross tabulated. Finally, the data were read onto IBM computer tapes.

The major computer package program used throughout was the Harvard Data-Text.[8] This package program greatly facilitates the work of the social scientist using the high speed computer in the analysis of his data. It does so by virtue of having certain directions stored in its memory. The social scientist calls upon these directions to be applied to his data.

Wherever appropriate, specific programs were written for editing purposes as well as actual data analysis. The latter programs are included in appendices.

Analysis of the data was done at the Yale University Computer Center. The Yale Computer Center is entirely outfitted with IBM computers and their associated peripheral equipment. Two computers were used, the 1401 Direct Couple System and the Model 360. All programs were written in Fortran computer language.

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[8] Harvard Data-Text (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967).

A Note on Reading Tables

Studies such as this which rely heavily on quantitative data challenge the author to present such data in a parsimonious manner while at the same time also challenge him to provide the reader with sufficient information with which to draw his own conclusions. This often means carefully designing statistical tables.

Reading statistical tables correctly often requires a great deal of practice. Some people may therefore experience difficulty in interpreting the tables in this study. An explanation of the use of tables in the occupation chapter is given within that chapter. However, a few guiding principles may also help the reader understand the vast majority of tables presented in the study. An example from the data on births more specifically a table on birthplace of mother found on page 101 serves as an illustration.

The first two numbers in the first row of figures represent between group proportions, that is to say a comparison of the percentages of Jewish and non-Jewish mothers who were born in Middletown. Thus, 22.2 per cent of the Jewish women who gave birth in Middletown were themselves born in Middletown, while 78.8 per cent of the non-Jewish women were born in Middletown.

The next figure tells us that 11.9 per cent of all the mothers Jewish or non-Jewish were born in Middletown. The last number in that row, twenty-seven, tells us that a total of twenty-seven mothers were born in Middletown.

The second row of figures tells us the within group proportions, that is to say what percentage of all the Jewish women were born in Middletown. The figure for the Jews is 5.3 per cent while among the non-Jews it is 18.4 per cent. The third row of figures tells us that six Jewish women and twenty-one non-Jewish women were born in Middletown.

CHAPTER III

MIDDLETOWN, ITS SIZE, LOCATION, AND MAJOR INSTITUTIONS

Middletown[1] is located in the central part of Connecticut, fifteen miles south of Hartford and ten miles east of Meriden. It is bordered on the north by the towns of Berlin and Cromwell, on the west by Meriden and Cromwell, on the east by the Connecticut River, on the south by Durham and Haddam, and on the southwest by Middlefield. The total area of Middletown is approximately forty-five square miles.

The altitude ranges from fifteen feet above the mean sea level at the Connecticut River to 907 feet at the Mt. Higby Reservoir. The mean annual temperature is 50.2 degrees Fahrenheit. The average annual precipitation is 50.34 inches, while the average annual snowfall is 37.2 inches.

According to 1969 estimates of the Connecticut Health Department, Middletown's population totals 33,770.

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[1] A Brief History of the City of Middletown, Connecticut, prepared by the Greater Middletown Chamber of Commerce, 100 Riverview Center, Middletown, Connecticut.

In 1968 the birth rate was 19.1 per thousand of population with a marriage rate of 9.2. The death rate was 9.4.

The town is governed by a mayor and a common council. The government, whose operating budget for 1968 was $7,634,000, employed 237 persons.

During the school year 1968-69 there were ten public elementary schools, two middle schools, and two public high schools. There were 6,481 students in these schools taught by 355 teachers operating within a budget of $4,641,000.

Middletown hosts two institutions of higher learning, Wesleyan University with an enrollment of 1,424 and Middlesex Community College with an enrollment of 930. There are four libraries in this New England town: The Private Godfrey Library with 15,000 volumes, The Wesleyan University Library, containing 594,649 volumes, and the Middlesex Community College Library, comprising 2,000 volumes; the single public library is the 10,151-volume Russell Library.

Middletown has two major medical facilities of which one is a general hospital and the other a state-supported mental institution. The general hospital, called the Middlesex Memorial Hospital, was established in 1904 and is fully accredited with a bed capacity of 400. Its professional staff includes approximately 125 physicians and surgeons and 25 dentists. The Connecticut Valley Hospital is a 1,575-bed mental health facility serving

forty-two towns in the central portion of Connecticut.

Middletown has its own radio station, WCNX, and newspaper, The Middletown Press. It is well represented by the major faiths, service clubs, and social organizations.

CHAPTER IV

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF MIDDLETOWN

As is typical of so many early New England towns, Middletown was first settled by the Indians. The Indians gave the town its original name of Mattabesech, which means "a carrying place, or portage." According to the Algonquins, the name Connecticut means the "long tidal stream," and refers to the Connecticut River with its characteristic undulations up through Hartford.[1]

Among the very early records dated 1639 and referring to the town is one relating the indignation at the bellicose attitude of the Indians. It reads as follows:

> The menifold insolencyes that have beene offered of late by Indians, putt the Court in mind of that w'ch hath been too long neglected viz: the execution of justice upon the former murtherers of the English and it was uppon serious consideracon and debate thought necessary and accordingly determined, that some speedy course be taken herein, and for effecting hereof it was concluded that 100 men be levyed and sent down to Mattabesecke, where several guilty persons reside and have been harbored by Soheage, notwithstanding all means

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[1] Stephen Jenkins, The Old Boston Post Road (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1913), pp. 239, 240.

> by way of persuation have beene formerly used to him for surrendering them upp into or hands; and it is thought fit that these counsells be imparted to or friends at Quinnipi (ocke) that pruition may be made for the safety of the new plantacons, and upon their joynt consent to precede or desist.[2]

The belligerence of the Indians acted as an impediment to the early settlers. However, within a short period the white settlers were able to establish themselves. "A committee was appointed in March, 1650, to explore Mattabeset, and it reported that fifteen families might get a living there, and in November, 1653, planters from Wethersfield, Hartford, and England established the settlement of Middletown."[3]

Middletown was declared a town in 1652 by an act of the General Court whose record[4] reads as follows:

> It is ordered sentenced and decreed that Mattabeseck shall bee a towne, and that they shall make choyce of one of theire inhabitants, according to order in that case, that so hee may take the oath of a Constable, the next convenient reason.

The commanding aborigine of the time was Sowheag who had broken with his tribe in Wethersfield and established

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[2]Beers, A History of Middlesex County, Connecticut (New York: J. B. Beers and Company, 1884), p. 63.

[3]George Larkin Clark, A History of Connecticut: Its People and Institutions (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1914), p. 23.

[4]Beers, A History of Middlesex County, p. 63.

his campsite on very high ground currently known as Indian Hill. Sowheag sold a six-mile tract of land on both sides of the Connecticut River to Governor Haynes of Connecticut.[5] Further land was acquired by Samuel Wyllys in 1762 from Sepunemo[6] with provisions made for the Indians to remain in the area.

There are various theories as to the origin of the town's current name. Some say that it was named after a town in England while others think the name was derived by virtue of its location midway between Hartford and Saybrook.[7] Suffice it to say that the settlers of Mattabesset, which evolved into an important link between northern and southern towns in Connecticut, induced the General Court to declare "that the name of the plantation commonly called Mattabeseck, should for the time come to be called Middletown."[8]

History records[9] that the early settlers of Middletown were very pious:

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[5]Clark, A History of Connecticut, p. 240.

[6]See Marguerite Allis, A Connecticut Trilogy (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1934), p. 197, and Beers, A History of Middlesex County, p. 63.

[7]Jenkins, The Old Boston Post Road, p. 240.

[8]Beers, A History of Middlesex County, p. 63.

[9]Allis, A Connecticut Trilogy, p. 198.

> The first religious services were held beneath a great elm, and nearby a Meeting, surrounded by palisades, was soon erected. . . . The Lower Houses possessed the Meeting to the dissatisfaction of the Upper Houses which wished to do so. When in 1669 a new Meeting was voted they proposed to have it and a pretty squabble resulted. "Finally, the matter was compromised," says the ancient chronicles, much to the disgust of such unpious pilgrims as love these stories of brotherly disagreement in the Puritan church.

The first edifice constructed was a town meeting hall. The order for its construction constitutes the very first town record and is dated February 1, 1652.[10] The first citizens of the town settled within a stockade along what is now known as Main Street, north of Washington Street. These people were from England, Eastern Massachusetts, and earlier towns of the Connecticut Valley.

The early settlement of the town was divided into what were known as the Upper and Lower Houses. Since 1851, the Upper Houses were known as Cromwell.[11] From what is now Washington and Broad Streets and southward were known as the Lower Houses.

It was not long before the settlers began to make use of the fact that the Connecticut River deepened considerably in their area. This offered Middletown the opportunity of becoming a significant center for trade. Although

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[10]Jenkins, The Old Boston Post Road, p. 241.

[11]Allis, A Connecticut Trilogy, pp. 197, 198.

the earliest industry was a grain and flour mill,[12] the request of a certain Mr. Adams in October of 1669 for the privilege of cutting public timber to build a ship marked the beginnings of the first major community enterprise, namely shipbuilding.[13] Although only two ships were built until the Revolutionary War,[14] and with only a combined gross tonnage of 105, these vessels formed the bulwark of a very substantial amount of foreign trade, especially with the West Indies and London. It was from this early attachment to the open seas that the world famous marine manufacturing firm of Wilcox, Crittenden and Company was first established in Middletown in 1847.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, partly attributable to a very lucrative slave trade, Middletown shared in an abnormal amount of prosperity. During this period, Middletown had the largest population of any of the eighty-three municipalities in Connecticut.

History records that a number of Jews had settled in Connecticut during the seventeenth and eighteenth

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[12]Beers, A History of Middlesex County, p. 64.

[13]Ibid., p. 67.

[14]"History of Middletown Shipping," Middletown Press, January 19, 1933.

centuries.[15] The first Jew to surface as a resident of Middletown was Isaac Solomons who in the year 1748 requested that he be released from a bond for goods which he had imported into the Colony. The record reads as follows:[16]

> Upon the memorial of Isaac Solomons of Middletown, shewing to this Assembly that in the year 1748, he imported from London into this Colony the value of lb. 144 10s od. sterling in goods, and that he imported likewise from New York lg. 25 os. od. sterling, and exhibited a manifest of said goods to Mr. Mathew Talcott of Middletown one of the collectors appointed to receive the duties for importation of goods from the neighboring government and that he demanded 7-1/2 percent on the whole, and that he gave his bond to the Governor and Company for the duties of all said goods to the sum of lb. 127 2s. 6d. old tenour, and that said bond now lies in the Treasurer's office not paid; praying for a release from said bond except so much thereof as should arise on the duty of lb. 25 os. od. sterling, imported from New York as aforesaid; Resolved by this Assembly, that on the said Isaac Solomons paying the duty of said lb. 25 os. at seven and a half percent, to the Treasurer of this colony, with the interest thereof since the bond became due, that the Treasurer be and hereby is ordered to give up said bond conditioned for the payment of lb. 127 2s 6d.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century hopes were raised that a new industry might be developed in the area, namely, mining. The Reverend David D. Field wrote

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[15] For an illuminating review see Morris Silverman, Hartford Jews 1659-1970 (Hartford: The Connecticut Historical Society, 1970), pp. 4-8.

[16] The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut (Hartford: Lockwood and Brainard Company, 1890), IX, 522.

of the mining episode as follows:[17]

> A lead mine was opened about forty years ago, near Butler's Creek, as it enters Connecticut River, two miles southeast from the city. The vein runs northeasterly towards the river, and as it approaches it, sinks abruptly into the earth. It is inclosed in a granite rock, which renders it difficult to get the ore. It is mineralized with sulphur and is partly steel-grained, and partly cubic lead ore, the former containing the greatest portion of silver, but neither enough to pay the expense of Separation: it also contains a portion of zinc. Large sums of money were expended here by foreigners in the hands of Col. James, a British officer, who had raised one hundred half-barrels of the ore and prepared it for exportation. This the government of Connecticut seized, as they did also the mine, which they improved till the great expenses of carrying on the business, induced them to abandon it. The vein was followed thirty or forty rods, and was in some places very rich, but generally poor.

Early hopes for the mining industry attracted some of the most notable Jewish figures of the era to Middletown. They were Michael Gratz, the Philadelphia merchant, Myer Myers, the well-known silversmith, and probably his brother-in-law Solomon Simson. The latter's son was the first graduate of Columbia College and a founder of New York's Mt. Sinai Hospital.

The Middletown mines, as witnessed by Field, never amounted to much, and the early Jewish speculators were

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[17]David D. Field, A Statistical Account of the County of Middlesex in Connecticut (Middletown: Clark and Lyman, 1819), p. 37.

quick to acknowledge this fact. A letter from Myer Myers to Michael Gratz dated in New York on November 23, 1766, expressed the fervent hope that the mine might be sold:[18]

> Mr. Michael Gratz
> Dear Sir:
>
> In my last I mentioned the situation of affairs in regard to the mine and am glad to find by your answer [that] you are so much a philosopher in disappointments. We have now some hopes of being reimbursed, which must be kept a profound secret. Some of the particulars are as follows: one of the richest companies of mines in London has sent orders here to make a purchase of our mine if, upon tryal, the lead yields as they have had some tryed. A gentlement here has accordingly applyed for some ore and a description of the situation of the mine, all which is gone home [to London] last week. The gentlemen employed here seems to give the greatest encouragement that they will purchase (God grant it). Mr. Housenclever [Peter Hasenclever] went up to view the mine, and had so good an opinion of it that he offered £1,000, but as that is not one third of our cost, his offer was rejected. He is now gone to London and has taken samples of the ore with him; and as he is an enterprising man, I make no doubt he will make a greater offer. So you see, we have two strings to our bow.
>
> But all this will be uncertain till the spring. Meanwhile, my dear Michael, you must assist me, Solomon Simpson has not finished the accounts yet, other ways would send you a coppy, but he tells me a six-teenth will ammount to s240. And were I not in the greatest want, would not ask you for your part, but must make a large payment in ten or twelve days. Your assistance will near do it. If you can send me a good bill of exchange upon London, it will answer full as well as cash [and] it will be easier for you. But let me entreat you to be speedy, as my credit and ease of mind depends on it. I have sold one of your rings for

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[18] American Jewish Archives, The Henry Joseph Collection of Gratz Papers found in Jacob Rader Marcus, American Jewry: Documents Eighteenth Century (Cincinnati: The Hebrew Union College Press, 1959), p. 381.

40 1/2 dollars.
My children join in love to you and all our relations, and am, dear Michael,

Your assured friend, etc.,
Myer Myers

During the course of the Revolutionary War, the colonies experienced a dangerous shortage of lead, sparking a desperate attempt on the part of a number of notables in the General Assembly to seek means of extracting this vital element. At the outbreak of the war the lead mine was being worked by a Colonel James of the British Army. As might be expected, he was promptly dispossessed of the potentially valuable property. In reference to this shortage Titus Hosmer wrote in a letter to Silas Dean, " . . . the ore is plenty and reputed rich. . . . The only desideratum is how to smelt the ore and the metal."[19] In another letter Hosmer continued, "If you could give us any light, from enquiries you can make where you are, either with regard to workment or the process, you will render an acceptable service to your country . . . if we can succeed . . . this mine will abundantly supply, not only New England, but all the colonies with lead . . . ."[20] The man who was finally considered to have the much sought-after technical

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[19]Beers, A History of Middlesex County, p. 79.

[20]Ibid.

expertise and the knowledge of the lay of the land was none other than the former Middletown landowner, Myer Myers.

In 1776, Myer Myers fled from the British and temporarily settled in Norwalk, Connecticut. It remained for Benjamin Henshaw to visit Myers in an effort to induce the silversmith to mine the lead in Middletown. Jacob Rader Marcus reconstructed the episode in the following way.

Solomon Simson, Myers' brother-in-law, had two close associates in the Connecticut General Assembly, Nathaniel Wales and Pierpont Edwards. The latter was Simson's attorney. Simson was instrumental in influencing Wales and Edwards to send Henshaw after Myers.[21] There is, however, no evidence that Henshaw was successful.

The Revolutionary War dramatically slowed down the rapid economic and demographic expansion of Middletown. The embargo levied against England compounded by the virtual cut-off of trade with the West Indies acted to decelerate the growth of many towns in the area which were previously conditioned to success.

The Reverend David D. Field wrote[22] that Middlesex

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[21]Marcus, American Jewry, p. 380.

[22]Field, Statistical Account, p. 19.

County was composed of 3,688 families. Two thousand three hundred thirty families belonged to the Congregational Church, 88 to the Strict-Congregationalists, 421 to the Episcopalians, 489 to the Baptists, 291 to the Methodists, and 69 to the Universalists.

In the middle of the eighteenth century Field tells us,[23] Middletown had only four merchant stores, few mechanic shops, no public offices or important factories. By the second decade of the nineteenth century Middletown possessed:

> 11 stores of dry goods; 22 grocery stores; 2 hardware stores; 2 crochery stores; 1 fur store; 2 apothecary stores; 1 paper store; 2 book stores; 2 bookbinderies; 2 goldsmith's shops; 4 taylors' shops; 3 milliners' shops; 1 hat factory; 2 bakeries; 3 butchers' stalls; 2 tallow chandleries; 2 tanneries; 3 shoe stores; 2 saddler's shops; 4 lumber yards; 3 cabinet shops; 2 chaise-makers' shops; 2 tinner's shops; 4 blacksmith's shops; 2 rope walks; and 1 sail loft.

Nevertheless, in 1810, the Middletown Manufacturing Company was established for the purpose of making wool only to fail at the close of the War of 1812.[24] This venture was succeeded by a similar one which lasted nearly a quarter of a century.[25]

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[23] Ibid., p. 41.

[24] Beers, A History of Middlesex County, p. 96.

[25] Ibid., p. 97.

The threat of war induced Oliver Bidwell to begin producing hand-made arms.[26] A contemporary of Bidwell, a Colonel North, also went into the arms industry backed by the financial assistance of Samuel Russell. North is reputed to have turned out approximately ten thousand hand-guns annually.

Another Colonel by the name of Starr went into the production of a very fine line of swords. He also manufactured muskets and rifles. Starr's production methods served as a model for the yet-to-be-founded Springfield Arsenal in Massachusetts.

Among the manufacturing concerns founded in the nineteenth century and still in existence today are the Russell Manufacturing Company, Wilcox Crittenden and Company, and the Goodyear Rubber Company. The latter is an outgrowth of the old Spaulding and Collis Cotton webbing concern begun in 1833. The Spaulding and Collis works failed and passed the following year into the hands of Samuel Russell who invited Samuel D. Hubbard and George Spaulding to aid him in running the concern. In 1836, Samuel Hubbard's nephew the Honorable Henry G. Hubbard at the age of 21 pitched in and slowly transformed the ailing concern into a success.

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[26] Ibid.

In 1841, Henry Hubbard induced a Scottish weaver to join him and both succeeded for the first time to weave fabric by machine. By 1850, Hubbard was able to buy out his uncle and Samuel Russell and continued to succeed in his endeavor. Before too long, the Russell Manufacturing Company consisted of six mills and was producing 1,200,000 pounds of double and twisted yarn annually. In 1883, sales totalled over $900,000 a year.[27]

Another very important manufacturing concern alluded to earlier is the Wilcox Crittenden and Company. This concern, the oldest and largest of its kind, manufactures a wide array of ship hardware. The business was begun in 1848 by Eldridge H. Penfield on the advice of a friend, Benjamin Butler.

The original name of the company was E. H. and I. K. Penfield. Among the laborers was a William W. Wilcox. After a series of partnerships, and moves, the company name was finally changed to the present one. Over the years the company's products became more diversified and a very large proportion of sea going craft are outfitted with tackle made by this concern.[28]

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[27] Ibid., p. 101.

[28] Ibid., p. 103.

The third major manufacturing concern is the Goodyear Rubber Company which was founded in 1875. The company was owned by a group of men who pioneered in the manufacture of India rubber goods back in 1845. The plant in Middletown was one of the largest of its kind in the nineteenth century. As a result of improvement in processing of rubber to offset the effect of high temperature, the Goodyear Rubber Company was able to manufacture a wide assortment of rubber items and realize a profit.

On June 29, 1886, upon the recommendation of a commission appointed by the Connecticut Legislature, the General Assembly adopted an "Act to create a Hospital for the Insane in the State of Connecticut." This act was the result of the commission's finding that there were 760 insane people in the State who were inadequately cared for in various almshouses. The first attempt to create a hospital failed in 1845.

The town of Middletown generously offered the land on which the Institutions stand and legislated a number of statutes designed to protect it. The hospital was formally opened on April 30, 1868, with twelve patients under the care of its first Superintendent, Dr. Abram Marvin Shew, formerly of the New Jersey Lunatic Asylum.

The Methodist-sponsored Wesleyan University opened its doors to forty-eight students on September 21, 1831.

The opening of this institution represented the culmination of a thirty year effort to establish a school under Methodist sponsorship. The conflagration which destroyed one of the first colleges, Cokesbury in Baltimore, inspired Bishop Asbury to write an acquaintance: "Its friends need not mourn: the Lord called not the Methodists to build colleges."[29]

The opportunity to establish Wesleyan came when an offer was made by the trustees of Captain Partridge's American Literary Scientific, and Military Academy to sell their campus and buildings to the Methodists for $4,000. The property was valued at $30,000 and was sold after the Wesleyan people agreed to raise an endowment of $40,000 and to use the property exclusively for the creation of a college. The first condition was given a boost with contributions totalling $18,000 by the people of Middletown.

The guiding light of the University in its early days was its first President Dr. Willbur Fisk. This educator is remembered not only for his uncommon dedication but also because of innovations he pioneered in the field of education which only in comparatively recent times have been adopted. Fisk's innovations included advanced placement of students based on proficiency examinations, increased

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[29] Ibid., p. 119.

emphasis on modern languages and the introduction of a scientific course of study for those desiring to pursue careers in this area.

In 1872, another new phenomenon could be seen on the Wesleyan campus—women. Although few availed themselves of the opportunity of a Wesleyan education, their intellectual qualifications were never called into question. Commenting on this in 1884, Professor C. T. Winchester wrote:[30]

> . . . The experiment of coeducation (for it must still be considered an experiment) can hardly have been of injury to the college; no changes here have been made in the course of study to accommodate it to the ladies and there has been no lowering of the tone of scholarship, for the young ladies have shown themselves able, both mentally and physically to perform the intellectual labor of a college course quite as well as the gentlemen who sit in the class with them.

Professor Winchester reported that the admission of women was never popular with the male undergraduates!

The outbreak of hostilities at Fort Sumter evoked both consternation but above all the patriotism of Middletown's citizenry. The very first recorded act of support for the Union armies was the donation of thirty-two pistols made by the Middletown based Savage Revolving Fire Arms Company. The donation was contingent upon the rest of the

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[30] Ibid., p. 122.

citizenry purchasing the additional forty-five revolvers necessary to completely outfit Middletown's Company A of the Second Regiment of Connecticut Volunteers. On May 25, 1861, the Common Council was authorized to reimburse the Savage Fire Arms Company the sum of $900 for the pistols, revolvers, and to purchase another six pistols to be used by the officers of Companies "G" and "H" of the Fourth Regiment of Connecticut Volunteers.

On April 24, 1862, the Westfield Guards under a full company of Middletown volunteers left the city for New Haven with Washington as its ultimate destination. Three weeks later Wesleyan Guards under the direction of Captain Robert G. Williams, and the Union Guard led by Captain Augustus C. Clark left for a rendezvous with their regiment, the Fourth Regiment of Connecticut, which was operating out of Hartford.

During the summer of 1862, the town held a number of meetings in response to the deteriorating condition of the Union War effort. On July 15, a $10,000 fund was created by the City Council in order to raise monies for the recruitment effort. Several prominent citizens contributed $100 each. Nine days later, on the 24th, a mass meeting was held only to be followed by yet another one two days later at which a bounty of $100 was offered "to each and every volunteer to the number of one hundred and

twenty-five men, provided they submit on or before the 25th of August."[31] A subsequent meeting was necessitated by some who questioned the legality of the above action. Not only was the previous action approved but a precedent was in motion. Thus, on the 20th of August a bounty of $100 was voted, "To each volunteer for three years provided that each and every enlistment be credited to the town's quota, and that the person enlisted bear not and shall not receive bounties from other towns."[32] The bounty was raised by $50 on September 6th, "To each and every volunteer for 9 months enlisting prior to 10 l'ck p.m. Sept. 9 provided such persons be credited to the town's quota and that . . . this bounty be in lieu of all other bounties voted or appropriated."[33]

Among the fruits of war are death and Middletown reaped its share of the harvest. On September 17, 1862, General Mansfield of Middletown was killed at the battle of Antietam. The General's death induced the Common Council to send a delegation including the Mayor to escort his remains from New York. Exactly a week after his death General Mansfield was buried with full military honors.

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[31] Ibid., p. 83.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

Although Mansfield was the highest ranking person to make the ultimate sacrifice, he was followed to the grave by one hundred and ten men in the various subordinate ranks.

While men were fighting on the battlefields, those left behind aided in many ways. From the outset of the war, Middletown's women organized themselves into an aid society for the purpose of furnishing the men in the blue with "articles of comfort." The town records indicate continued support for the armies of the North throughout the entire duration of hostilities.[34]

Middletown closed her books on the Civil War with the dedication of a thirty-three-ton monument in Union Park on June 23, 1874. The monument representing the figure of a Union soldier was designed by M. H. Mosman of Chicopee, Massachusetts, at a cost of $11,000. Raised letters on its front bear the following inscription: "Erected by the town of Middletown in memory of her fallen Sons, 1874."

While Middletown affected and responded to various historical vicissitudes, many of her future residents in Europe were doing likewise. A number of Middletown's future citizens were of the Jewish faith who came to the shores of this country in search of many forms of opportunity. These people, like members of other minorities, had a long

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[34] Ibid.

period of conditioning. The nature of this conditioning, namely their historical experience, must be taken into account in any over-all assessment of future development in this country.

We cannot begin to understand the dynamics of the Jews in America without at least a synoptic view of the historical processes ensuing within the countries which the Jews lived, countries whose political processes they influenced and which in turn influenced them. Although Jews in the nineteenth century were to be found in almost every country on earth, those who ultimately came to Middletown hailed principally from Austria, Germany, Poland, Roumania, and Russia. It is therefore to these countries that we now turn in order to gain some perspective into the European diaries of the early Jews of Middletown.

CHAPTER V

A SYNOPTIC PERUSAL OF JEWISH LIFE IN NINETEENTH CENTURY EUROPE

Among European leaders, Napoleon was comparatively liberal in his political outlook and granted the Jews of France the right to practice their religion. Following Waterloo, however, Metternich pursued a conservative policy which resulted in the rescinding of many of the liberal rights previously extended to Jews.

Eighteen years later, liberalism in France was reborn to be given a still further impetus by the French Revolution. The ultra liberals, as has happened so many times in history, divided their camp sufficiently so as to enable the conservatives to gain power. Soon, however, an over-all liberal trend was put into motion.

The Jews in Germany were very sensitive to the vicissitudes of this political Sturm und Drang. They were driven from the cities of Bremen and Lübeck. In Hamburg, the political rights of the Jews were rescinded and they could not freely compete on the marketplace nor own property. Dresden, the capital of Saxony, would not permit Jews to have a synagogue, while all of Saxony refused them permission to trade. Prussia rescinded many of her promises and went to the extent of forbidding the German language to be used in sermons.

These political cross-currents were bound to affect the internal structure of the Jewish community. Having very little control, if any, over their external political environment, the Jews turned inward. This introspection was aimed at internal changes in a long-term effort at adaptation. It was within this context that the Reform Movement was created. Among the changes sought were prayers in German. This practice, however, was vigorously opposed by such notables as Zachariah Frankel. Other desired changes were mixed seating during the worship service, a break with the Talmud, the practice of circumcision, the Sabbath, the messianic hope, and the primal consideration of Palestine as the home of the Jewish people. A very large proportion of the early Jews of German extraction, although exposed to these liberal current views, did not actually incorporate this radical ideology.

The Russian Jews who came to the United States later in the nineteenth century presented a set of historical credentials in some ways similar to their fellow German correligionists but in many ways quite different. While Europe stood at the vanguard of Western civilization, Russia by comparison was stagnating. Russia's relatively backward state economically, politically, and socially left its imprint on almost every aspect of Jewish life.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Russia resembled in many ways medieval Europe. Russia was primarily agricultural with the overwhelming majority of her citizens living in rural villages. Living from hand to mouth, the average peasant was utterly dependent upon and subjected mercilessly to the whims of the Czars. Many starved to death while those who survived faced heavy taxation and other forms of exploitation. These conditions prevailed in spite of the Emancipation Act of Alexander II in 1861, which ostensibly freed twenty million peasants.

While Russia's social-class system contained five categories, each with its own clearly articulated rights, privileges, and immunities, in practical terms there were only two: the nobility and the peasantry. Most Jews were not, strictly speaking, peasants. On the other hand, they were not nobility. The lack of a powerful bargaining middle class which was present in Europe helps to explain the utterly precarious position of Russian Jewry in the nineteenth century.

Paralleling Russia's relatively medieval state was her attitude toward the Jews. The Jews were characteristically relegated to an inferior position by virtue of a multitude of laws and statutes which were not imposed upon the rest of the citizenry. Among the events which heralded these measures was the partitioning of Poland in the late

eighteenth century. This political division also resulted in the stringent measures which restricted not only free movement on the part of the Jews but also that of residence. In consequence, the Jew could be found in only twenty-five of one hundred and four provinces comprising an area slightly over one-twentieth of the total area of Russia.

To understand the historical vicissitudes to which the Jews were subjected requires an appreciation of their socioeconomic position. This must be done by definition in comparing their occupational pursuits with those of the non-Jews. Rubinow's figures[1] (see Table 1) indicate that the Jews constituted 5 per cent of all those employed; of this number 39 per cent were involved in manufacturing, 32 per cent in commerce, and 3 per cent in agriculture. The proportion of non-Jews engaged in manufacturing was 15 per cent, in commerce, 3 per cent, and in agriculture, 61 per cent. In terms of total commerce, the Jews constituted over twice their proportion in manufacturing and over seven times their numbers in commerce.[2]

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[1] I. M. Rubinow, Economic Conditions of the Jews in Russia (Washington, D.C.: Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, Department of Commerce and Labor, 1907), p. 500.

[2] Ibid.

TABLE 1

PROPORTION OF JEWS AND NON-JEWS IN RUSSIA 1897
AS PRESENTED BY RUBINOW

Occupation	Jews	Non-Jews
Agriculture	2.9	63.2
Professional Services	5.1	2.6
Personal Services	18.8	19.8
Manufacturing	37.9	11.2
Transportation	3.3	1.8
Commerce	32.0	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0

A further breakdown of occupational pursuits engaged in by Russian Jewry is both enlightening and important. According to Ruppin, more than one-third of the Jews involved in manufacturing were either tailors or shoemakers.[3] Others were engaged in the preparation of food products and in the building, metal, wood, and tobacco industries. The majority of Jews within the realm of commerce were either peddlers or storekeepers.

[3]Arthur Ruppin, Die Sozialen Verhaltnisse der Juden in Russland (Berlin: Judischer Verlag, 1906), p. 59.

GRATZ COLLEGE LIBRARY
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The overwhelming proportion of Jews resided in urban areas. Over one-half of the Jews lived in urban areas compared with less than one in eight among the non-Jews.[4] Whereas the Jews comprised 4 per cent of the entire population, they represented 16 per cent of the urban population. While the Jews constituted 12 per cent of the total population in the Pale, their proportional urban representation was over three times that number.[5]

What was the social class position of Russian Jewry? Ruppin's figures[6] support the notion of a significantly higher proportion of Jews in the middle and upper classes than their non-Jewish countrymen. Comparing the proportion of the Jews in the "Townsman" or middle class with the non-Jews shows that 95 per cent of the Jews occupied this position compared with seven per cent of their fellow Russians. Whereas 86 per cent of the non-Jews were peasants, the Jews comprised less than one-twentieth this figure.

During the reign of Alexander II, hopes were raised high in Jewish circles that their shackles of constraint might be lifted. As is so often the case in the history

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[4] Ibid., p. 100.

[5] Rubinow, Economic Conditions of the Jews, p. 493.

[6] Ruppin, Sozialen Verhaltnisse der Juden, p. 65.

of Jewry, these hopes were dashed as a result of the assassination of the Czar. The perception many Russian Jews held of Alexander II can be likened in many ways to that held by many American blacks of the late John F. Kennedy.

The principal instrument of oppression against Russian Jewry were the May Laws,[7] the principal articles of which read as follows:

> A. As a temporary measure and until a general revision is made of the legal status of the Jews, they are forbidden to settle anew outside of towns and townlets, an exception being made only in the case of existing Jewish agricultural colonies.
>
> B. Until further orders, the execution of deeds of sale and mortgage in the names of Jews is forbidden, as well as the registration of Jews as lessees of real estate situated outside of towns and townlets, and also the issuing to Jews of powers of stewardship or attorney to manage and dispose of such property.

The ramifications of these laws both by design and in effect impaired the central nervous system of Jewish-Gentile relations. Among the many practical consequences of these laws was that Jews were uprooted continuously and forced to live in constant threat of geographic displacement. This further affected their economic status. On the one

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[7]Quoted in Samuel Joseph, Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910 (New York: doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1914), p. 60.

hand the Jews could not till the soil while on the other they could not practice any economic trade.

The situation was further exacerbated by the so-called "percentage rule" of 1866 and 1867. This rule served as an example of the anti-education course pursued by the regime of Alexander III. The rule fixed rigid quotas on the number of young Jews who could be formally educated. Within the Pale, the quota was fixed at 10 per cent while on the outside it varied from 3 to 5 per cent. Of all official acts, the consequences of this "rule" probably did most in the long run to menace the average Jew's "life chances on the marketplace."

If the above enactment served to legitimate repression by those in authority, it also had the dire consequences of awakening the basest instincts of the masses, namely the resorting to wholesale murder and plunder. Such an onslaught is known as a Pogrom. The ruthlessness of the Muzik wielding a knife was equalled only by his politically more powerful ally legitimating this behavior with the pen. These two classes of people, united by a common vitriol toward the Jew, served to cut the ground out from the latter.

The Russian position with respect to the Jews could be likened to that of the Spanish monarchy in 1492.

Leroy-Beaulieu[8] emphasized this point in one of his major works on Russian history, pointing out that:

> If, at the distance of four centuries, the Russian Tsar takes against his Jewish subjects measures which recall the edicts issued in 1492 by los Reyes Catolicos [the Catholic monarchy], it is because Orthodox Russia is not unlike Catholic Spain of the fifteenth century.

The twentieth century was opened with the Kishinev and Gomel pogroms during the reign of Nicholas II. The unpopular Russo-Japanese war further complicated matters for the Jews in that they were blamed for its instigation. The Duma Commission appointed to investigate the later Bialystok pogrom verified the blessings of the bureaucracy in support of the peasant outrages. The behavior of the German people thirty-five years later alone serves to impede the imagination of how the situation could have been worse. In the depths of these miseries the very author of the May Laws, Count Ignatiev, proclaimed something which many Russian Jews during the third quarter of the twentieth century only hope Premier Kosygin would utter—"the Western borders are open to you Jews."

The history of Roumania, Poland's neighbor, is very similar to Russia's. Efforts were being made to catapult

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[8]Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, The Empire of the Tsars (New York: A.M.S. Press, 1969), p. viii.

the relatively backward country into the industrial age by virtue of the Industrial Law of 1887. The stark contrast between the rich and poor was even more marked in Roumania than in Russia, making the former's struggle for modernization that much more poignant.

As a Christian country, Roumania assumed the characteristically hostile attitude toward the Jews as did others. To understand the specific forces of repression requires an understanding of the place of the Jewish Roumanian society.

Turning again to an analysis of Arthur Ruppin[9] we find that the Jews held occupations remarkably similar to those of their Russian coreligionists. As of 1902, from one-fourth to one-half of all those engaged in the clothing, furniture, glass, textile, and wood industries were Jews. This proportion is exceeded only by Jewish representation in the handicraft industry.

Samuel Joseph[10] gives an interesting breakdown of the proportional representation of Jewry in the various occupations. He writes:

> The latest inquiry—that of 1908—shows that the Jews were one-fifth of all inscribed in the corporations as artisans. They formed more than one-fourth of the

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[9]Arthur Ruppin, Die Juden in Rumanien (Berlin: Louis Lamm, Bureau für Statistik der Juden, 1908).

[10]Joseph, Jewish Immigration, p. 49.

> master-workmen and nearly one-sixth of the laborers. In the five principal industries Jewish master-workmen formed from nearly one-tenth to nearly one-half. In the following trades Jews formed from between one-fourth and nearly two-thirds of the entire workers: watchmakers, tinners, modistes, tailors, glaziers, homepainters, coopers, and bookbinders. In all the garment industries nearly one-third of the workers were Jews. The principal trades of the Jews, in which two-thirds of the industrial workers were found, were in order: tailors, shoemakers, tinners, joiners and planers, and bakers.

As in Russia, Roumanian Jews were overwhelmingly urban. Whereas close to 85 per cent of all non-Jewish countrymen were concentrated in rural areas, about 80 per cent of their Jewish countrymen were in the cities.

Since the conditions surrounding the Jews in Roumania were relatively the same as those in Russia and their economic and social position within that country was also similar to that of their brethren in Russia, there is no reason to expect that the pattern of their treatment should have differed. And this was the case.

As a consequence of the Convention of Paris in 1856, and by virtue of other agreements, provisions were made for the gradual emancipation of the Jews. Eight years later in 1864, certain well-educated and propertied Jews were granted naturalization. The great masses of Jews, according to Article VII of the Roumanian Constitution, were, however, considered foreigners, thereby releasing the government from obligations set forth in 1856.

The Berlin Congress offered new hope for the Roumanian Jews by virtue of the insistence of France, England, and Germany making the granting of independence to Roumania contingent upon the latter's providing civil equality to all her citizens. The wording of one paragraph in Article 44 seems to draw attention by implication to the Jews. It says that "The citizens of all states, whether merchant or others, shall be dealt with, in Roumania, without distinction of religion, on the basis of perfect equality."[11]

But, as the sociologist William Graham Sumner was to preach a few years later, one cannot legislate the mores. A perfect example of this truism is to be found in the endemic anti-Semitism propounded by the Roumanians. The Roumanians showed their disdain for the Big Powers among other ways by not allowing the Jews to purchase rural land and requiring ten years of residence in Roumania as a requirement for citizenship.

With the Big Powers out of the way the Roumanians were no longer restricted from venting their spleen. Discriminatory laws were passed touching every aspect of life running the gamut from the personal through the occupational. The Jews were impeded in every area where they were perceived to pose any threat to the establishment. In

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[11]Quoted in Joseph, Jewish Immigration, p. 71.

consequence, the Jews were impelled to flee. Many landed on the shores of the only country to file a formal protest against the Roumanians for their contemptuous fulfillment of the obligations set forth in the Berlin Treaty.[12]

The last of the European countries to experience significant Jewish emigration to America were Austria and Hungary. Although not as severely persecuted as their fellow immigrants from the other countries we have visited, the over-all profile remains very similar.

According to Thon,[13] almost half of the Jews of Austria were engaged in commerce and trade while close to three in ten made their living in industry. These figures are familiar to others we have seen but differ by virtue of a higher proportion of Jews in agricultural pursuits—11 per cent. Comparing these figures with those of non-Jews is enlightening. Fifty-four per cent or five times the number of Jews as non-Jews were engaged in agriculture, while eight per cent or less than one-fifth of the non-Jews were engaged in commerce.

Is there any reason to believe that the external stresses imposed upon the Austrian and Hungarian Jews

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[12]See a letter to the signatories of the Berlin Treaty by Secretary of State Hay in Joseph, Jewish Immigration, pp. 201-206.

[13]Jacob Thon, Die Juden in Oesterreich (Berlin: Louis Lamm, 1908), p. 112.

differed from that among the other Jews we have visited? The answer is no. The hope for emancipation embodied in the documents of 1848 were fundamentally as ill-founded in these lands as they were elsewhere. These pipe dreams were fueled by the Fundamental Law of 1867 guaranteeing the barring of religion as a basis for discrimination in civil and political rights.

Economics is inextricably intertwined with politics and the Jews represented a commercial attitude anachronistic to the middle age feudalistic attitude of the masses. The financial crash of 1873 triggered a new era in political anti-semitism. The Christian-Socialist movement feared the trend setting commercialism so elegantly represented by the Jew. A victory would almost by definition signal its loss of power. By extending the suffrage to the individual craftsman, the Christian-Socialist movement calculated that it could retain its influence and undermine the new order. To implement this policy understandably meant limiting by any means the Jewish people.

As is frequently the case in the anti-semitic process, representatives of both church and state divided up the work. The former concentrated on the ignorant peasants while the latter extended the acrimony to the middle and upper classes while at the same legitimating the whole process. While not as savage as the Russians and Roumanians,

Galician authorities gave the Jews reason to question its value. The instruments of oppression included boycotting of Jewish economic services, heavy taxation, and the time-honored clarion, ritual murder.

In our synoptic perusal of the diaries of the Jews of Germany, Russia, Roumania, Austria, and Hungary, in the last half of the nineteenth century, certain salient points were observed which deserve momentary review.

In each of the above countries, the Jews were seen as primarily engaged in commerce and trade. They occupied middle class positions, were comparatively literate, dwell-in overwhelming proportions in urban areas. Among the concomitants of these characteristics is one glaring fact: the Jews were conspicuous during a period of rapid social and political change.

Among the by-products of the industrial revolution were improvements in transportation and communication. Just as these new developments jeopardized the middle man position of the Jew it also undermined the political influence of the nobility, the authority of the government, and the psychological security of the peasantry. These factors did much to explain the anti-Semitism of the time and the yearning among the Jews to leave European soil for the shores of America. And come to America they did, two million strong. In some years more than 100,000 landed on

our shores. Janowsky,[14] in writing of this process, states that:

> Between 1880 and 1920, American Jewry was completely transformed. In 1880, they numbered about 250,000 approximately one-half of one percent of the total population of some 50,000,000. In 1920, about 3,500,000 of the 106,000,000 inhabitants of the United States were Jews—nearly 3-1/2 percent of the population.

Thus, until the middle of the nineteenth century, the Jew could almost by default make a reasonable living. He could, among other things, serve as a middle man between the mobility and the peasantry. He could peddle agricultural products and process still others. By the end of the century, matters had deteriorated greatly and many, as we have seen above, came to the United States, a minute proportion of whom settled in Middletown, Connecticut.

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[14]Oscar I. Janowsky, The Jewish Welfare Board Survey (New York: The Dial Press, 1948), p. 259.

CHAPTER VI

EARLY RECORDS OF MIDDLETOWN JEWRY

In this chapter we discuss an index developed to assess the cultural growth of Middletown Jewry. This is followed by a review of what is known about early Jews in Connecticut and Middletown. The chapter concludes with a piecing together of early records currently on file in the Jewish community of Middletown.

The methodology of this study allows us to begin to develop at least one gross index which may begin to delineate the pattern of the development of the Jews in Middletown. The index is based on the assumption that births, marriages, and deaths are events which when occurring among members of an ethnic group serve to reify that group. A further assumption is made that if the total number of births, plus marriages, plus deaths in any time period occurring to members of a given ethnic group is divided by the total number of births, plus marriages, plus deaths in any given community, an Index of Vital Activity may be formed.

Figure 1 is such an index reflecting the development of Middletown Jewry. It demonstrates that the Jews never exceeded 1.91 per cent of the total number of births, deaths, and marriages in any given year. The years of highest proportional vital activity were 1903, 1931, and 1921, in that order. A slow general increase in vital activity is seen over the years commencing especially in the year 1871. Table 2 gives the figures by period while exact statistics can be seen in Appendix B. Armed with these figures, we are in a better position to begin to examine some of the early records amassed by the Jews of Middletown and other parts of Connecticut.

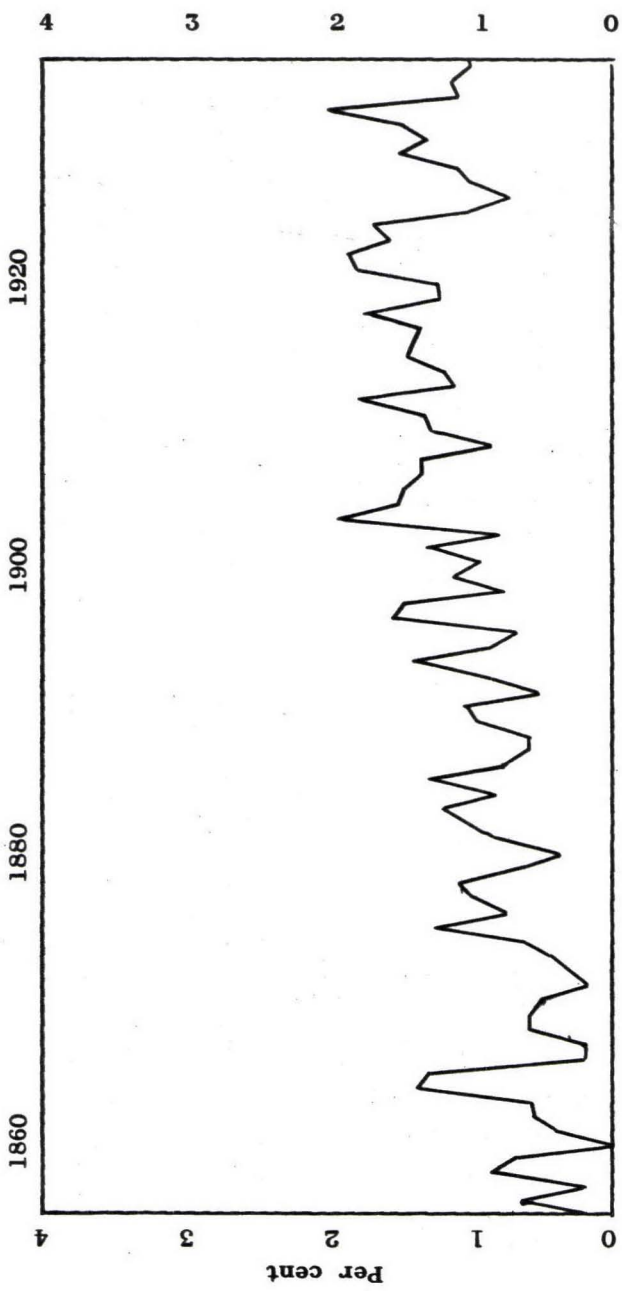


Figure 1—Index of Vital Activity

TABLE 2

INDEX OF VITAL ACTIVITY

Item	Years								
	1852–1869	1870–1879	1880–1889	1890–1899	1900–1909	1910–1919	1920–1929	1930–1934	Total
Number of Jews	39	40	53	84	149	214	190	90	856
Range of Jews	0–6	1–7	2–8	4–12	7–21	18–30	14–28	14–19	–
Total number	7,309	5,855	6,367	8,326	11,715	15,627	14,023	6,826	76,048
Total range	432–534	516–673	542–730	762–931	897–1,397	1,417–1,748	1,335–1,556	1,299–1,409	–
Percentage of Jews	0.53	0.68	0.83	1.01	1.91	1.37	1.36	1.32	1.13

One of the difficulties in delineating the historical patterns of a small ethnic minority in a little town alluded to above is the paucity of records left for posterity. The Jewish congregation of Middletown has for many years been holding an annual banquet. During the course of the evening a brochure is handed out. This booklet usually contains a two-page history of the Jews of Middletown. A perusal of these souvenir booklets bears testimony to the difficulty encountered by the writers in generating new material.

Over the period of this particular study, a few fragments and stories have been collected which can help us begin to highlight some of the history of the Jews of Middletown from the latter part of the nineteenth century until the present synagogue was erected in 1928.

First, however, let us recall that Jews were to be found in Connecticut in the seventeenth century. The Colonial Records of Connecticut speak of a "David, the Jew," who was a Hartford man.[1] The historian J. H. Trumbull wrote, "The peddler, Gentile and Jew . . . engaged the watch and care of authorities forthwith."[2] Rabbi Silverman

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[1]Hartford Session of the General Court, November 9, 1659, in Colonial Records of Connecticut (1636-1665), ed. by J. Hammon Trumbull, 1850, p. 345.

[2]J. Hammond Trumbull, Memorial History of Hartford

alerts us to a Town Meeting in Hartford wherein it was voted to permit the Jews living in John Marsh's home to remain in the city for seven months.[3] Assur Levy, one of the original Jewish settlers in 1654, paid a visit to Hartford in 1670 to aid a fellow Jew, Jacob Lucenae. The record reads, "Upon the humble petition of Mr. Assur Levy, this Court sees cause to abate five pounds of Jacob Lucenae's fine as a token of respect to sayd [sic] Mr. Assur Levy."[4]

A certain Dutch Jew by the name of John Carsen landed a shipment of goods in New London, Connecticut. Because he was a Jew, Carsen was regarded as an alien and not entitled to trade with the English plantation. In a previous discussion we learned that the first record of a Jew in Middletown was that of Isaac Solomon's, who filed a petition regarding the duty on certain goods imported by him from London.

Although Jews were to be found in early Connecticut history, there is important evidence that the political milieu did not favor them. The ratification of the Connecticut Constitution in 1818 did not offer the Jews equal

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County (Boston: Edward L. Osgood, 1886), Vol. I, pp. 320, 321.

[3]Morris Silverman, Hartford Jews 1659-1970 (Hartford: The Connecticut Historical Society, 1970), p. 5.

[4]Colonial Records of Connecticut (1665-1678).

opportunity to maintain their faith.

The Constitution of 1818 served to raise the consternation of certain people in Connecticut, among them some influential Middletownians. Thus, on page 1 of the Middlesex Gazette published on April 1, 1819, there is a poem quoted from the Philadelphia Franklin Gazette:[5]

> What! still reject the fated race
> Thus long denied repose—
> What—madly striving to efface
> The rights that heaven bestows?
>
> Say, flows not in each Jewish vein,
> Uncheck'd—without control;
> A tide as pure—as free from stain—
> as warms the Christian's soul!
>
> So ye not yet the times discern
> That these shall cease to roam
> That Shiloh, pledg' for their return
> Will bring his ransom'd home!

Over the following three decades we learned that Jews took an interest in a lead mine in Middletown. It is clear that Jews most probably passed through Middletown in the early years on their way to Hartford and that several indeed may have settled therein.

At this writing we know nothing from the Jews themselves of their history until 1889. An anonymous

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[5]Quoted in Silverman, Hartford Jews, pp. 6-7.

handwritten page[6] exists which traces the formation of the Jewish community to 1889 and alludes to its earliest founders. It reads as follows:

> The Jewish Community of Middletown traces its records back as far as [sic] to 1889. It consisted then of a very small community. It has been a matter of fact that wherever a a handfull of Jews have gathered, one of its principal acts was the establishment of a house of worship. The following were the first organizers of the present Jewish community:
>
> J. Mattes
> Pres-M.J. Poliner
> T. Anenberg
> J. Mittelman
> L. Gordon
> J. Gordon
> M. Ruderman
> J. Ruderman
> B. Citron
> Ab. Simonson
>
> as [sic] the community increased and the "Minyn" [sic] was in advocate [sic] to meet the requirements of the members, they however reorganized and took [sic] out a charter under the name "Adath Isroel." [sic] This took place in 1905. In 1908, they purchased a building in Union St. [sic] which was remodelled into a house of worship continuing as such up to the present time.

Israel Poliner, former Judge of the Superior Court of Middletown and a resident of long standing, places the history at least ten years prior to that stated above by our anonymous informant. The Judge relates that a minyan would assemble on a daily basis in the house of Jacob Mattes who resided in those years on Williams Street. He also echoes the oft repeated story of the typical Middletown

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[6]Early records of Adath Israel.

Jew as beginning his career in peddling. Thus, we are led to believe that many of Middletown's early Jews did not deviate from the patterns set by their co-religionists in other cities. Early Middletown Jews, Poliner relates, would travel to Hartford where they would be given a certain amount of goods to peddle. Soon they built up equity, and expanded their business, a number subsequently opening stores in the town.

The first legal document known to us at the present time and belonging to the Jewish community was co-signed by Samuel Mirowitz and Benjamin Ennowitch on March 13, 1897. The document represents a deed to purchase "one acre of land more or less" in the town of Portland. The parcel of land was purchased from Chester K. Hale, Harry T. Hale, and Titus Hale for the sum of "One Hundred Dollars and other goods and valuable considerations." This land was to be used as a cemetery.

The Synagogue has as part of its records a "Certificate of Acceptance and Certificate of Organization of Congregation Adath Israel, Middletown, Connecticut." This document tells us that the State Legislature on May 11, 1905, passed an act entitled "A Resolution Incorporating the Congregation Adath Israel Validating its Corporate Existence." These documents were duly and legally accepted by the persons associated as the Congregation Adath Israel

of Middletown, Connecticut, at a meeting held at 8:00 P.M. on April 2, 1929. Jacob Mattes and Samuel Auerbach as President and Secretary of the Congregation, respectively, signed the papers on April 3, 1929, before Joseph L. Rosano, Notary of the Public. The Treasurer of the Congregation was Harry L. Shapiro and it is a matter of deep personal pleasure for the author to report that he continues to this day to occupy this position.

With the exception of the erection of the present edifice in 1928 which will be discussed shortly, very little is known about Middletown's Jews. Simon Edelberg relates that in 1913, there were three kosher butcher shops and a mikvah on Summer Street. It is also known that in the first decade of this century and previous to that, the Jews prayed in rented halls usually on the third floor of various buildings. The fact that halls could be rented only on the upper floors perhaps bears testimony to the difficulty in acquiring space.

One such rented hall belonged to Max Frank, a grocer whose son Harry became one of the town's very first Jewish physicians. It was fitting that Dr. Frank was elected chairman of the dedication ceremonies for the new and still standing edifice, ceremonies which took place on Sunday afternoon, May 5, 1929.

The very first synagogue owned by Middletown's Jews was located on the corner of Union and Summer Streets on the East Side of the town. Although this particular edifice still stands, it was at that time considered a fire trap. The first floor was used as a Hebrew School, while prayers were conducted above.

The year 1913 witnessed a serious controversy between the Kol Bo or "Jack of All Trades" of the congregation, Samuel Vernikoff, and its members. Vernikoff claimed that the members of the congregation owed him $4,000 for services rendered. Vernikoff had already moved out of the city. The controversy lasted for six months until a series of rabbinical courts decided in favor of the cleric. A sum considerably less than $4,000 was settled upon. By the mid-nineteen-twenties, discussion centered around whether or not to maintain the edifice on Union Street. Remaining in the East Side of the city would necessitate a radical redecorating of the premises. Some influential men advocated such a plan and an architect by the name of Carl Segerberg reported that a satisfactory undertaking could be accomplished for the sum of $22,000. After much debate, these directions were abandoned in favor of purchasing land and erecting a new building.

Thus, on January 25, 1928, a meeting was called in the home of Max Levine. The first order of business was

the election of officers of a General Committee. The duly elected committee consisted of Jacob Mattes, Morris Poliner, Benjamin Langer, Simon Edelberg, Harry Shapiro, David Curkin, and the host, Max Levine. The committee was subsequently enlarged to include Samuel Mattes, Jacob Kabatznick, Harry Schor, Louis Mittelman, Abraham Curkin, Philip Levson, and Israel Poliner. Present at the first meeting were Max Levine, Simon Edelberg, Samuel Mattes, Jacob Mattes, Harry Shapiro, Abe Curkin, David Curkin, Jacob Kabatznick, Benjamin Langer, and Israel Poliner. The officers of the General Committee who were elected were as follows: Chairman, Max Levine; Vice Chairman, Louis Mittleman; Recording Secretary, Israel Poliner; Financial Secretary, Benjamin Langer; and Treasurer, Simon Edelberg.

Sub-committee chairmen were then elected. Samuel Mattes was named Chairman of the Finance Committee. Jacob Kabatznick was to head the Building Committee assisted by Harry Shapiro as Vice-Chairman, and Louis Mittelman was to head the Publicity Committee. Each committee chairman was empowered to enlarge his group as he saw fit, even from members not on the General Committee. The Poliner Building was to become the headquarters for the Building Fund. Max Levine reported that $10,400 had already been pledged and Simon Edelberg was empowered to deposit the Adath Israel

Building Fund monies at a bank of his choice.

The Building Committee worked fast and on January 29, 1928, a second meeting was held at the office of Atty. Israel Poliner. Those present included Jacob Mattes, Samuel Mattes, Max Levine, Simon Edelberg, Benjamin Langer, Harry Schor, Jacob Kabatznick, Philip Levson, Louis Mittleman, Harry Shapiro, and Israel Poliner.

After the minutes of the first meeting were read and approved, members of the General Committee were formed into teams of two to secure pledges. The following teams were named: Jacob Mattes and Benjamin Langer; David Curkin and Harry Shapiro; Simon Edelberg and Abe Curkin; Philip Levson and Israel Poliner; Sam Mattes and Max Levine. Cards containing the names of the Jewish inhabitants were distributed to the teams who were asked to secure pledges by the following Sunday. The results were to be at that Sunday meeting to be held in the home of Harry Schor. Jacob Kabatznick then announced the additional members of his Building Committee as follows: Jacob Mattes, Samuel Mattes, and Benjamin Langer.

At the February 5th meeting, the various teams reported pledges amounting to $24,315 with a number of potential subscribers as yet unsolicited. Jacob Kabatznick announced that his committee would visit synagogues in other cities.

A meeting was held on February 8th in the home of Simon Edelberg. At this meeting the various teams brought in other signed pledges totalling $575. Adding these figures together with other unsigned pledges swelled the total in the coffer to $27,000.

Israel Poliner hosted the following meeting on February 12th in his office. Sam Mattes reported that it would be advisable to see the Gentiles concerning pledges for the Synagogue and after much discussion it was decided that Max Levine was to see a Mr. Mortison and report at the next meeting.

There were those who were adamantly opposed to the erection of a new building and consequently withheld their pledges. In anticipation of retribution, they invested in their own cemetery lot.

Still another controversy surrounded the architectural design of the new edifice. On the one side were those of the more orthodox persuasion who wanted the altar placed in the center while others wanted it erected on the north side. The more liberal faction prevailed.

A February 19th meeting in the office of Israel Poliner yielded the advice of Max Levine that the time was not yet ripe to approach the Gentile community for contributions. Jacob Kabatznick then reported that his committee had visited the Emanuel, Garden Street and Bedford

Street Synagogues in Hartford, and they were most impressed with the architecture of the New Britain Synagogue they had seen previously. The entire building committee decided to visit New Britain on Wednesday at 1:00 P.M. with architects.

At the February 26th meeting held in the office of Israel Poliner, Jacob Kabatznick reported on the visit to New Britain of his committee and the architects. The architects were asked to submit plans by March 10th.

Israel Poliner again hosted a meeting on March 10 at which time the question of a new lot arose. After much discussion a committee consisting of Simon Edelberg, Harry Shapiro and Samuel Mattes was appointed to investigate the facts of the lot at the corner of Broad and Church Streets and to report back that Wednesday night such factors as actual cost and description.

By the time of the April first meeting held in the office of Israel Poliner, a deposit was already put down on the above mentioned lot. The problem of raising money and moving the house on the lot was discussed. Various contractors submitted bids to remove the house and Santi Annino was awarded the contract.

Simon Edelberg reported that $2,680.55 in pledges was collected. He also reported that the First National Bank had agreed to lend the committee $30,000.00 at 5-1/2

per cent interest. Israel Poliner was charged with learning whether the Central National Bank could better that interest rate.

The architect Golden was engaged to draw up plans for the building with the provision that he was to keep the entire building cost below $50,000. In the event that this figure was to be exceeded, Golden was not to be paid.

A week later at a meeting again held in the office of Atty. Poliner, the committee decided to accept Santi Annino's bid of $1,500.00 to move the house on the lot. Mr. Edelberg was to inform the tenants that the building was to be removed.

The offer of the First National Bank was accepted while Mr. Edelberg also reported that the amount of pledges collected was $4,264.53 for which $900.00 was to be deducted, leaving a balance of $3,364.53.

The April 15th meeting in Poliner's office witnesses the Treasurer's report showing collections amounting to $6,397.18, out of which sum $911.95 was paid out leaving a balance of $5,485.23. The deeds for the purchase of the lot and property at Broad and Church Street were to be executed the next day, and Simon Edelberg as Treasurer was authorized to borrow $2,000.00. The minutes of this meeting read that, "Practicully [sic] all of the members of the general committee present at the

meeting endorsed the note of $30,000.00 to the First National Bank."

By the time of the April 22nd meeting in Atty. Poliner's office, the Treasurer was able to report that $7,672.45 had been collected and that after paying the bills a balance of $373.77 remained. It was also reported that the house had been moved.

Golden, the architect, reported on the progress of his plans. The committee decided to have twelve copies of the plans and to require a $50.00 deposit from each contractor submitting plans and specifications.

On May 13th, the committee met in Poliner's office to discuss the awarding of the contract for the new building. Mr. Harry Shapiro made a motion seconded by one of the Mattes' to award the contract to Santi A. Annino for $52,000, and subject to the approval of the congregation. The motion was carried.

Two weeks later the committee met in Poliner's office and voted to pay the architect $300.00. Annino, the contractor, was to be paid $1,000.00 on the moving of the house, the sum of $250.00 already having been paid.

Annino presented a bill of $1,650.00 for moving the house and an additional one of $38.92. The committee voted to rent the rear tenement in the house to an L. Goldberg for the sum of $15.00 a month. The front tenement

was to be rented as soon as possible for $45.00 per month.

The following two meetings held in Atty. Poliner's office on June 3rd and 24th dealt with minor bills which had to be paid.

The last record of meetings at this writing tells us that the meeting of October 14, 1928, took place in Atty. Poliner's office and that a decision was reached to solicit contributions from the "Goyim"—Gentiles. Members of the committee were given a list of names on printed cards from whom to solicit pledges.

Mr. Simon Edelberg reported that $14,908.38 had been collected and that $15,200.00 had been loaned from the bank. The sum of $17,865.23 had been paid to Annino leaving a mere seventy cents in the bank.

A list exists of donors at the groundbreaking amounting to $400.00. There were seventeen donors with Benjamin Langer contributing $150.00 and Mrs. Ida Wrubel $110.00.

A frayed list of donors at the laying of the cornerstone dated September 9, 1928, tells us that forty-five donors contributed the sum of $1,050.00. Heading the list of donors was Mrs. Goldie Poliner who contributed $275.00, while Mr. Joseph Eisenstein's donation amounted to $150.00.

As of this writing in 1973, we do not have any further material from which to reconstruct a cultural history of the

Jews of Middletown. The Synagogue did get built and it behooves us to read an exact account of it as reported in the Monday evening, May 6, 1929, version of The Middletown Press entitled, "New Synagogue Dedicated to Master's Work."[7]

It must have been a tremendous learning experience for the Gentiles who partook in the afternoon's activities. The staff writer for this article, now Senior Editor of the newspaper, told this author that he kept nervously fiddling with his hat all afternoon not quite sure whether or not it was proper to wear one.

NEW SYNAGOGUE DEDICATED TO MASTER'S WORK

Christian and Jews Unite in Impressive Ceremonies Held Yesterday

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Many Inspect Handsome Interior of Structure

Need of United Effort in Working Out God's Commands Is Emphasized

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Simple, but impressive exercises marked the formal dedication of the new synagogue of the Congregation Adath Israel held Sunday afternoon in the new temple of worship that Middletown Jewry has so recently completed at Church and Broad Streets. In the soft light of a beautiful early spring afternoon, Protestant and

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[7]The Middletown Press, May 6, 1929, pp. 1-2.

Jew, laity and clergy met before the same altar to pay respects to the Almighty and dedicate properly the building to His use. The main auditorium of the building was filled to capacity as the hour of the opening exercises arrived and there were but few empty spaces in the galleries that surround the temple enclosure. Many took the occasion to inspect the entire premises prior to the proceedings and were deeply impressed with the modern plant that has been put into use.

On the platform behind the altar and below the eternal light, the stone tablets emblematical of Moses' teachings, were seated a group of Middletown Protestant clergy, the mayor of the city, and members of the committee in charge of arrangements. All of the latter were in formal clothes. Clergymen occupying the seat of honor included Rev. Frank Flood German, S.T.D., rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity; Rev. Ralph A. Christie, pastor of the First Congregational church; Rev. Herbert D. Rollason, pastor of the South Congregational church; Rev. Henry C. Speed, pastor of the First Baptist church; and Rev. Marion J. Creeger, pastor of the First Methodist church, all of this city. Others in the group were Rabbi Morris Silverman of Emanuel synagogue, Hartford; Rabbi Samuel Wiernikoff of Adath Israel synagogue; Dr. Harry S. Frank, chairman of the dedicatory exercises; and Lawrence White of Buffalo, N.Y., secretary of the grand lodge, Independent Order of B'Nai Brith.

The invocation was given by Rabbi Wiernikoff, who impressively intoned the words in Hebrew and this was followed by a pleasant word of welcome by Dr. Frank. He cited the unique gathering under one roof, Christian and Jewry, and bespoke a continuance of the good feeling now existing between the various creeds. He read congratulatory letters from the Brotherhood of the First Methodist Episcopal church; Rev. Charles M. Kavanagh, assistant pastor of St. John's R. C. church; Rev. Henry C. Speed, minister of the First Baptist church, and Rev. Ernest F. Hingkeldey, pastor of St. Paul's German Evangelical Lutheran church.

Rabbi Silverman was then introduced and was listened to with the closest attention as he made his dedicatory address. At the outset he offered a prayer of thanksgiving in Hebrew and translated it in the English tongue also using this same means of expression on other occasions in his remarks. He lauded the community for its effort in erecting the temple of worship and predicted that it marked an epoch of good will among religions, contending that a diversity of opinions and

attitudes was always desirable.

"We need unity—not uniformity—and a spirit of understanding," he said.

The Jews, he pointed out, were the first to emphasize religion and were commanded by God "to build a sanctuary," taking this from the Scriptures. He likened the Jewish House of God as a place for prayer; one for learning and also a place for social gatherings. In closing he said that hatred and intrigue should not invade such a holy place, but that it should be a place to inspire nobler living, that Jew and Christian might labor better for a nobler humanity.

Mayor Frederick J. Bielefield followed Rabbi Silverman and extended the congratulations and best wishes of the citizens of Middletown for the splendid addition to the local church group. "May God's richest blessing follow you through the years to come," said the mayor in expressing the thought uppermost in his mind.

Dr. German opened his address by quoting from Proverbs, "where there is no vision, the people must perish." Not so in Middletown where the dream of many years in the hearts of local Jewry had at last been fulfilled. This, he contended, would enrich the life of the city as it was their vision translated into action. He strongly emphasized the need for a deepened background to contend with present day situations. Such a background, he said, would be furnished by the synagogue and would make its worshippers a sounder and a happier people.

Rev. Ralph A. Christie said that to him the synagogue represented an ability to serve, and a sacrifice and he lauded the efforts that had made it possible. The Jewish people had earned the right to serve, five of them were with Columbus on his memorable voyage many centuries ago, a Jew aided George Washington in time of dire need and Abraham Lincoln was counseled by the writings of Hebrews and the inspiration of the prophets. Mr. Christie emphasized that Protestants wished a continuance of the good feeling that was manifested there. "We want to work with you and we are all one in civic righteousness," he said.

Mr. White, the closing speaker, emphasized the need of cooperation on the part of all peoples for the common good and cited that this was the first community he had visited as an officer of the lodge which had aided so generously in the erection of the local synagogue, where he had witnessed such co-operation between Jew and Gentile, but also among the Jews, orthodox and reformed.

Rabbi Silverman pronounced the benediction in both Hebrew and English, while the assemblage stood with bowed heads and then silently filed out.

CHAPTER VII

BIRTH

This chapter is addressed to births among Middletown Jewry. It begins with a review of some of the studies which have dealt with Jewish births and continues with a brief methodology section. The findings are then presented and we conclude with a brief discussion of them.

Background

A number of studies have in whole or in part addressed themselves to births among the Jews. Among the very first to do so was John S. Billings,[1] who gathered data on 10,618 Jewish families including 60,630 persons who had been living in the United States for five years as of December 31, 1889. Billings found that the average number of births per 1,000 Jewish women aged 15 to 40 was 66.92. The sex ratio found was 91.29 females/100 males and 109.53 males/100 females.

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[1] John S. Billings, "Vital Statistics of the Jews," North American Review, 152: 70-84, 1891.

In addressing himself to the number of children born to Jewish women, Billings wrote:

> The average number of children born to each mother was 4.66, the greatest proportion being 5.63 for Russian and Polish mothers, and the least 3.56, among mothers born in the United States. The proportion to German mothers was 5.24, to Hungarian 5.27, to Bohemian 5.44.[2]

J. B. Maller[3] compared Jewish demographic figures with those of the larger New York City area finding that the birth rate for the Jews in the areas he studied was somewhat lower than that for the entire New York population. The birth rate for the Jews was 16.9, while among the rest of the community it was 17.5.

Maller also found the Jewish infant mortality rate significantly lower than that of the total population in the city. Stillbirths per 1,000 live births indicated a lower rate among the Jews than for the rest of the community, being 42.4 among the former and 46.8 among the latter.

Mortimer Spiegelman[4] writing on a Canadian Jewish population of 170,241 enumerated in the census of June 1,

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[2] Ibid., pp. 75-76.

[3] J. B. Maller, "A Study of Jewish Neighborhoods in New York City," Jewish Social Service Quarterly, 10: 271-276, 1934.

[4] Mortimer Spiegelman, "The Longevity of Jews in Canada, 1940-1942," Population Studies, 2: 292-304 (1948-1949).

1941, derived similar infant mortality figures. His data led him to conclude that "Jewish infants in Canada start life with a mortality in the first year only two-fifths of that for the entire population. This advantage for Jews is observed through childhood, adolescence and early maturity."[5]

Bessie Bloom Wessel[6] gathered data on 490 Jewish families with 1,885 people. The survey was made in 1938 in New London, Connecticut. Her figures indicate that the average Jewish family had 2.5 children and that foreign-born women had more children than native mothers in each age group.

Wessel also analyzed data for a nearby town, Norwich, Connecticut, and the results of her analysis are found in the same article cited above.[7] Data in this town were gathered in 1938 for 1,647 Jews comprising 439 families. The average number of children born to Jewish women was exactly the same as that reported in New London, specifically, 2.5. As in New London, the foreign-born Jewish

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[5] Ibid., p. 302.

[6] Bessie Bloom Wessel, "A Comparative Study of the Jewish Communities of New London and Norwich, 1938," in Jewish Population Studies, ed. by Sophia M. Robison (New York: Conference on Jewish Relations, 1943), pp. 51-80.

[7] Ibid., pp. 70-80.

women in every age group reported having greater numbers of children than their native-born correligionists.

The ratio of males to females among Jews in the sample of births was 118 to 100 compared to 105.5 to 100 in the general population.

About 17 per cent of Jewish mothers had previously given birth to at least two children. This is in comparison to 26 per cent among all white mothers.

David M. Liberson[8] in a study of the mortality of New York Jews found:

> . . . The Jewish infant death rate . . . about 16 per 1,000 live births. The non-Jewish rate was . . . between 23 and 24 per 1,000 live births. The Jewish rate was thus about a third lower than the non-Jewish one.[9]

He also found a considerably lower pregnancy-maternity birth rate among Jews as compared with Catholics.

Liberson addressed himself to the average age of mothers at childbirth finding the Jewish women to be 28.5 while that of all white mothers was less than 27. He also found that only 4 per cent of Jewish mothers used general rather than private wards in the hospitals, compared to

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[8]David M. Liberson, "Causes of Death Among Jews in New York in 1953," Jewish Social Studies, 18: 83-117, 1956.

[9]Ibid., p. 98.

24 per cent of all mothers.

Kurt Gorwitz[10] came to similar conclusions, as the others cited above, with respect to Jewish infant mortality rate. He wrote that " . . . the white infant mortality and stillbirth rates in St. Louis during 1955-1957 were 20.7 and 14.5 respectively. The annual Jewish infant death rate is between 10.3 and 12.6, while the stillbirth rate is between 7.5 and 9.2."

Nathan Goldberg[11] has given us an illuminating perspective on the over-all demographic position of American Jews. Goldberg remarks that the cumulative fertility rate of the Yiddish speaking Jewish immigrant in 1940 showed this group's birth rate decelerating at a much more rapid pace than that of other immigrants and the native-white population. Yiddish-speaking immigrant women generally had higher birth rates than native-white mothers.

Goldberg offers a number of studies showing that Jews have fewer children than non-Jews and that the infant and childhood survival rate is higher among the Jews than among the non-Jews.

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[10]Kurt Gorwitz, "Jewish Mortality in St. Louis and St. Louis County, 1955-1957," Jewish Social Studies, 24: 248-254, 1962, p. 250.

[11]Nathan Goldberg, "Demographic Characteristics of American Jews," in Jews in the Modern World, ed. by Jacob Fried (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1962), II, 632-717.

Methodology

In order to gather information for this analysis all 32,220 birth certificates on record in the Middletown Health Department from the middle of the eighteenth century until 1935 were perused. Five hundred thirty-eight or 1.67 per cent were identified as belonging to infants, one of whose parents was Jewish. Once a Jewish certificate was identified, the very next one belonging to a non-Jew was used. In order to comply with the law, pseudonyms are given in place of actual names. A sample birth certificate forms Appendix C, while an explication of the coding is given in Appendix D.

The Data

Sarah Jonas was born in Middletown in 1854. Miss Jonas was white, her father a clothier, and she was delivered by Dr. William B. Casey. Six days later Frederick Wilson became the father of an infant son. Young Wilson was white, his father, a stone cutter, was twenty-five years old (approximately). Dr. William Bell brought young Wilson into the world.

A little more than eighty years later, on December 30, 1934, to be exact, Feivel Fishman was born. His father's name was Jerome Fishman while his mother was Rebecca

Weinstein. Young Fishman's father was a thirty-one-years-old milliner who was born in Waterbury, Connecticut, while his mother was twenty-eight years old and born in Brooklyn, New York. Feivel was their first child and Dr. Julius Grower brought him into the world. That same day Barbara Stanwell was born to Carl Stanwell and the former Andria Wilk. Mr. Stanwell, a driller, was born in Maine, his wife, in Middletown. Both parents were white. Barbara was a first child and was brought into the world by Dr. Norman E. Gissler.

Birth Rates

We are in no position to calculate Jewish birth rates in the strict sense of the term, since calculation of such rates is based on knowledge of the number of Jewish women of childbearing age living in the town on an annual basis. The latter information could not be ascertained. Nevertheless, we are able to look at the proportion of Jewish births relative to non-Jews.

Data offered in Figure 2 show that the Jewish proportion of births increased slowly from 1852-1879, jumping dramatically between 1880 and 1910. A decrease took place between 1910 and 1930 with a very slight increase taking place during the first half of the fourth decade. The year 1903 saw the highest proportional birth rate increase,

15 Jewish births out of a total of 400 births, or 3.75 per cent. Table 3 gives us the figures pertaining to Figure 2 while data in Appendix E give us an annual breakdown.

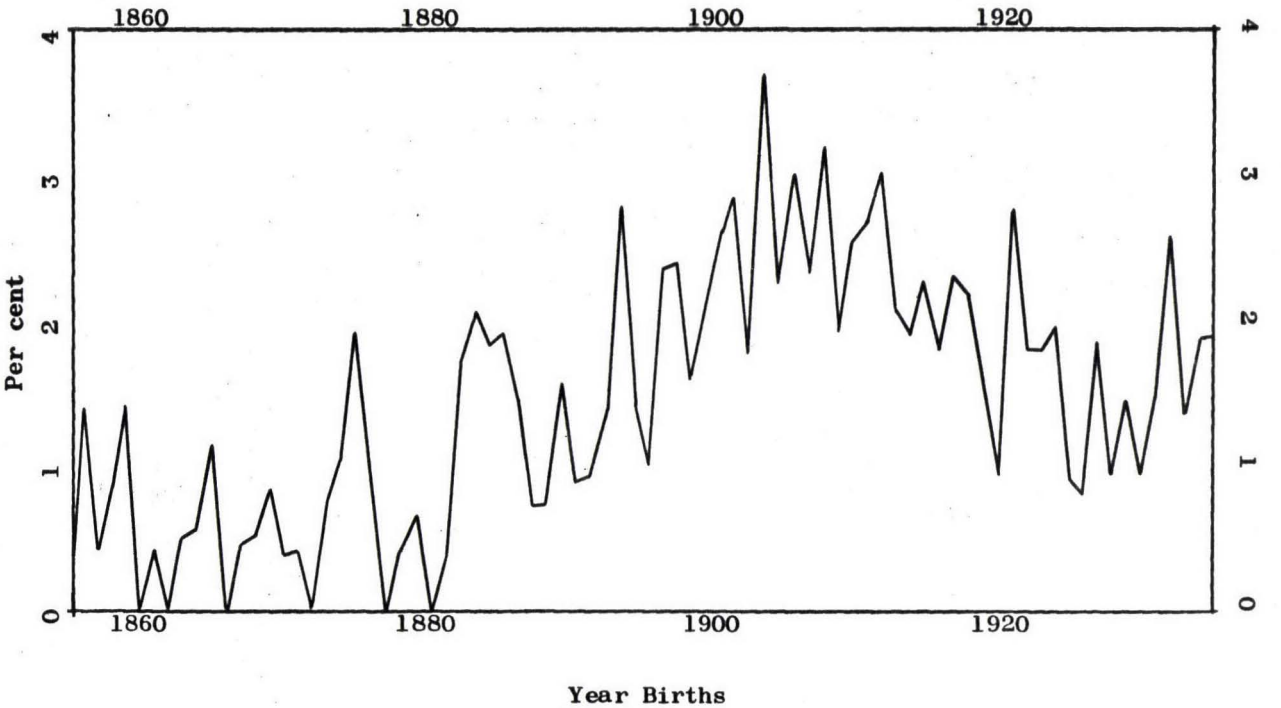


Figure 2

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH BIRTHS OVER TIME

Item	Years								
	1854-1869	1870-1879	1880-1889	1890-1899	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929	1930-1934	Total
Number of Jewish births	18	20	30	62	120	133	101	54	538
Range of Jewish births	0-3	0-5	0-5	3-11	6-17	6-18	6-19	8-11	
Total number of births	3,089	2,499	2,634	3,597	4,523	6,043	6,548	2,927	32,220
Range of births	169-236	215-293	232-311	318-393	313-581	550-727	614-719	551-606	
Percentage of Jewish births	0.58	0.80	1.14	1.72	2.65	2.08	1.54	1.85	1.67

Sex of Infant

More boys were born to Jewish parents than among the non-Jews. For the entire period of the study as witnessed in Table 4, 54.3 per cent of Jewish births were males, while 45.7 of the non-Jewish children were male.

The preponderance of male children among the Jews is evidenced in all three periods of our study. During the periods 1854-1869 and 1890-1899, the sex proportions among the two groups were approximately equal.

TABLE 4

SEX OF INFANT

Religion	Male	Female	Unknown	Total
		1854-1899		
Jew	50.4	50.0		
	50.0	50.0		
	66	66		132
Non-Jew	49.6	50.0	100	
	49.2	50.0	0.8	
	65	66	1	132
		1900-1919		
Jew	56.7	43.1	100	
	56.5	43.1	0.4	
	143	109	1	253
Non-Jew	43.3	56.9		
	43.1	56.9		
	109	144		253
		1920-1934		
Jew	53.5	46.4		
	54.2	45.8		
	84	71		155
Non-Jew	46.5	53.6		
	47.1	52.9		
	73	82		155

TABLE 4—Continued

Religion	Male	Female	Unknown	Total
		All Ages		
Jew	54.3	45.7	50.0	
	54.3	45.6	0.2	
	293	246	1	540
Non-Jew	45.7	54.3	50.0	
	45.7	54.1	0.2	
	247	292	1	540
		Per cent and Total		
	50.0	49.8	0.2	100.0
	540	538	2	1,080

Religion of Parents

It will be recalled that in order to qualify for inclusion in this analysis, at least one of the parents had to be identified as Jewish. As such, there conceivably could have been a child with one non-Jewish parent. This was to be the case only twice and in both events it was the mother who was not Jewish. This happened once in the period 1870-1879 and again in the 1930-1934 period.

Birthplace of Parents

Mothers

Most Jewish mothers who gave birth to children in Middletown were themselves born either in Russia, Poland, or Roumania. Total figures given as part of Table 5 show that close to 70 per cent of Jewish mothers were born in eastern Europe in contrast to approximately fifteen per cent among non-Jewish mothers. The United States accounted for the next highest proportion of maternal nativity among the Jews while among the non-Jews America ranked first as a birthplace.

High proportions of eastern European mothers could be seen throughout especially during the 1900-1919 period. By 1920-1934, about ten per cent of the Jewish mothers were born in Middletown compared with about eighteen per

cent among the non-Jews. The proportion of Jewish mothers born in Middletown compared with non-Jewish mothers jumped dramatically between the second and third major periods of the study, as did their comparative figures for other parts of the United States.

Many more Jewish women came from Germany, Austria, and Bohemia than was the case among non-Jews, although the proportion of Jewish women deriving from these countries declined steadily through the years.

Fathers

Most Jewish fathers came either from Russia, Poland, or Roumania, more than eight out of ten. As shown by figures given in Table 6, more than four times as many Jewish fathers derived from eastern Europe as non-Jewish fathers. The years of the highest proportion of fathers deriving from eastern Europe compared with non-Jewish fathers occurred during the 1900-1919 era. During the entire period of the study, only one in eight Jewish fathers was born in the United States in contrast to over four out of ten in the case of the non-Jews. We do not find anything approaching a linear increase in the proportion of Jewish fathers born in the United States. The same was found to be the case among Jewish mothers.

A sizeable number of Jewish fathers came from Germany, Austria, or Bohemia, almost twice the proportion as found among the non-Jews. As might be expected, the proportion of fathers deriving from these countries was highest during the nineteenth century and steadily decreased over time. The same can be found among the non-Jewish mothers.

TABLE 5

BIRTHPLACE OF MOTHER

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1854-1899		
Middletown	22.2 5.3 6	77.8 18.4 21	11.9	27
United States	33.9 17.7 20	66.1 34.2 39	26.0	59
Germany, Austria, Bohemia	60.9 12.4 14	39.1 7.9 9	10.1	23
England	56.3 8.0 9	43.8 6.1 7	7.0	16
Russia, Poland, Roumania	91.5 47.8 54	8.5 4.4 5	26.0	59
Ireland		100.0 23.3 14	6.2	14
Italy	25.0 0.9 1	75.0 2.6 3	1.8	4
Scotland		100.0 0.9 1	0.4	1
France			0.0	0
Canada		100.0 3.5 4	1.8	4

TABLE 5—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1854-1899 (Continued)		
Sweden		100.0 9.6 11	4.8	11
Hungary	100.0 7.1 8		4.8	11
Lithuania			0.0	0
Bavaria	100.0 0.9 1		0.4	1
Syria				
Holland				
Greece				
Total	49.8 113	50.2 114	100.0	227
		1900-1919		
Middletown	7.4 0.8 2	92.6 10.0 25	5.4	27
United States	17.1 5.1 13	82.9 25.1 63	15.1	76
Germany, Austria, Bohemia	58.7 14.6 37	41.3 10.4 26	12.5	63

TABLE 5—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1900-1919 (Continued)		
England		100.0 2.0 5	1.0	5
Russia, Poland, Roumania	82.0 71.9 182	18.0 15.9 40	44.0	222
Ireland		100.0 5.2 13	2.6	13
Italy		100.0 22.7 57	0.2	1
Scotland		100.0 0.4 1	0.2	1
France		100.0 0.8 2	0.4	2
Canada		100.0 1.2 3	0.6	3
Sweden	6.7 0.4 1	93.3 5.6 14	3.0	15
Hungary	100.0 7.1 18		3.6	18
Lithuania			0.0	0
Bavaria			0.0	0

TABLE 5—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1900-1919 (Continued)		
Syria		100.0 0.8 2	0.8	2
Holland				
Greece				
Total	50.2 253	49.8 251	100.0	504
		1920-1934		
Middletown	36.4 10.3 16	63.6 18.1 28	14.2	44
United States	59.2 37.4 58	40.8 25.8 40	31.6	98
Germany, Austria, Bohemia	81.8 5.8 9	18.2 1.3 2	3.5	11
England	100.0 1.9 3		1.0	3
Russia, Poland, Roumania	65.9 42.6 66	30.5 18.7 29	30.6	95
Ireland		100.0 2.6 4	1.3	4
Italy		100.0 29.0 45	14.5	45

TABLE 5—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1920-1934 (Continued)		
Scotland			0.0	0
France		100.0 1.3 2	0.6	2
Canada		100.0 1.3 2	0.6	2
Sweden		100.0 1.3 2	0.6	2
Hungary	100.0 1.3 2		0.6	2
Lithuania			0.0	0
Bavaria			0.0	0
Syria				
Holland	100.0 0.6 1		0.3	1
Greece		100.0 0.6 1	0.3	1
Total	50.0 155	50.0 155	100.0	310

TABLE 5—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per Cent	Total
		All Ages		
Middletown	24.5 4.6 24	75.5 14.2 74	9.4	98
United States	39.1 17.5 91	60.9 27.3 142	22.4	233
Germany, Austria, Bohemia	61.9 11.5 60	38.1 7.1 37	9.3	97
England	50.0 2.3 12	50.0 2.3 12	2.3	24
Russia, Poland, Roumania	80.3 58.0 302	19.7 14.2 74	36.1	376
Ireland		100.0 6.0 31	3.0	31
Italy	0.9 0.2 1	99.1 20.2 105	10.2	106
Scotland		100.0 0.4 2	0.2	2
France		100.0 0.8 4	0.4	4
Canada		100.0 1.7 9	0.9	9

TABLE 5—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		All Ages (Continued)		
Sweden	3.6 0.2 1	96.4 5.2 27	2.7	28
Hungary	100.0 5.4 28		2.7	28
Lithuania			0.0	0
Bavaria	100.0 0.2 1		0.2	2
Syria		100.0 0.4 2	0.2	2
Holland	100.0 0.2 1		0.1	1
Greece		100.0 0.2 1	0.1	1
Total	50.0 520	50.0 520	100.0	1,040

TABLE 6

BIRTHPLACE OF FATHER

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1854-1899		
Middletown	16.2 5.3 6	83.8 27.2 31	16.2	37
Other United States	24.4 19.6 11	75.6 29.8 34	19.7	45
Germany, Austria, Bohemia	68.8 19.3 22	31.3 8.8 10	14.0	32
England		100.0 3.5 4	1.8	4
Russia, Poland, Roumania	91.5 57.0 65	8.5 5.3 6	31.1	71
Ireland		100.0 9.6 11	4.8	11
Italy	25.0 0.9 1	75.0 2.6 3	1.8	4
Scotland			0.0	0
France			0.0	0
Canada		100.0 2.6 3	1.3	3
Sweden		100.0 10.5 12	5.3	12

TABLE 6—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1854-1899 (Continued)		
Hungary	100.0 7.0 8		3.5	8
Bavaria	100.0 0.9 1		0.4	1
Syria				
Holland				
Greece				
Total	50.0 114	50.0 114	100.0	228
		1900-1919		
Middletown	5.4 0.8 2	94.6 13.9 35	7.4	37
Other United States	9.8 2.4 6	90.2 21.8 55	12.1	61
Germany, Austria, Bohemia	57.6 15.1 38	42.4 11.1 28	13.1	66
England	16.7 0.4 1	83.3 2.0 5	1.2	6
Russia, Poland, Roumania	82.1 76.9 193	17.9 16.7 42	46.7	235

TABLE 6—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1900-1919 (Continued)		
Ireland		100.0 2.8 7	1.4	7
Italy		100.0 23.0 58	11.5	58
Scotland		100.0 0.4 1	0.2	1
France		100.0 0.4 1	0.2	1
Canada		100.0 1.6 4	0.8	4
Sweden		100.0 5.6 14	2.8	14
Hungary	100.0 4.4 11		2.2	11
Bavaria			0.0	0
Syria		100.0 0.8 2	0.4	2
Holland				
Greece				
Total	49.9 251	50.1 252	100.0	503

TABLE 6—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1920-1934		
Middletown	40.0 9.1 14	60.0 13.5 21	11.3	35
Other United States	36.6 16.9 26	63.4 29.0 45	23.0	11
Germany, Austria Bohemia	75.0 5.8 9	25.0 1.9 3	3.9	12
England		100.0 0.6 1	0.3	1
Russia, Poland, Roumania	78.2 67.5 104	21.8 18.7 29	43.0	133
Ireland		100.0 1.3 2	0.6	2
Italy		100.0 32.9 51	16.5	51
Scotland			0.0	0
France			0.0	0
Canada		100.0 1.3 2	0.6	2
Sweden			0.0	0
Hungary			0.0	0

TABLE 6—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1920-1934 (Continued)		
Bavaria			0.0	0
Syria			0.0	0
Holland	100.0 0.6 1		0.3	1
Greece		100.0 0.6 1	0.3	1
Total	49.8 154	50.2 155	100.0	309
		Total		
Middletown	20.2 4.2 22	79.8 16.7 87	10.5	109
Other United States	24.3 8.3 43	75.7 25.7 134	17.0	177
Germany, Austria, Bohemia	62.7 13.3 69	37.3 7.9 41	10.6	110
England	9.1 0.2 1	90.9 1.9 10	1.1	11
Russia, Poland, Roumania	82.5 69.7 362	17.5 14.8 77	42.2	439

TABLE 6—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		Total (Continued)		
Ireland		100.0 3.8 20	1.9	20
Italy	0.9 0.2 1	99.1 21.5 112	10.9	113
Scotland		100.0 0.2 1	0.1	1
France		100.0 0.2 1	0.1	1
Canada		100.0 1.7 9	0.9	9
Sweden		100.0 5.0 26	2.5	26
Hungary	100.0 3.7 19		1.8	19
Bavaria	100.0 0.2 1		0.1	1
Syria		100.0 0.4 2	0.2	2
Holland	100.0 0.2 1		0.1	1

TABLE 6—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		Total (Continued)		
Greece		100.0 0.2 1	0.1	1
Total	49.9 519	50.1 521	100.0	1,040

Race of Parents

There were six sets of black parents who took part in the study. In every case, these people were non-Jews. Three black couples were found in the first period, two in the second, and one in the third.

Nature of Birth

By nature of birth is meant whether the infant was born live or dead. As the literature suggests might be the case, the Jews of Middletown did not have as many stillbirths as was the case among non-Jews. Table 7 shows that for the entire period of the study, there were a total of forty-three stillbirths, twenty-one of whom belonged to Jews. Although numbers are low, they do suggest a lower proportion of stillbirths among the Jews during the first two periods and a higher one during the third. One is nevertheless impressed with the relatively high infant mortality figures among Middletown Jewish children.

TABLE 7

NATURE OF BIRTH

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1854-1899		
Live birth	50.6 97.0 128	49.4 94.7 125	95.8	253
Still-birth	36.4 3.0 4	63.6 5.3 7	4.2	11
Total	50.0 132	50.0 132	100.0	264
		1900-1911		
Live birth	50.1 95.3 241	49.9 94.9 240	95.1	481
Still-birth	48.0 4.7 12	52.0 5.1 13	4.9	25
Total	50.0 253	50.0 253	100.0	506
		1920-1934		
Live birth	49.5 96.8 150	50.5 98.7 153	97.7	303
Still-birth	71.4 3.2 5	28.6 1.3 2	2.3	7

TABLE 7—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1920-1934 (Continued)		
Total	50.0 155	50.0 155	100.0	310
		All Ages		
Live birth	50.0 96.1 519	50.0 95.9 518	96.0	1,037
Still-birth	48.8 3.9 21	51.2 4.1 22	4.0	43
Total	50.0 540	50.0 540	100.0	1,080

Mode of Delivery

Mode of delivery refers to the person who may have aided the mother deliver her child, or at least signed the birth certificate. The document may have listed either a physician, midwife, registrar, self-delivery, or registered nurse.

Jews were far more likely than non-Jews to resort to physicians in the delivery of their children. Figures given in Table 8 show that almost 97 per cent of Jewish children were delivered by physicians compared with slightly over 85 per cent among the non-Jews. These figures are fairly consistent for the duration of the study.

Almost one in ten Jewish births during the first period was certified by midwives, a figure very close to that found for non-Jews. Non-Jews were more than five times as likely to resort to midwives as were the Jews for the entire period of the study.

TABLE 8

MODE OF DELIVERY

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1854-1899		
Physician	51.7 90.8 119	48.3 88.1 111	89.5	230
Midwife	52.2 9.2 12	47.8 8.7 11	8.9	23
Registrar		100.0 3.2 4	1.6	4
Self-delivery			0.0	0
Registered nurse			0.0	0
Total	51.0 131	49.0 126	100.0	257
		1900-1919		
Physician	54.1 98.0 242	45.9 82.0 205	89.9	447
Midwife	2.3 0.4 1	97.7 16.8 42	8.7	43
Registrar	40.0 0.8 2	60.0 1.2 3	1.0	5
Self-delivery	100.0 0.4 1		0.2	1

TABLE 8—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1900-1919 (Continued)		
Registered nurse	100.0 0.4 1		0.2	1
Total	49.7 247	50.3 250	100.0	497
		1920-1934		
Physician	53.6 100.0 155	46.4 87.6 134	93.8	289
Midwife		100.0 11.8 18	5.8	18
Registrar		100.0 0.7 1	0.3	1
Self-delivery			0.0	0
Registered nurse			0.0	0
Total	50.3 155	49.7 153	100.0	308
		All Ages		
Physician	53.4 96.8 516	46.6 85.1 450	91.0	966

TABLE 8—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		All Ages (Continued)		
Midwife	15.5 2.4 13	84.5 13.4 71	7.9	84
Registrar	20.0 0.4 2	80.0 1.5 8	0.9	10
Self-delivery	100.0 0.2 1		0.1	1
Registered nurse	100.0 0.2 1		0.1	1
Total	50.2 533	49.8 529	100.0	1,062

Multiple Births

The Jews were far more likely to have twins born to them than non-Jews. Table 9 shows that this phenomenon was consistent throughout all of the periods encompassed in the study.

TABLE 9

MULTIPLE BIRTHS

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1854-1899		
Single	49.4 97.7 129	50.6 100.0 132	98.9	261
Twin	100.0 2.3 3		1.1	3
Total	50.0 132	50.0 132	100.0	264
		1900-1919		
Single	49.4 96.8 245	50.6 99.2 251	98.0	496
Twin	80.0 3.2 8	20.0 0.8 2	2.0	10
Total	50.0 253	50.0 253	100.0	506
		1920-1934		
Single	48.5 93.5 145	51.5 99.4 154	96.5	
Twin	90.0 6.5 10	9.1 0.6 1	3.5	11

TABLE 9—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1920-1934 (Continued)		
Total	50.0 155	50.0 155	100.0	310
		All Ages		
Single	49.1 96.1 519	50.9 99.4 537	97.8	1,056
Twin	87.5 3.9 21	12.5 0.6 3	2.2	24
Total	50.0 540	50.0 540	100.0	1,080

Occupation of Father

It would be impossible to list every occupation in which fathers were engaged. A category system was clearly needed and the one developed by August B. Hollingshead was decided upon.[12] It is called The Two Factor Index of Social Position and is discussed more fully in Appendix F.

Table 10 for our entire period shows that Jewish fathers were more likely to be found in positions of high occupational status than non-Jews. For every four non-Jewish fathers in major professional positions, there were six Jews so engaged. Total figures in the minor professional category are even more striking. They indicate that for every 5.7 Jewish fathers, there was only one non-Jewish father so employed. Over twice as many non-Jewish fathers held unskilled manual occupations as was the case among the Jews.

Compared with non-Jewish fathers, Jews could be seen over time increasingly in positions of higher occupational status. High proportions of Jewish fathers could be found relatively speaking throughout the entire period

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[12]August B. Hollingshead, Two Factor Index of Social Position (New Haven: privately printed, 1957).

of the study in the minor professional and little business categories.

TABLE 10

OCCUPATION OF FATHER

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1854-1899		
Major Professional		100.0 2.3 3	1.1	3
Lesser Professional		100.0 2.3 3	1.1	3
Minor Professional	81.2 42.7 56	18.8 9.9 13	26.3	69
Little Business	60.0 9.2 12	40.0 6.1 8	7.6	20
Skilled Manual Employee	31.6 19.1 25	68.4 41.2 54	30.2	79
Semi-skilled	13.3 1.5 2	86.7 9.9 13	5.7	15
Unskilled	49.3 27.5 36	50.7 28.2 37	27.9	73
Total	50.0 131	50.0 131	100.0	262
		1900-1919		
Major Professional	75.0 2.4 6	25.0 0.8 2	1.6	8

TABLE 10—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1900-1919 (Continued)		
Lesser Professional	20.0 0.4 1	80.0 1.6 4	1.0	5
Minor Professional	85.0 42.9 108	15.0 7.6 19	25.2	127
Little Business	45.5 6.0 15	54.5 7.2 18	6.6	33
Skilled Manual Employee	44.4 30.2 76	55.6 37.8 95	34.0	171
Semi-skilled	21.6 3.2 6	78.4 11.6 29	7.4	37
Unskilled	31.1 15.1 38	68.9 33.5 84	24.3	122
Total	50.1 252	49.9 251	100.0	503
		1920-1934		
Major Professional	62.5 6.5 10	37.5 3.9 6	5.2	16
Lesser Professional	33.3 1.3 2	66.7 2.6 4	1.9	6

TABLE 10—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1920-1934 (Continued)		
Minor Professional	88.4 54.2 84	11.6 7.1 11	30.7	95
Little Business	60.6 12.9 20	39.4 8.4 13	10.7	33
Skilled Manual Employee	40.0 18.1 28	60.0 27.3 42	22.7	70
Semi-skilled	19.4 4.5 7	80.6 18.8 29	11.7	36
Unskilled	7.5 2.6 4	92.5 31.8 49	17.2	53
Total	50.2 155	49.8 154	100.0	309
		All Ages		
Major Professional	59.3 3.0 16	40.7 2.1 11	2.5	27
Lesser Professional	21.4 0.6 3	78.6 2.1 11	1.3	14
Minor Professional	85.2 46.1 248	14.8 8.0 43	27.1	291

TABLE 10—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		All Ages (Continued)		
Little Business	54.7 8.7 47	45.3 7.3 39	8.0	86
Skilled Manual Employee	40.3 24.0 129	59.7 35.6 191	29.8	320
Semi-skilled	19.3 3.2 17	80.7 13.2 71	8.2	88
Unskilled	31.5 14.5 78	68.5 31.7 170	23.1	248
Total	50.1 538	49.9 536	100.0	1,074

Occupation of Father and Number of Children

Generally, there is no reason to believe that occupational status and number of children differed by religious status for the entire period of the study. Table 11 does show a few exceptions. Between 1852 and 1899, non-Jewish fathers in the middle class occupations tended to have fewer children than the Jewish fathers in the same occupational positions. Between 1920 and 1934, considerably more children were born to non-Jewish fathers in the lower class occupations than was the case among Jews.

TABLE 11

OCCUPATION OF FATHER AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Occupation	Religion	Number of Children					
		1	2-3	4-5	6-7	8+	Total
				1852-1899			
1-2	Jew						
	Non-Jew	2.9 20.0 1	9.5 80.0 4				4.5 5
3-5	Jew	64.7 14.7 11	74.9 32.0 24	73.7 37.3 28	66.7 10.7 8	44.4 5.3 4	66.4 75
	Non-Jew	57.1 32.3 20	61.9 41.9 26	50.0 14.5 9	50.0 8.1 5	28.6 3.2 2	55.4 62
6-7	Jew	33.3 15.8 6	35.1 34.2 13	26.3 26.3 10	33.3 10.5 4	55.6 13.2 5	33.6 38
	Non-Jew	40.0 31.1 14	28.6 26.7 12	50.0 20.0 9	50.0 11.1 5	71.4 11.1 5	40.2 45
				1900-1919			
1-2	Jew		6.3 83.3 5	1.9 16.7 1			2.9 6
	Non-Jew	1.4 20.0 1	4.2 60.0 3		5.0 20.0 1		2.5 5

TABLE 11—Continued

Occupation	Religion	Number of Children					
		1	2-3	4-5	6-7	8+	Total
		1900-1919 (Continued)					
3-5	Jew	84.4 22.9 38	75.0 36.1 60	80.8 25.3 42	95.2 12.0 20	100.0 3.6 6	81.4 166
	Non-Jew	55.1 36.2 38	51.4 35.2 37	51.6 15.2 16	50.0 9.5 10	66.7 3.8 4	53.0 105
6-7	Jew	15.6 21.9 7	18.8 46.9 15	17.3 28.1 9	4.8 3.1 1		15.7 32
	Non-Jew	43.5 34.1 30	44.4 36.4 32	48.4 17.0 15	45.0 10.2 9	33.3 2.3 2	44.4 88
		1920-1934					
1-2	Jew	16.7 58.3 7	5.6 33.3 4	3.6 8.3 1			7.9 12
	Non-Jew	8.8 30.0 3	9.2 60.0 6	3.8 10.0 1			6.5 10
3-5	Jew	73.8 24.0 31	88.7 48.8 63	92.9 20.2 26	77.8 5.4 7	100.0 1.6 2	84.9 129
	Non-Jew	50.0 25.8 17	44.6 43.9 29	34.6 13.6 9	35.3 9.1 6	45.5 7.6 5	43.1 66

TABLE 11—Continued

Occupation	Religion	Number of Children					
		1	2-3	4-5	6-7	8+	Total
		1920-1934 (Continued)					
6-7	Jew	9.5	5.6	3.6	22.2		7.2
		36.4	36.4	9.1	18.2		11
		4	4	1	2		
	Non-Jew	41.2	46.2	61.5	64.7	54.5	50.3
		18.2	39.0	20.8	14.3	7.8	77
		14	30	16	11	6	
		All Ages					
1-2	Jew	8.0	6.0	2.5			5.1
		38.9	50.0	11.1			18
		7	9	2			
	Non-Jew	3.9	6.6	1.8	2.7		4.3
		26.7	60.0	6.7	6.7		15
		4	9	1	1		
3-5	Jew	79.3	41.5	85.0	90.0	100.0	82.9
		23.4	41.7	23.1	9.2	2.7	295
		69	123	68	27	8	
	Non-Jew	53.4	48.2	43.9	43.2	52.9	48.7
		32.2	38.6	14.6	9.4	5.3	171
		55	66	25	16	9	
6-7	Jew	12.6	12.6	12.5	10.0		12.1
		25.6	44.2	23.3	7.0		43
		11	19	10	3		
	Non-Jew	42.7	45.3	54.4	54.1	47.1	47.0
		26.7	37.6	18.8	12.1	4.8	165
		44	62	31	20	8	

Number of Children

Table 12 shows that Jewish mothers had slightly more children than non-Jewish mothers during the entire period of the study. The greater average number of children among Jewish mothers is particularly pronounced from 1854 until 1919 with figures reversing themselves between 1920 and 1934. Thus, whereas during the early and middle years of our study, Jewish women had roughly on the average of one more child than non-Jewish women, by the 1919-1934 period, non-Jewish women were having on the average of one more child than their Jewish neighbors. In absolute terms, whereas Jewish fertility was declining the reverse could be seen among non-Jews. It is important to keep in mind that these figures do not represent completed families.

We next wished to discern the relationship between number of children and nativity of parents. Table 13 shows that for the entire period of the study, native-born Jewish mothers had fewer children than native-born non-Jewish mothers, while Jewish mothers of foreign birth had slightly more children on the average than non-Jewish mothers.

Both Jewish and non-Jewish native-born mothers show a decline in fertility over the entire period of the study. Whereas, foreign-born Jewish mothers showed a steady decline in fertility, this was not found to be the case among non-Jewish foreign-born women.

TABLE 12

NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Item	Jews	Non-Jews
	1852-1899	
$\bar{X}$	3.90	3.06
sd	2.54	2.41
N	114	113
	1900-1919	
$\bar{X}$	3.94	3.21
sd	2.47	2.44
N	248	250
	1920-1934	
$\bar{X}$	2.82	3.81
sd	1.84	2.73
N	155	155
	Total	
$\bar{X}$	3.60	3.36
sd	2.37	2.54
N	517	518

TABLE 13

NUMBER OF CHILDREN: NATIVE VS. FOREIGN PARENTAGE

Item	Jews				Non-Jews			
	Mothers		Fathers		Mothers		Fathers	
	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign
				1852-1899				
$\bar{X}$	3.04	4.16	2.53	4.14	2.68	3.48	2.73	3.49
sd	1.87	2.66	1.33	2.63	2.26	2.49	2.41	2.33
N	26	88	17	97	59	54	64	49
				1900-1919				
$\bar{X}$	1.40	4.11	1.75	4.02	3.05	3.30	2.73	3.48
sd	0.61	2.46	1.09	2.47	2.76	2.24	1.86	2.64
N	15	233	8	240	88	162	90	160

TABLE 13—Continued

Item	Jews				Non-Jews			
	Mothers		Fathers		Mothers		Fathers	
	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign
				1920-1934				
$\bar{X}$	1.99	3.58	1.65	3.23	2.13	5.12	2.41	4.84
sd	1.01	2.09	0.69	1.94	1.28	2.84	1.94	2.76
N	74	81	40	115	68	87	66	89
				Total				
$\bar{X}$	2.15	4.01	1.89	3.84	2.66	3.85	2.64	3.89
sd	1.33	2.44	1.03	2.41	2.28	2.60	2.06	2.72
N	115	402	65	452	215	303	220	298

Age of Parents

Mothers

Jewish mothers were slightly older than their non-Jewish neighbors at the birth of any child, as seen by examining figures in Table 14. This was not the case in every period. Compared with non-Jewish mothers, Jewish mothers were younger in the first and third periods and older during the second.

Of interest also are the consistently lower standard deviations suggesting the possibility of greater controlled fertility among Jewish women.

Fathers

The same pattern was found among Jewish fathers as among Jewish mothers. Jewish fathers tended to be older at the birth of any child as seen by figures in Table 14. No real differences could be seen in the first period, while Jewish fathers were found to be older in the 1900-1919 period and younger in the 1920-1934 period.

TABLE 14

AGE OF PARENTS AT BIRTH OF ANY CHILD

Item	Jews		Non-Jews	
	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers
		1854-1899		
$\bar{X}$	28.36	31.37	28.71	32.32
sd	5.65	6.05	6.29	7.50
N	129	129	129	130
		1900-1919		
$\bar{X}$	29.11	32.93	27.85	31.98
sd	6.03	6.20	6.49	7.03
N	248	249	252	252
		1920-1934		
$\bar{X}$	29.52	33.77	29.87	34.15
sd	5.52	5.55	6.51	7.58
N	155	155	153	155
		Total		
$\bar{X}$	29.05	32.80	28.64	32.69
sd	5.81	6.05	6.50	7.37
N	532	533	534	537

Age of Parent: Native vs. Foreign, Any Child

We wished to determine what differences, if any, exist between nativity of parent and age at birth of any child. Figures shown in Table 15 indicate that native-born Jewish mothers were younger at the birth of any child than native-born non-Jewish mothers. These figures are consistent during all three periods.

Foreign-born Jewish mothers were found to be slightly older at the birth of any child than foreign-born non-Jewish mothers. This was not found to be the case consistently throughout the entire duration of the study. Thus, foreign-born Jewish mothers were younger during the first and third periods and older in the second period.

TABLE 15

AGE OF PARENTS AT BIRTH OF ANY CHILD: NATIVE VS. FOREIGN

Item	Jews				Non-Jews			
	Mothers		Fathers		Mothers		Fathers	
	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign
				1852-1899				
$\bar{X}$	26.50	28.83	31.88	31.30	27.48	29.77	31.37	33.28
sd	5.15	5.68	4.56	6.25	5.92	6.41	7.38	7.51
N	26	103	17	112	60	69	65	65
				1900-1919				
$\bar{X}$	23.93	29.44	26.25	33.15	27.36	28.11	31.44	32.28
sd	4.45	5.97	3.49	6.15	5.62	6.90	7.48	6.75
N	15	233	8	241	88	164	90	162

TABLE 15—Continued

Item	Jews				Non-Jews			
	Mothers		Fathers		Mothers		Fathers	
	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign
1920-1934								
$\bar{X}$	27.23	31.61	31.43	34.59	27.46	31.74	30.96	36.52
sd	4.70	5.37	4.58	5.63	5.51	6.61	6.47	7.47
N	74	81	40	115	67	86	66	89
Total								
$\bar{X}$	26.64	29.71	30.91	33.06	27.43	29.45	31.28	33.68
sd	4.90	5.87	4.79	6.16	5.67	6.89	7.17	7.34
N	115	417	65	468	215	319	221	316

Native-born Jewish fathers were found to be younger at the birth of any child than their native-born non-Jewish neighbors. This was not always the case, as native-born Jewish fathers were older during the first period, considerably younger during the second, and older during the third period.

Foreign-born Jewish fathers were younger than non-Jewish foreign-born fathers at the birth of any child. This was found to be the case throughout with the exception of the 1900-1919 period when foreign-born Jewish fathers were found to be older than their foreign-born non-Jewish counterparts.

Lower standard deviations could be found among the Jews whether fathers or mothers were compared or nativity of parentage. One exception did occur and that was during the 1900-1919 era when non-Jewish native fathers had a larger standard deviation than foreign-born non-Jewish fathers.

These figures suggest the possibility of greater controlled fertility on the part of Jewish mothers and fathers and among native-born parents than among those of foreign births.

Age of Parents at Birth of First Child

No real differences, as shown in Table 16, were seen between age of Jewish and non-Jewish mothers at birth of a first child for the entire period of the study. Jewish mothers were younger during the first two periods and older during the third.

Jewish fathers were older than their non-Jewish counterparts at birth of a first child for the entire period of the study. They were also younger during the first two periods and older during the third.

TABLE 16

AGE OF PARENTS AT BIRTH OF FIRST CHILD

Item	Jews		Non-Jews	
	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers
		1854-1899		
$\bar{X}$	23.65	27.82	24.77	26.97
sd	4.90	4.33	5.34	6.32
N	17	17	35	35
		1900-1919		
$\bar{X}$	22.70	26.41	22.75	26.61
sd	3.28	3.23	3.90	4.33
N	46	46	76	76
		1920-1934		
$\bar{X}$	25.19	29.51	24.83	28.23
sd	3.79	4.48	4.81	5.32
N	43	43	29	30
		Total		
$\bar{X}$	23.86	27.90	23.69	27.04
sd	3.96	4.21	4.61	5.14
N	106	106	140	141

Age of Parents at Birth of First Child: Native vs. Foreign

Of importance is the age of parents whether native or foreign-born at the birth of a first child.

Figures given in Table 17 indicate that native-born Jewish women were slightly younger at the birth of a first child. This was not always the case as they were found to be older in the nineteenth century than their native-born non-Jewish neighbors.

Foreign-born Jewish mothers on the other hand were found to be more than one year older at the birth of a first child than their foreign-born non-Jewish neighbors. This was the case during the last two periods of the study, especially during the 1920-1934 era when an almost two year difference favoring the Jewish women was evidenced. During the nineteenth century, the reverse pattern could be seen with foreign-born Jewish women more than one year younger at the birth of a first child than foreign-born non-Jewish women.

Native-born men, on the other hand, were on the average more than two years older at the birth of a first child than native-born non-Jewish men. This was especially the case during the 1920-1934 era when Jewish men were found to be almost three years older at the birth of a first child than non-Jewish men. During the nineteenth

century native-born Jewish fathers were almost four years older than native-born non-Jewish men at the birth of a first child. The pattern reversed itself during the 1900-1919 period with native-born Jews becoming fathers at twenty-four years of age compared with native non-Jews who first became fathers at slightly over twenty-seven years of age.

Foreign-born Jewish fathers are also seen to have become fathers at an older age than foreign-born non-Jewish men. This was not always the case. No real differences are seen in the nineteenth century, while Jewish men tended to become fathers at a slightly older age during the 1900-1919 era and younger during the 1920-1934 period.

TABLE 17

AGE OF PARENTS AT BIRTH OF FIRST CHILD: NATIVE VS. FOREIGN

Item	Jews				Non-Jews			
	Mothers		Fathers		Mothers		Fathers	
	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign
				1854-1899				
$\bar{X}$	29.00	23.91	31.00	26.50	27.61	25.17	27.29	26.27
sd	4.32	5.78	3.74	3.84	6.97	6.36	6.81	5.01
N	6	11	5	12	23	12	24	11
				1900-1919				
$\bar{X}$	22.10	22.86	24.00	26.71	24.24	21.83	27.18	26.27
sd	2.66	3.42	1.79	3.25	3.86	3.63	5.06	3.80
N	10	36	5	41	29	47	28	48

TABLE 17—Continued

Item	Jews				Non-Jews			
	Mothers		Fathers		Mothers		Fathers	
	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign
				1920-1934				
$\bar{X}$	24.96	25.60	30.26	28.92	25.04	23.80	27.36	30.63
sd	3.78	3.76	4.42	4.43	4.93	4.07	4.82	5.87
N	28	15	19	24	24	5	22	8
				Total				
$\bar{X}$	24.07	23.71	29.31	27.36	24.59	22.61	27.27	26.79
sd	3.62	4.17	4.66	3.89	4.49	4.51	5.63	4.54
N	44	62	29	77	76	64	74	67

Concluding Remarks

The proportion of Jewish births in Middletown was very small, exceeding 2 per cent only between 1900 and 1919. From then on there was a relative decline. This suggests the possibility that a number of Jews of child-bearing age may have left Middletown. A marked decline is seen in the very early 1930's which probably reflects Jewish sensitivity to the economic depression of 1929.

More boys are born than girls. Data that we have already cited shows that Jews are even more likely than those in the general population to have male children. The Middletown experience strongly supports this phenomenon.

The nativity of Middletown Jewish parents reflects the proportions from the countries from which they generally came to these United States. That is to say, there is no reason to suspect that the nativity of Middletown Jewish parents did not reflect the proportional representation of Jews generally from the various European countries. This was not found to be the case among non-Jewish parents in Middletown. Higher proportions of Middletown's non-Jewish parents derived from Italy than generally came to American shores.

Our data suggest far more stillbirths among the Jews than the literature records should be the case. Although not quite as many Jewish stillbirths were found

among the Jews as among the non-Jews. The figures are in an absolute sense very high.

Two reasons are suggested for this finding. One, many non-Jews may have concealed their stillbirths from the authorities. This may have been possible if we infer from the fact that 15 per cent of non-Jewish children were certified by a midwife. Jews on the other hand were far more likely to resort to physicians who were probably more inclined to report a stillbirth. Thus, non-Jewish stillbirths may have been under-reported.

Secondly, the Jewish community was small and pregnancies and their consequences were unlikely to go unnoticed. Jewish male stillbirths are required by Jewish law to be named, circumcised and buried in a Jewish cemetery. Female Jewish stillbirths must be named and buried in a Jewish cemetery. Any cemetery burial is required by general law to be recorded. Thus, again it may well be that non-Jewish stillbirths may have been underreported inflating the relative Jewish statistics. Thus, these findings are probably more of a cultural artifact than of a biological one.

The high proportions of physicians who delivered Jewish infants are impressive. One would assume that Jewish women were very likely to consult with physicians during their pregnancies. These data lend further support

to the notion that Jews are more likely to resort to the medical profession in time of need than is the case among non-Jews.

One is hard pressed to explain the very high relative proportion of twins born to Jewish parents, except to repeat that it is consistent throughout all periods of the study.

Jewish fathers were in higher occupational statuses than non-Jewish fathers. This suggests that they may have been in a relatively good position to provide their children with a better start in life.

The influence of the American opportunity structure on Jewish fertility is reflected by the declining birth rates exhibited by Jewish parents. These data suggest that Jewish parents appreciated that one way to maximize the life chances of their offspring was to limit the numbers of their children. Although native-born non-Jewish parents seem to have appreciated the advantages to be accrued from curtailed fertility, it appears to be far more pronounced among native-born Jews. Lower standard deviations among the Jews lend further support to the above assertions.

Further evidence of the desire among the Jews to maximize their life chances on the market place and that of their children is suggested by the older ages at which

they had their first children. This was found to be particularly the case among Jewish fathers who in those years in particular assumed the major responsibility for the economic well-being of their families.

CHAPTER VIII

OCCUPATIONS

This chapter is addressed to the occupational pursuits of the Jews in Middletown. It begins with a brief discussion of what we generally know of the Jews in the American economic marketplace, followed by a section describing the methodology used to gather and analyze the data for the present study. The findings are then reported and the chapter concludes with an interpretation of the data.

In order to gain an understanding of the place of the Jews in American economic life we must first understand something of the economic situation in the country in the middle of the nineteenth century. In a word, the economic picture was very good. Industry was expanding and the average American was experiencing unprecedented buying power. Innovations in transportation and communication were both uniting the people while at the same time spreading the wealth. New England and the Middle Atlantic States were responsible for almost half of the manufactured goods in the country.

The Civil War, as could be expected, caused certain economic difficulties. These difficulties were soon alleviated by virtue of the Government's need for clothing, equipment, and other necessities of war. In fact, people in the North were literally growing wealthy. Among the high priorities were dry goods and those who dealt in them accordingly reaped the benefits. The decade following the Civil War saw ever increasing prosperity and a rising number of Jews in this country who were ready, willing, and able to partake in this expansion.

Isaac Mayer Wise[1] was among the first to give us a picture of the position of the Jew in nineteenth century American economic structure, telling us in the year 1885 that:

> By the force of previous conditions most of the immigrant Jews resort to small commercial or light mechanical trades. But they do not abide there, and are engaged today in all kinds of mercantile and mechanical pursuits in the cities. Like other people they are bankers, brokers in very small numbers, manufacturers, importers, jobbers, wholesale and retail dealers, in all classes and kinds of merchandise, while others are peddlers, hucksters or purchasers of raw materials. Again others are agents or solicitors for fire and life insurance companies, book-keepers, clerks, commercial travelers, newspaper men and book-agents. . . . They are carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, painters,

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[1]Isaac Mayer Wise, "Judaism in America," American Jews Annual, 1884-1885 (Cincinatti: Hebrew Union College), p. 38.

> cigar-makers, glaziers, butchers, tanners, metallurgists, watch makers, upholsterers, printers, furriers, tinners, plumbers, engravers, etc. . . . They are physicians, lawyers, preachers, teachers, architects, artists, sculptors, druggists, opticians, musicians, actors, composers, authors, poets. . . . They are not engaged in large numbers in agricultural pursuits. . . . Still, the number of Jewish farmers in this country is much larger than is generally supposed.

Almost forty years after Wise's assessment of the position of the Jew in the American economic structure, certain stereotypes of the Jew had already become well entrenched, images which persist until the present day. Samuel P. Orth in his volume Our Foreigners[2] highlighted these stereotypes as follows:

> The Jews are the intellectuals of the new immigration. They invest their political ideas with vague generalizations of human amelioration. They cannot forget that Karl Marx was a Jew; and one wonders how many Trotzkys and Lenines are being bred in the stagnant air of their reeking ghettos. It remains to be seen whether they will be willing to devote their undoubted mental capacities to other than revolutionary vagaries or to gainful pursuits, for they have a tendency to commercialize everything they touch.

What occupational pursuits did the Jews in fact follow in the course of their early existence in these United States? A number of studies exist which have addressed themselves to this problem. Perhaps the first

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[2]Samuel P. Orth, Our Foreigners: A Chronicle of Americans in the Making (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), p. 179.

one to gather data on this subject in any systematic fashion was that of Billings,[3] with whose work we are already somewhat familiar.

As part of his research, Billings gathered occupational data on 18,031 males and 1,358 females. Dr. Billings was able to categorize 85.6 per cent or 15,445 of the males and 57.5 per cent or 781 of the females. Billings' figures as shown in Table 18 indicate that the Jewish males were most heavily concentrated as retail dealers followed by clerks and wholesalers. Among the females Billings' data showed the highest proportion to be among accountants and bookkeepers followed by servants and teachers.

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[3]John S. Billings, "Vital Statistics of the Jews," North American Review, 152: 70-84, 1891.

TABLE 18

OCCUPATIONAL PURSUITS OF JEWS AS FOUND BY BILLINGS

Occupation	Number Within the Occupation	Per cent of Jews Within Occupation
	Males	
Retail Dealers	5,977	38.7
Accountants, Bookkeepers, and Clerks	3,041	19.7
Wholesale Merchants and Dealers	2,147	14.0
Commercial Travelers	1,797	11.6
Tailors	534	3.5
Bankers, Brokers, and Officials of Companies	422	2.7
Teachers and Literary Men	388	2.5
Jewelers and Watchmakers	378	2.4
Lawyers	285	1.8
Cigar Makers	183	1.2
Physicians and Surgeons	173	1.1
Milliners	111	.7
Total	15,445	100.0

TABLE 18—Continued

Occupation	Number Within the Occupation	Per cent of Jews Within Occupation
	Females	
Accountants and Bookkeepers	214	27.4
Servants	177	22.7
Teachers	170	21.8
Dress Makers	111	14.2
Milliners	109	14.0
Total	781	100.0

Bessie Bloom Wessel,[4] whose work has been previously discussed, found that in New London, Connecticut, as of 1938, 31.1 per cent of all Jews fifteen years of age and over reported being gainfully employed. The males constituted 86.8 per cent while females comprised 13.2 per cent of the sample. Wessel found that 54.5 per cent of the 597 gainfully employed Jews were engaged in trade while 16.2 per cent were occupied in manufacturing and mechanical industries. The 54.5 per cent Jewish figure for trade stands in marked contrast to a 17 per cent figure for the entire New London population in 1930, a category which included insurance and banking.

More than one-quarter of the ninety-seven Jews engaged in manufacturing and mechanical occupations dealt in clothing. Over 60 per cent of the gainfully employed Jews were employers or self employed. Forty-four per cent of the fifty-seven professional men were engaged as lawyers.

For Norwich, Connecticut, in the same year, Wessel found about 51 per cent of the 620 gainfully employed Jews engaged in trade, while 23 per cent or 141 individuals were involved in manufacturing and mechanical occupations. Forty-three individuals so classified were in clothing.

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[4]Bessie Bloom Wessel, "A Comparative Study of the Jewish Communities of New London and Norwich, 1938," in Jewish Population Studies, ed. by Sophia M. Robison (New York: Conference on Jewish Relations, 1943), pp. 51-80.

Fifty-seven Jews were employed in clerical occupations, while twenty-four reported domestic and personal service as a source of income.

Fifty-eight Jews were engaged in the professions—five as physicians, seven as lawyers, four as dentists, while the seventeen women in this category were either nurses or teachers.

Samuel Koenig's socioeconomic study of the Jews of Stamford, Connecticut,[5] done in 1938, is very illuminating. Among Koenig's findings are that over 63 per cent of the Jews sixteen years of age and over, or 1,540, were gainfully employed. Using the 1939 Stamford City Directory, he found that:

> The main occupation of the Stamford Jews . . . is trade and commerce. Well over half, or 807, of all gainfully occupied individuals are either in business for themselves or connected otherwise with a commercial enterprise. The chief concentration is in the retail rather than the wholesale trade. The fields in which Jews predominate are dry goods and wearing apparel, particularly men's clothing and children's wear, food, jewelry, drugs and cosmetics, furniture, and electrical and plumbing supplies.[6]

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[5]Samuel Koenig, "The Socioeconomic Structure of an American Jewish Community," in Jews in a Gentile World, ed. by Isacque Graeber (New York: Macmillan, 1942), pp. 200-242.

[6]Ibid., pp. 207, 210.

It is perhaps instructive to examine Koenig's findings in greater detail. He writes that:

> Of the 16 dealers in men's clothing listed in the Directory, 15 are Jews. All of the five children's and infants' wear shops are owned by Jews. Of the 17 retail dry-goods dealers, 10 are Jews. There are 30 dealers in women's and misses' clothers, and of these 22 are Jews. Jews own also 13 of the 15 men's furnishing shops, 6 of the 10 millineries, 3 of the 6 corset shops, and 10 of the 19 shoe stores.
>
> In the food-distribution field the Jews are prominent only in the larger markets and in some branches of the wholesale trade. The five largest markets, exclusive of the chain stores, are owned by Jews. The only cattle slaughtering in Stamford for the wholesale trade is done by a Jewish firm. Only two wholesale produce dealers are listed and both are Jews. There are 2 wholesale grocers of whom 1 is a Jew. Of the 3 butter, egg, and cheese dealers, 2 are Jews; and of the 6 retail produce dealers, 3 are Jews. There are 7 wholesale meat firms, of which 3 are Jewish, and 9 delicatessen stores, of which 3 are owned by Jews. On the other hand, of the 188 retail grocery stores listed, only 23 have Jewish owners. Jews are also prominent in both the retail and the wholesale liquor business. There are 18 Jewish-owned retail package stores among the 51 listed and 2 Jews among the 7 wholesale liquor dealers.
>
> Jews practically control the jewelry business, with 13 out of a total of 15 establishments in this field. There exist two wholesale drug firms, both of which are Jewish, and 3 cut-rate cosmetic stores, of which 2 are owned by Jews. The Jews are also well represented in the furniture and builders' supply fields. Among the 25 furniture stores, which include radio and music shops, 14 are Jewish-owned. Jews own 6 of 11 paint stores, 3 of the 5 plumbing firms, and 1 of the 3 lumberyards. Finally, of the 7 department stores, 3 are owned by Jews. Only one of these, however, deserves the name of department store, and that is owned by a nonresident. Jews may be found, of course, in many other business fields, but in none of these are they prominent.[7]

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[7] Ibid., p. 210.

Koenig found that the Jews played a negligible role in the financial, real estate, and insurance fields. Although eleven of the sixty-one manufacturing concerns were owned by Jews, most of the owners of these concerns were non-Stamford residents and their firms were much smaller in size.

The category containing the second largest number of gainfully employed Jews was the professions with almost 200 or 12.5 per cent of the total. Forty-eight of the 110 lawyers were Jews, although ten were either not practicing law or at least not practicing in Stamford. Following the legal profession in numerical importance were school teachers, dentists, physicians, commercial artists, accountants, chemists, and technical engineers.

During the academic year 1933-1934, the Hebrew Union College sponsored Rosenberg-Schottenfels Prize Essays dealt with the economic position of the Jews in the United States during the second half of the nineteenth century.[8] These studies are illuminating and represent a coherent introduction into the position of the early Jews in the

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[8]Arthur J. Lelyveld, "The Economic Life of American Jewry During the Period 1860-1875," Ely E. Pilchik, "The Economic Life of American Jewry 1860-1875," and "The Economic Life of American Jewry During the Period 1875-1880." Unpublished Rosenberg-Schottenfels Memorial Prize Essays (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1934).

American occupational structure. They dealt with the large urban centers such as New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, among others. Although informative, they, along with all of the previously cited works, suffer from at least one or all of the following possible deficiencies. One, the identity of who is a Jew may be called into question. Since the authors used the City Directories of large cities, they could not reasonably have been expected to identify positively who was a Jew. Secondly, these studies used samples of years from within their respective range of years studied. In the third place, these studies dealt only with a very limited number of years generally 1860-1885. Fourth, the authors dealt only with those occupations in which Jews were to be found, neglecting to view the economic pursuits of the entire city in question. Finally, these works dealt, as stated above, with large cities and we are still at a loss as to what the economic position of the Jews was in the small towns.

Ely E. Pilchik[9] addressed himself to the problem of assessing the economic position of the Jews in small towns, writing:

> The position of the Jews in the small towns offers a problem which would require far more time for

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[9]Pilchik, "1860-1875," p. ii.

> research than possible here for about one third of the Jewish population is thus scattered. An ideal study of Jewish economic life would have thoroughly investigated this field but this too must remain for some future pioneer.

Our present study represents an attempt to surmount the above problems. The author was in a much better position to validly establish the identity of who was a Jew. The economic aspect of this study was done on an annual basis from 1870-1934. Information on every occupation whether or not Jews were involved in it was gathered allowing us to begin to weigh the Jewish contribution within that occupation with that of the rest of the occupations where Jews were to be found and with reference to all of the other occupations in the entire city.

Methodology

The following procedures were followed in order to gain insight into the occupational position of the Jews in Middletown. First, the business section of every City Directory printed from 1870-1934 was carefully studied and a count made of the number of Jews or Jewish concerns within each occupational category. A similar count was made of the total number of individuals or concerns within that occupational category. Second, a three digit number was assigned to each occupational category. Finally, the

data were coded and punched onto IBM cards in the following manner. The first four columns contain the year, columns 5-7 contain the occupational number, columns 8 and 9 contain the number of Jews in that occupational category, while columns 10-12 contain the total number of people in the city engaged in that occupation. A total of approximately 12,500 such entries were made for the period encompassed by this study. There were a total of 825 different entries in the City Directories.

The analysis of these data required the writing of four basic computer programs. The first program sorts all of the information into seven periods and totals this information for the duration of the entire study. Data reported in the tables refer to three periods, namely 1870-1899, 1900-1919, and 1920-1934. The first program gives the following information and a sample of it forms Appendix G.

1. Number of Jews for the given period
2. Total number of people for the given period
3. Proportion of Jews for the given period
4. Proportion of Jews in this occupation relative to the total number of Jews found in all occupations for the given period
5. Proportion of Jews for the given period relative to all Jews in study

6. Proportion of the total number of people in the occupation relative to the total number of people in all occupations for the given period.

7. Proportion of the total number of people in this occupation for the given period relative to the total number of people in the study.

8. Proportion of Jews in this occupation relative to the total number of people in all occupations for the given period.

9. Proportion of Jews in this occupation for the given period relative to the total number of people in the study.

The data were also plotted on an annual basis. Appendix H gives the program which yielded the total number of Jews in each occupation while the data can be found in Appendix J.

Another program found in Appendix K was written which gives the number of people in each occupation. This graph is represented by Appendix L.

A final program was written giving us the per cent of Jews within each occupation. This program is found as part of Appendix M while the information it yielded may be found as part of Appendix N.

We have divided all of the occupations and/or institutions where Jews were to be found or where they had a controlling interest into five categories. The categories under which the occupations which are subsumed within each of the periods form Tables 19-23 and represent the professions, manufacturing, trade, construction, and service.

Column 1 in each of the periods within the tables gives us the total number of people in that field while column 2 gives us the corresponding number of Jews. Column 3 gives us the total figures minus the Jews, known as others. Columns 4 and 5 represent percentages of Jews and non-Jews respectively while column 6 gives us the percentage of the total Jewish. Column 7 gives us an Index of Relative Concentration. This index broadly speaking gives us some indication of the deviation from the expected based upon the over-all percentage. Thus, an index number greater than 100 indicates that the Jews were overrepresented in this area; a figure below 100 denotes underrepresentation.

Looking at the total figures in Table 19 which depicts the professions, we see the Jews much more highly represented than we might otherwise expect in all fields with the exception of the teaching of music and nursing. The Jews became very heavily involved in the professions generally by the 1920-1934 era, although they were much overrepresented as druggists and as physicians and surgeons

at the turn of the century. During the 1920-1934 era, the Jews were very much more represented in every other category, with the exception of veterinary medicine and the teaching of music.

TABLE 19

PROFESSIONS, SEMI-PROFESSIONS, AND KINDRED OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			1870-1899				
Accountants	11	0	11	0	1.4	0	0
Auditors							
Dentists	123	0	123	0	15.9	0	0
Druggists	104	0	104	0	13.4	0	0
Druggists—Retail	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lawyers	131	0	131	0	16.9	0	0
Music Teachers	130	0	130	0	16.8	0	0
Nurses	93	0	93	0	12.0	0	0
Physicians-surgeons	160	0	160	0	20.7	0	0
Veterinarians	20	1	19	100	2.5	0	0
			1900-1919				
Accountants	11	0	11	0	.40	0	0
Auditors							
Dentists	187	0	187	0	8.2	0	0
Druggists	122	1	121	16.7	5.3	.82	315
Druggists—Retail	71	0	71	0	3.1	0	0
Lawyers	439	0	439	0	19.4	0	0
Music Teachers	435	0	435	0	19.2	0	0
Nurses	587	0	587	0	25.9	0	0
Physicians-Surgeons	415	5	410	83	18.1	1.20	462
Veterinarians	0	0	0	0	0		
			1920-1934				
Accountants	21	3	19	2.4	1.1	14.29	19
Auditors							
Dentists	209	31	178	24.4	10.7	14.83	178
Druggists	58	9	49	7.1	3.	15.52	256
Druggists—Retail	109	9	100	7.1	5.6	8.26	136
Lawyers	271	25	246	19.7	13.9	9.23	152
Music Teachers	362	3	359	2.4	18.5	.83	14
Nurses	652	19	633	15.0	33.2	2.91	479

TABLE 19—Continued

Occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1920-1934 (Continued)							
Physicians-surgeons	407	28	379	22.0	20.5	6.88	133
Veterinarians	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total							
Accountants	43	3	40	2.2	.8	6.98	267
Auditors							
Dentists	519	31	488	23.1	9.7	5.97	229
Druggists	284	10	274	7.5	5.4	3.52	135
Druggists—Retail	180	9	181	6.7	3.4	5.00	192
Lawyers	841	25	816	18.7	16.3	2.97	114
Music Teachers	927	3	924	2.2	18.5	.32	12
Nurses	1332	19	1313	14.2	26.2	1.43	55
Physicians-surgeons	982	33	949	24.6	19.0	3.36	129
Veterinarians	20	1	19	.7	.30	5.00	192

We turn our attention to manufacturing which forms Table 20. It shows that for the entire period of the study the Jews were most highly concentrated in the manufacturing of furniture, enamel ware goods, as furriers, ladies' tailors, and as tailors and repairers, in that order. Curiously, we do not find them highly represented as dress makers and particularly as cigar manufacturers as other studies indicate we might otherwise have expected.

The Jews of Middletown were not well represented in manufacturing during the nineteenth century with the few notable exceptions of boot and shoe manufacturing and repairing and in the area of hat, bonnet bleachery and retail baking.

By the turn of the century, Jews were relatively well entrenched in manufacturing particularly in the production of cloaks and suits and clothing generally.

The twenties and early thirties saw the Jewish concentration in manufacturing change somewhat. Principal among the changes was the strong emergence of merchant tailoring, cleaners and dryers, furniture manufacturing, furs and watch repairing. Significant decreases could be seen in clothing manufacturing, boot and shoe making and repairing, fireworks, and in the area of hat, bonnet, and bleachery.

TABLE 20

MANUFACTURING

Item Manufactured	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			1870-1899				
Clothing							
Cloaks-Suits	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clothing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dress Makers	493	3	490	3.1	44.5	.6	7
Dyers-Textilers	7	0	7	0	.60	0	0
Hats-Bands	45	4	41	4.2	3.7	8.88	111
Milliners	5	0	5	0	.40	0	0
Silk	2	0	2	0	.10	0	0
Tailor, Merchant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Food							
Bakers, Retail	78	10	68	10.4	6.1	12.82	160
Bottlers	40	5	35	5.2	3.1	12.50	156
Confectionery	13	0	13	0	1.1	0	0
Confectioner, ice cream	165	12	153	12.5	13.8	7.27	91
Yeast	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Miscellaneous							
Boot-Shoe Makers, Repair	151	50	101	52.1	9.1	33.11	101
Box Mfg. Paper	22	0	22	0	1.9	0	
Cigar	34	0	34	0	3.0	0	
Cleaners, Dryers	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Corporations	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Dyers-Cleaners	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Enamel Ware	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Fireworks	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Furniture	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Furriers	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Galvanizing, Tinnery	7	0	7	0	.60	0	
Hat, Bonnet, Bleachery	27	4	23	4.2	2.0	14.81	185
Ladies Tailors	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Merchant Tailors	67	7	60		5.4	10.44	130
Shoemakers, Repairs	0	0	0	0	0	0	

TABLE 20—Continued

Item Manufactured	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1870-1899 (Continued)							
Miscellaneous							
Tailors, Repairers	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Tallow Renders	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Upholsterers	36	1	35	1.0	3.1	2.77	35
Watch, Jewelry Repairs	5	0	5	0	.40	0	
1900-1919							
Clothing							
Cloaks-Suits	37	23	14	4.8	.50	62.16	371
Clothing	5	3	2	.61	0	60	358
Dress Makers	517	5	512	1.0	21.2	.96	6
Dyers-Textilers	19	4	15	.82	.60	21.05	24
Hats-Bands	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Milliners	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Silk	28	0	28	0	1.1	0	
Tailor, Merchant	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Food							
Bakers, Retail	154	34	120	7.0	4.9	22.07	132
Bottlers	110	19	91	3.9	3.7	17.27	103
Confectionery	38	2	36	.41	1.4	5.26	31
Confectioner, ice cream	205	38	167	7.0	6.9	18.53	111
Yeast	7	1	6	.2	.2	14.28	85
Miscellaneous							
Boot-Shoe Makers, Repair	189	96	93	19.8	3.8	50.79	303
Box Mfg. Paper	5	0	5	0	.20	0	0
Cigar	106	0	106	0	4.4	0	
Cleaners, Dryers	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Corporations	629	12	617	2.5	25.6	1.9	11
Dyers-Cleaners	35	7	28	1.4	1.1	12.72	76
Enamel Ware	18	14	4	3.0	.10	77.77	465
Fireworks	7	1	6	.20	.20	14.28	212
Furniture	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Furriers	23	8	15	1.7	.60	34.78	208

TABLE 20—Continued

Item Manufactured	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1900-1919 (Continued)							
Miscellaneous							
Galvanizing, Tinnery	20	0	20	0	.80	0	
Hat, Bonnet, Bleachery	70	20	50	4.1	2.0	28.57	171
Ladies Tailors	42	24	18	5.0	.70	57.14	341
Merchant Tailors	112	58	58	12.0	2.2	51.78	309
Shoemakers, Repairs	183	52	131	10.7	5.4	28.41	170
Tailors, Repairers	147	46	101	9.5	4.1	31.29	187
Tallow Renders	16	0	16	0	.60	0	
Upholsterers	36	2	34	.41	1.4	5.55	33
Watch, Jewelry Repairs	172	19	153	3.9	6.3	11.04	66
1920-1934							
Clothing							
Cloaks-Suits	69	21	48	4.6	1.6	30.43	228
Clothing	9	0	9	0	.30	0	1
Dress Makers	434	3	431	.70	14.5	.69	5
Dyers-Textilers	21	2	19	.43	61.2	9.52	71
Hats-Bands	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Milliners	20	3	17	.70	.50	15	126
Silk	29	2	27	.43	.90	6.89	52
Tailor, Merchant	9	3	6	.70	.20	33.33	250
Food							
Bakers, Retail	152	21	131	4.6	4.4	13.81	104
Bottlers	28	3	25	.70	.80	10.71	80
Confectionery	38	18	20	3.9	.60	47.36	356
Confectioner, ice cream	368	58	310	12.7	10.4	15.76	118
Yeast	15	0	15	0	.50	0	
Miscellaneous							
Boot-Shoe Makers, Repair	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

TABLE 20—Continued

Item Manufactured	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			1920-1934 (Continued)				
Miscellaneous							
Box Mfg. Paper	5	0	5	0	.10	0	
Cigar	51	1	50	.21	1.6	1.96	15
Cleaners, Dryers	47	14	33	3.1	1.1	29.78	224
Corporations	1469	119	1350	26.0	45.4	8.1	61
Dyers-Cleaners	6	0	6	0	.20	0	
Enamel Ware	8	8	0	1.8	0	100	751
Fireworks	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Furniture	7	7	0	1.5	0	100	751
Furriers	20	17	3	3.7	.40	85	638
Galvanizing, Tinnery	9	6	3	1.3	.10	6.66	50
Hat, Bonnet, Bleachery	5	0	5	0	.10	0	
Ladies Tailors	43	19	24	4.2	.80	44.18	332
Merchant Tailors	48	28	20	6.1	.60	58.33	438
Shoemakers, Repairs	192	17	755	3.7	5.8	8.85	66
Tailors, Repairers	195	50	145	10.9	4.8	26.04	195
Tallow Renders	41	6	35	1.3	1.1	14.63	110
Upholsterers	38	8	30	1.8	1.0	21.05	158
Watch, Jewelry Repairs	53	23	30	5.0	1.0	43.39	326
			Total				
Clothing							
Cloaks-Suits	106	44	62	4.2	.90	41.5	301
Clothing	14	3	11	.30	.10	21.42	155
Dress Makers	1444	11	1433	4.0	22.1	.76	6
Dyers-Textilers	47	6	41	.60	.60	12.76	93
Hats-Bands	45	4	41	.40	.60	8.88	64
Milliners	25	3	22	.30	.30	12	87
Silk	59	2	57	.20	.80	3.38	25
Tailor, Merchant	9	3	6	.30	0	33.33	242

TABLE 20—Continued

Item Manufactured	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Total (Continued)						
Food							
Bakers, Retail	384	65	319	6.3	4.9	16.92	123
Bottlers	178	27	151	2.6	33.1	15.16	110
Confectionery	89	20	69	1.9	2.6	22.47	163
Confectioner, ice Cream	738	104	634	10.0	9.7	14.09	102
Yeast	22	1	21	1.0	.30	4.54	33
Miscellaneous							
Boot-Shoe Makers, Repair	340	146	194	14.0	2.9	42.94	311
Box Mfg. Paper	32	0	32	0	.40	0	
Cigar	191	1	190	1.0	2.9	.52	4
Cleaners, Dryers	47	14	33	1.4	.50	29.78	216
Corporations	2098	131	1967	12.7	30.3	6.24	45
Dyers-Cleaners	41	7	34	.70	.50	17.07	124
Enamel Ware	26	22	4	2.1	0	84.61	614
Fireworks	7	1	6	1.0	0	14.28	103
Furniture	7	7	0	.70	0	100	725
Furriers	43	25	18	2.4	.20	58.13	422
Galvanizing, Tinnery	36	6	30	.60	.40	16.66	121
Hat, Bonnet, Bleachery	102	24	78	2.3	1.2	23.52	171
Ladies Tailors	85	43	42	4.1	.60	50.58	367
Merchant Tailors	227	93	134	9.0	2.0	40.96	297
Shoemakers, Repairs	375	69	306	6.7	4.7	18.4	133
Tailors, Repairers	342	96	246	9.3	3.7	28.07	204
Tallow Renders	57	6	51	.60	.70	45.61	331
Upholsterers	110	11	99	4.1	1.5	10	73
Watch, Jewelry Repairs	190	42	148	4.1	2.2	22.1	168

The Jews were well represented in most areas of trade as seen by the total figures in Table 21. In fact, the Jews were more highly concentrated in this category than in any other. Our figures show the Jews most highly concentrated in the sale of installment goods, as fur dealers, the sale of worsted goods, and as clothiers.

Jewish concentration in trade remained relatively constant until the 1920's, with the exception of clothing, an enterprise into which they settled during the very early period, remaining therein throughout. If there be any single area of Jewish concentration, it was clothing. The sale of food is next in terms of Jewish concentration emerging principally in the 1920-1934 era, which is again followed during this period by jewelry.

Although Jews are represented in a number of areas during the 1920-1934 period, their most salient appearances are to be found in the sale of food and miscellaneous items, coupled with a decreasing concentration in clothing. Jews are conspicuous by their almost total absence in finance.

TABLE 21

TRADE

Occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			1870-1899				
Finance							
Bankers	11	0	11	0	.30	0	0
Banks	127	0	127	0	4.5	0	0
Bonds	7	0	7	0	.20	0	0
Brokers (Stocks, Bonds)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Stock Brokers	7	1	6	.40	.20	14.28	161
Stock Companies	141	0	141	0	5.0	0	0
Food							
Beverages, Retail	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Beverages, Wholesale	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Confections, Wholesale	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fish, Oysters	47	0	47	0	1.6	0	0
Fruit Dealers, Retail	9	0	9	0	.30	0	0
Fruit Dealers, Wholesale	33	1	32	.40	1.1	3.03	34
Grocery, Retail	50	1	49	.40	1.7	2	23
Ice Cream	42	8	34	2.9	1.2	19.04	215
Meat Market	129	11	118	4.0	4.2	8.52	96
Meat, Retail	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Producers, Provision Dealers	8	0	8	0	.20	0	0
Restaurants, Lunchrooms	32	0	32	0	1.1	0	0
Saloons	323	11	312	4.0	11.1	3.4	38
Tea, Coffee, Retail	55	1	54	.40	1.9	1.81	20
Wine, Liquor	28	3	25	1.1	.80	10.71	121

TABLE 21—Continued

Occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	1870-1899 (Continued)						
Miscellaneous							
Antiques—Furniture	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Book Sellers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Carpet Dealers	46	0	46	0	1.6	0	0
Carpet Layers	2	1	1	.40	0	0	0
Cemeteries	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cigar, Tobacco Retail	73	11	62	4.0	2.2	15.07	170
Coal, Charcoal Dealers	99	1	98	.40	3.5	1.01	11
Department Stores	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Feed Dealers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Flour, Grain, Feed	73	2	71	.73	2.5	2.74	31
Florists	33	1	32	.40	1.1	.30	3
Furs	3	0	3	0	.10	0	0
Fur Dealers	3	1	2	.40	0	33.33	376
Furs, Robes	10	1	9	.40	.30	10.00	113
Furniture Dealers—Retail	44	4	40	1.5	1.4	9.09	103
Halls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hardware, Cutlery Retail	24	0	24	0	.80	0	0
Hardware Dealers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hides, Skins	7	0	7	0	.20	0	0
Hides, Tallow Skins	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Installment Goods	1	1	0	.40	0	100.0	1129
Insurance Agent	77	0	77	0	2.7	0	0
Jewelry	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jewelers, Retail	4	0	4	0	.10	0	0
Laundries	40	0	40	0	1.4	0	0
Livestock	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lodging Houses	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mills Dealers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Music Instruments	25	0	25	0	.80	0	0
Office Furniture	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Oil Dealers	11	3	8	1.1	.20	27.27	308
Paper Stock	4	0	4	0	.10	0	0

TABLE 21—Continued

Occupations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			1870-1899 (Continued)				
Miscellaneous							
Phono, Record Dealers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Phonographic Supplies	7	0	7	0	.20	0	0
Piano Dealers	24	0	24	0	.80	0	0
Plumbing	4	0	4	0	.10	0	0
Scales, Weight	7	1	6	.4	.20	14.29	161
Steamship Agent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Stove, Ranges	2	2	0	.73	0	100.0	1129
Stoves, Tinware	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Surety Bonds	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Seeds	45	1	44	.4	1.5	2.22	251
Rubber Goods	33	4	29	1.5	1.0	12.12	137
Talking Machine Supplies	97	0	97	0	3.4	0	0
Trunks, Bags	82	10	72	3.7	2.5	12.20	138
Typewriting Machines	7	0	7	0	.20	0	0
Variety Stores	21	0	21	0	.70	0	0
Watches, Jewelry	69	2	67	.73	2.3	2.9	327
Wood Dealers	40	0	40	0	1.4	0	0
Clothing							
Boot-Shoe Dealers	289	37	252	13.6	9.0	12.8	144
Clothing Dealers	157	51	106	18.8	3.7	32.48	367
Clothing Dealers, Women	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clothiers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dressmakers, Supplies	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dry Goods, Retail	118	28	80	10.3	3.2	23.73	268
Dye Works Agency	27	1	26	.40	.90	3.70	418
Fancy Goods	118	31	87	11.4	3.1	26.27	297
Gents Furnishings	112	17	95	6.3	3.3	15.18	171
Men's Furnishings	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

TABLE 21—Continued

Occupations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			1870-1899 (Continued)				
Clothing							
Millinery Goods	68	16	52	5.9	1.8	23.52	265
Shoe Dealers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Worsted Goods	11	8	3	2.9	.10	72.72	821
Real Estate							
Bowling Alleys	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Buildings—Public Office	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Real Estate	19	0	19	0	.60	0	0
Real Estate Agent	83	0	83	0	2.9	0	0
			1900-1919				
Finance							
Bankers	19	0	19	0	.30	0	0
Banks	175	0	175	0	3.0	0	0
Bonds	53	8	45	.91	.70	15.09	114
Brokers (Stocks, Bonds)	7	1	6	.11	.10	14.28	108
Stock Brokers	5	0	5	0	0	0	0
Stock Companies	516	18	498	2.1	8.6	3.48	26
Food							
Beverages, Retail	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Beverages, Wholesale	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Confections, Wholesale	185	19	166	2.2	2.8	10.27	78
Fish, Oysters	38	0	38	0	.60	0	0
Fruit Dealers, Retail	2	0	2	0	0	0	0
Fruit Dealers, Wholesale	6	0	6	0	.10	0	0

TABLE 21—Continued

Occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			1900-1919 (Continued)				
Food							
Grocery, Retail	285	69	216	7.9	3.7	24.21	183
Ice Cream	96	4		.50	1.6	9.37	71
Meat Market	425	58	367	6.7	6.4	13.64	103
Meat, Retail	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Producers, Provision Dealers	48	9	39	1.0	.60	18.75	142
Restaurant, Lunchrooms	246	13	233	1.5	4.0	5.28	40
Saloons	647	26	621	3.0	112.5	4.01	30
Tea, Coffee Retail	105	0	105	0	1.8	0	0
Wine, Liquor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Miscellaneous							
Antiques—Furniture	2	2	0	.22	0	100	757
Book Sellers	25	0	25	0	.40	0	0
Carpet Dealers	42	1	41	.11	.70	2.38	18
Carpet Layers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cemeteries	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cigar, Tabacco Retail	129	22	107	2.5	1.8	17.05	129
Coal, Charcoal Dealers	74	0	74	0	1.2	0	0
Department Stores	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Feed Dealers	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Flour, Grain, Feed	89	0	89	0	1.5	0	0
Florists	104	0	104	0	1.8	0	0
Furs	3	1	2	.11	0	33.33	252
Fur Dealers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Furs, Robes	20	10	10	1.1	.10	50.00	379
Furniture Dealers —Retail	138	46	92	5.3	1.6	33.33	252
Halls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hardware, Cutlery Retail	67	0	67	0	1.1	0	0

TABLE 21—Continued

Occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			1900-1919 (Continued)				
Miscellaneous							
Hardware Dealers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hides, Skins	2	1	1	.11	0	50.00	379
Hides, Tallow Skins	11	1	10	.11	.10	9.09	69
Installment Goods	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Insurance Agent	175	0	175	0	3.0	0	0
Jewelry	3	0	3	0	0	0	0
Jewelers, Retail	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Laundries	118	0	118	0	2.0	0	0
Livestock	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lodging Houses	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mills Dealers	4	0	4	0	0	0	0
Music Instruments	46	0	46	0	.80	0	0
Office Furniture	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Oil Dealers	66	3	63	.34	1.1	4.55	34
Paper Stock	29	3	26	.34	.40	10.34	78
Phono, Record Dealers	5	0	5	0	0	0	0
Phonographic Supplies	9	0	9	0	.10	0	0
Piano Dealers	45	0	45	0	.70	0	0
Plumbing	6	0	6	0	.10	0	0
Scales, Weight	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Steamship Agent	68	3	65	.34	1.1	4.41	33
Stove, Ranges	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Stoves, Tinware	53	2	51	.22	.80	3.77	29
Surety Bonds	39	0	39	0	.60	0	0
Seeds	30	0	30	0	.50	0	0
Rubber Goods	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Talking Machine Supplies	123	1	122	.11	2.1	.81	6
Trunks, Bags	83	0	83	0	1.4	0	0
Typewriting Machines	3	0	3	0	0	0	0
Variety Stores	63	5	58	.60	1.0	7.94	60
Watches, Jewelry	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wood Dealers	92	3	89	.34	1.5	3.26	25

TABLE 21—Continued

Occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			1900-1919 (Continued)				
Clothing							
Boot-Shoe Dealers	149	49	100	5.6	1.7	32.89	249
Clothing Dealers	122	83	39	9.5	.60	68.03	515
Clothing Dealers, Women	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clothiers	109	75	34	8.6	.50	68.81	521
Dressmakers, Supplies	575	21	554	2.4	6.1	3.65	28
Dry Goods, Retail	242	40	202	16.1	1.7	57.85	438
Dye Works Agency	15	5	10	.60	.10	33.33	252
Fancy Goods	101	20	81	2.3	1.4	19.80	150
Gents Furnishings	57	17	47	1.9	.60	29.82	226
Men's Furnishings	151	54	97	6.2	1.6	35.76	271
Millinery Goods	126	23	103	2.6	1.7	18.25	138
Shoe Dealers	110	54	56	6.2	.90	49.09	372
Worsted Goods	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Real Estate							
Bowling Alleys	12	2	10	.22	.10	16.66	122
Buildings—Public Office	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Real Estate	15	0	15	0	.20	0	0
Real Estate Agent	188	0	188	0	3.2	0	0
			1920-1934				
Finance							
Bankers	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Banks	102	0	102	0	2.5	0	0
Bonds	5	0	5	0	.10	0	0
Brokers (Stocks, Bonds)	21	0	21	0	.50	0	0
Stock Brokers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Stock Companies	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

TABLE 21—Continued

Occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	1920-1934 (Continued)						
Food							
Beverages, Retail	100	1	99	.10	2.4	1	5
Beverages, Wholesale	3	1	2	.10	0	33.33	174
Confections, Wholesale	11	10	1	1.0	0	90.9	473
Fish, Oysters	29	0	29	0	.70	0	0
Fruit Dealers, Retail	125	29	96	3.0	2.3	23.2	121
Fruit Dealers, Wholesale	12	6	6	.62	.10	50	260
Grocery, Retail	422	93	329	9.6	8.1	22.03	115
Ice Cream	68	8	60	.82	1.4	11.76	61
Meat Market	290	45	245	4.7	6.0	15.51	81
Meat, Retail	152	24	128	2.5	3.1	15.78	82
Producers, Provision Dealers	26	16	10	1.7	.20	61.53	320
Restaurant, Lunchrooms	315	81	234	3.2	7.0	9.84	51
Saloons	29	1	28	.10	.60	3.44	18
Tea, Coffee Retail	57	0	57	0	1.4	0	0
Wine, Liquor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Miscellaneous							
Antiques—Furniture	18	0	18	0	.40	0	0
Book Sellers	50	1	49	.10	1.2	2	10
Carpet Dealers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Carpet Layers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cemeteries	79	6	73	.62	1.7	7.59	40
Cigar, Tabacco Retail	57	8	49	.82	1.2	14.04	73
Coal, Charcoal Dealers	63	7	56	.72	1.3	11.11	58
Department Stores	21	3	18	.31	.40	14.29	74
Feed Dealers	16	1	15	.10	.30	6.25	33

TABLE 21—Continued

Occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			1920-1934 (Continued)				
Miscellaneous							
Flour, Grain, Feed	30	1	29	.10	.70	3.33	17
Florists	102	1	101	.10	2.4	.98	5
Furs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fur Dealers	6	6	0	.62	0	100.0	521
Furs, Robes	8	0	8	0	.10	0	0
Furniture Dealers —Retail	83	45	38	4.7	.90	54.22	282
Halls	136	11	125	1.1	3.0	8.09	42
Hardware, Cutlery Retail	127	5	122	.51	.50	18.52	96
Hardware Dealers	45	2	43	.20	1.0	4.44	23
Hides, Skins	11	10	1	1.0	0	90.90	473
Hides, Tallow Skins	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Installment Goods	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Insurance Agent	269	1	268	.10	6.6	.37	2
Jewelry	15	5	10	.51	.20	33.33	174
Jewelers, Retail	27	15	12	1.6	.20	55.55	289
Laundries	82	7	75	.72	1.8	8.54	44
Livestock	10	5	5	.51	.10	50.00	260
Lodging Houses	35	2	33	.20	.80	5.71	30
Mills Dealers	75	5	70	.51	1.7	6.67	35
Music Instruments	62	14	48	1.5	1.1	22.58	118
Office Furniture	17	1	16	.10	.30	5.88	31
Oil Dealers	9	0	9	0	.20	0	0
Paper Stock	19	8	11	.82	.20	42.11	219
Phono, Record Dealers	7	5	2	.51	0	71.43	372
Phonographic Supplies	7	2	5	.20	.10	28.57	149
Piano Dealers	44	1	43	.10	1.0	2.92	15
Plumbing	3	1	2	.10	0	33.33	174
Scales, Weight	12	0	12	0	.20	0	0
Steamship Agent	91	0	91	0	2.2	0	0
Stove, Ranges	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Stoves, Tinware	42	1	41	.10	1.0	2.45	13
Surety Bonds	42	6	36	.62	.80	14.29	74

TABLE 21—Continued

Occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			1920-1934 (Continued)				
Miscellaneous							
Seeds	13	0	13	0	.30	0	0
Rubber Goods	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Talking Machine Supplies	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trunks, Bags	35	2	33	.20	.80	5.79	30
Typewriting Machines	5	0	5	0	.10	0	0
Variety Stores	27	3	25	.31	.50	11.33	59
Watches, Jewelry	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wood Dealers	68	2	66	.20	1.6	2.99	16
Clothing							
Boot-Shoe Dealers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clothing Dealers	51	32	19	3.3	.40	62.75	327
Clothing Dealers, Women	59	20	39	2.1	.90	33.90	177
Clothiers	171	100	71	10.4	1.7	58.48	305
Dressmakers, Supplies	4	0	4	0	0	0	0
Drygoods, Retail	249	104	145	10.8	3.5	41.77	218
Dye Works Agency	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fancy Goods	49	6	43	.62	1.0	12.24	64
Gents Furnishings	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Men's Furnishings	142	73	69	7.6	1.7	51.41	299
Millinery Goods	90	21	69	2.2	1.7	23.33	122
Shoe Dealers	142	102	40	10.6	.90	71.83	374
Worsted Goods	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Real Estate							
Bowling Alleys	35	0	35	0	.80	0	0
Buildings—Public Office	185	38	147	3.9	3.6	20.54	107
Real Estate	104	9	95	.93	2.3	8.65	45
Real Estate Agent	203	1	202	.10	4.9	.49	3

TABLE 21—Continued

Occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Total						
Finance							
Bankers	31	0	31	0	.20	0	0
Banks	404	0	404	0	3.1	0	0
Bonds	65	8	57	.40	.40	12.3	86
Brokers (Stocks, Bonds)	28	1	27	.04	.20	3.57	75
Stock Brokers	12	1	11	.04	0	8.33	58
Stock Companies	657	18	639	.90	5.0	2.73	19
Food							
Beverages, Retail	100	1	99	.04	.70	1	7
Beverages, Wholesale	3	1	2	.04	0	33.33	234
Confections, Wholesale	196	29	167	1.4	1.3	14.79	104
Fish, Oysters	114	0	114	0	.90	0	0
Fruit Dealers, Retail	136	29	107	1.4	.80	21.32	169
Fruit Dealers, Wholesale	51	7	44	.33	.30	13.72	96
Grocery, Retail	757	163	594	7.7	6.2	21.53	151
Ice Cream	206	20	186	.94	1.4	9.7	68
Meat Market	844	114	730	5.4	5.7	13.5	95
Meat, Retail	152	24	128	1.1	1.0	15.78	111
Producers, Provision Dealers	82	25	57	1.2	.40	30.48	214
Restaurant, Lunchrooms	593	44	549	2.0	4.3	7.41	52
Saloons	999	38	961	1.8	7.5	3.8	27
Tea, Coffee Retail	217	1	216	.04	1.7	.46	3
Wine, Liquor	28	3	25	.14	.10	10.71	75
Miscellaneous							
Antiques—Furniture	20	2	18	1.0	.10	10	70
Book Sellers	75	1	74	.04	.50	1.33	9

TABLE 21—Continued

Occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Total (Continued)						
Miscellaneous							
Carpet Dealers	88	1	87	.04	.60	1.13	8
Carpet Layers	2	1	1	.04	0	50	350
Cemeteries	79	6	73	.30	.50	7.59	53
Cigar, Tobacco Retail	259	41	218	1.9	2.0	15.83	111
Coal, Charcoal Dealers	236	8	228	.40	1.8	3.39	24
Department Stores	21	3	18	.14	.10	14.29	100
Feed Dealers	17	1	16	.04	.10	5.88	41
Flour, Grain, Feed	192	3	189	.14	1.4	1.56	11
Florists	239	2	237	1.0	1.8	.84	6
Furs	6	1	5	.04	0	16.67	117
Fur Dealers	9	7	2	.33	0	77.78	545
Furs, Robes	38	11	17	.52	.20	28.95	203
Furniture Dealers —Retail	265	95	170	4.5	1.3	35.85	251
Halls	136	11	125	.52	.90	8.09	57
Hardware, Cutlery Retail	118	5	113	.23	.80	4.24	30
Hardware Dealers	45	2	43	1.0	.30	4.44	31
Hides, Skins	20	11	9	.52	0	55.00	385
Hides, Tallow Skins	11	1	10	.04	0	9.09	64
Installment Goods	11	1	10	0	0	100.0	705
Insurance Agent	521	1	520	.04	4.1	.20	1
Jewelry	18	5	13	.23	.10	27.78	191
Jewelers, Retail	31	15	16	.71	.10	48.39	339
Laundries	240	7	233	.33	1.8	2.92	20
Livestock	10	5	5	.23	0	50.00	350
Lodging Houses	35	2	33	1.0	.20	5.71	40
Mills Dealers	79	5	74	.23	.50	6.33	44
Music Instruments	133	4	129	.70	.90	10.53	74
Office Furniture	17	1	16	.04	.10	5.88	41
Oil Dealers	86	6	80	.30	.63	6.98	49
Paper Stock	52	11	41	.52	.32	21.15	148
Phono, Record Dealers	12	5	7	.23	.05	41.67	297

TABLE 21—Continued

Occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Total (Continued)						
Miscellaneous							
Phonographic Supplies	23	2	21	1.0	.16	8.70	61
Piano Dealers	113	1	112	.04	.88	.88	6
Plumbing	13	1	12	.04	.0	7.69	54
Scales, Weight	20	1	19	.04	.10	5.00	35
Steamship Agent	159	3	156	.14	1.2	1.89	13
Stove, Ranges	2	2	0	1.0	0	100.00	70
Stoves, Tinware	95	3	92	.14	.70	3.16	22
Surety Bonds	81	6	75	0	.50	7.41	52
Seeds	88	1	87	.04	.60	1.14	8
Rubber Goods	33	4	29	.20	.20	12.12	85
Talking Machine Supplies	210	1	209	.04	1.6	.48	3
Trunks, Bags	200	12	198	.60	1.4	6.00	44
Typewriting Machines	15	0	15	0	.10	0	0
Variety Stores	111	8	103	.40	.80	7.21	51
Watches, Jewelry	69	2	67	1.0	.50	2.90	20
Wood Dealers	200	5	195	.23	1.5	2.50	18
Clothing							
Boot-Shoe Dealers	438	86	532	4.1	2.7	19.63	138
Clothing Dealers	330	166	164	7.9	1.2	50.30	354
Clothing Dealers, Women	59	20	39	.94	.30	33.90	238
Clothiers	280	175	5	8.3	.80	62.50	438
Dressmakers, Supplies	579	21	558	1.0	4.4	3.63	25
Dry Goods, Retail	669	272	397	13.0	2.6	44.66	313
Dye Works Agency	42	6	36	.30	.20	14.29	100
Fancy Goods	268	57	211	3.0	1.6	21.27	149
Gents Furnishings	169	34	135	1.0	8.9	20.12	141
Men's Furnishings	293	127	166	6.0	1.3	43.34	304
Millinery Goods	284	60	224	2.8	1.7	21.12	148
Shoe Dealers	352	156	196	7.4	1.5	44.31	311
Worsted Goods	11	8	3	.40	0	72.72	511

TABLE 21—Continued

Occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Total (Continued)						
Real Estate							
Bowling Alleys	47	2	45	.10	.30	4.25	30
Buildings—Public Office	185	38	147	1.8	1.1	20.54	144
Real Estate	138	9	129	.42	1.0	6.52	46
Real Estate Agent	474	1	473	.04	3.7	.21	1

Jews could be seen in the construction trades as witnessed by figures in Table 22. For the entire period of the study, they could be observed most highly concentrated as contractors and carpenters, painters and decorators, and as plumbers, in that order. Carpenters could be found throughout the period of our investigation. With a few possible exceptions, the conclusion must be drawn that the Jews of Middletown were not involved in construction in the classical sense of the term.

TABLE 22

CONSTRUCTION

Occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			1870-1899				
Carpenters, Construction	207	2	205	100	43.9	.96	229
Contractors, Carpenters	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Contractors, General	15	0	15	0	3.2	0	0
Electrical Contractors	8	0	8	0	1.7	0	0
Mason Builders	62	0	62	0	13.3	0	0
Painters, Decorators	4	0	4	0	.80	0	0
Painters, Paper Hangers	72	0	72	0	15.4	0	0
Planing, Scroll Sawing	15	0	15	0	3.2	0	0
Plumbers	85	0	85	0	18.2	0	0
			1900-1919				
Carpenters, Construction	259	6	253	22.2	54.2	2.31	89
Contractors, Carpenters	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Contractors, General	152	0	152	0	15.1	0	0
Electrical Contractors	41	0	41	0	4.0	0	0
Mason Builders	138	2	136	7.4	13.5	1.44	55
Painters, Decorators	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Painters, Paper Hangers	244	14	230	51.9	22.8	5.73	220
Planing, Scroll Sawing	32	1	31	3.8	3.0	31.2	120
Plumbers	167	4	163	14.9	16.2	2.39	92

TABLE 22—Continued

Occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			1920-1934				
Carpenters, Construction	118	8	110	21.0	10.2	6.77	193
Contractors, Carpenters	50	4	46	10.3	4.2	8	229
Contractors, General	363	1	362	2.6	33.7	.27	8
Electrical Contractors	66	5	61	12.8	5.6	7.57	216
Mason Builders	101	0	101	0	9.4	0	0
Painters, Decorators	96	5	91	12.8	8.4	5.20	149
Painters, Paper Hangers	127	1	126	2.6	11.7	.78	22
Planing, Scroll Sawing	6	0	6	0	.50	0	0
Plumbers	178	5	172	38.5	16.1	2.8	80
			Total				
Carpenters, Construction	584	16	568	23.5	22.3	2.73	105
Contractors, Carpenters	58	4	54	5.9	2.1	6.89	265
Contractors, General	530	1	529	1.5	20.7	.18	7
Electrical Contractors	115	5	110	7.4	4.3	.94	36
Mason Builders	301	2	299	2.9	11.7	.66	25
Painters, Decorators	100	5	95	7.4	3.7	5	192
Painters, Paper Hangers	443	15	428	22.1	16.8	3.38	130
Planing, Scroll Sawing	53	1	52	1.5	2.0	1.88	72
Plumbers	430	19	411	27.9	16.1	4.41	170

The Jews of Middletown could be found at least once in all nine pursuits which comprise the service category. As witnessed in Table 23, Jews were most highly concentrated in cold storage, as caterers and window cleaners, in that order. During the nineteenth century, they could be seen as caterers, barbers and hairdressers, while the turn of the century saw them entering window and carpet cleaning. Cold storage, a concern closely linked with the fur business, became an area of high Jewish concentration during the 1920-1934 period, while furniture repairing, furnished rooms, and billiard pools also made their appearance.

TABLE 23

SERVICE

Occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			1870–1899				
Barbers	101	9	92	60	41.2	8.91	141
Billiards—Pool	81	2	79	13.3	35.4	2.46	39
Carpet Cleaners	1	0	1	0	.40	0	0
Caterers	12	3	9	20	4.0	25	397
Cold Storage	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Furniture Repair	23	0	23	0	10.3	0	0
Furnished Rooms	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hair Dressers	20	1	19	6.7	8.5	5	79
Window Cleaners	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			1900–1919				
Barbers	310	12	298	60	60.4	3.87	99
Billiards—Pool	85	2	83	10	37.2	2.35	60
Carpet Cleaners	11	2	9	10	4.0	18.18	46
Caterers	14	2	12	10	5.3	14.28	367
Cold Storage	2	0	2	0	.80	0	0
Furniture Repair	40	0	40	0	17.9	0	0
Furnished Rooms	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hair Dressers	46	0	46	0	20.6	0	0
Window Cleaners	5	2	3	10	1.3	40	1028
			1920–1934				
Barbers	294	1	293	2.5	65.6	.34	4
Billiards—Pool	50	1	49	2.5	10.9	2	35
Carpet Cleaners	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Caterers	15	12	3	30	.60	80	920
Cold Storage	8	8	0	20	0	100	1151
Furniture Repair	16	7	9	17.5	2.0	43.75	503
Furnished Rooms	41	3	38	7.5	8.5	7.31	84
Hair Dressers	50	3	47	7.5	10.5	6	69
Window Cleaners	12	5	7	12.5	1.5	41.66	479

TABLE 23—Continued

Occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Total						
Barbers	705	22	683	29.3	64.3	3.12	47
Billiards—Pool	216	5	211	6.7	0	2.31	35
Carpet Cleaners	12	2	10	2.7	.90	16.66	253
Caterers	41	17	24	22.7	2.2	41.46	629
Cold Storage	10	8	2	10.7	.10	80	1214
Furniture Repair	79	7	72	9.3	6.5	8.86	134
Furnished Rooms	41	3	38	4	3.5	7.31	111
Hair Dressers	116	4	112	5.3	10.5	3.44	52
Window Cleaners	17	7	10	22.7	.90	41.17	625

Concluding Remarks

Our data lead us to the conclusion that the occupational pursuits of Middletown Jewry closely paralleled that found in other studies. Although Middletown is a small community, there is little reason to believe that the Jews deviated in any significant way from their occupational pursuits in the larger cities during the middle and later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

One is struck perusing Appendix at the vast array of Jews in the various occupations who came and left Middletown. Apparently, many Jews in different occupations tried to ply their trade and once finding Middletown not to their liking simply left. Death certainly must have played a role in this phenomenon.

CHAPTER IX

MARRIAGE

This chapter discusses the marriage patterns of Middletown Jewry from the middle of the nineteenth century until 1935. It begins with a discussion of some of the information we already know of Jewish marriages followed by a section devoted to methodological procedures. Findings from the present study are then presented, and the chapter concludes with a few brief remarks.

John S. Billings[1] in his sample of 10,618 Jewish families consisting of 60,630 people who had been living in the United States for five years as of December 31, 1889, was perhaps the first to touch on Jewish marriages. Among his findings was that the average number of marriages among Jews per 1,000 was 7.60, and that the Jews were more likely to be married than non-Jews. Billings' data also showed the Jews to marry at a later age:

> The average age of marriage is greater among the Jews than it is among other people; thus the proportion

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[1] John S. Billings, "Vital Statistics of the Jews," North American Review, 152: 70-84, 1891.

> of males under twenty-five who married per 1,000 of all marrying was 136 among the Jews, 375 in Massachusetts in 1888, and 387 in Rhode Island in 1887, while the proportion of Jews between thirty and thirty-five marrying was 270, as against 134 in Massachusetts and 129 in Rhode Island.[2]

Generally speaking, the evidence that we have, while sparse, does point to a higher Jewish marriage rate, and lower divorce rate, and that the Jews are more likely to marry at later ages than non-Jews. Havemann and West[3] found that among Jewish coeds the proportion of unmarried career women was 23 of 100. This is in contrast to 31 out of 100 among Protestant coeds and 48 out of 100 among Catholics. Intelligence does not appear to affect this relationship. Thus, Louis Terman[4] found higher proportions of Jewish males and females married than was the case among non-Jews. Terman found that 78 per cent of the Jewish men were married in contrast to 68.5 per cent among the non-Jewish men. Seventy-four per cent of the Jewish female geniuses were married, in contrast to 71 per cent among non-Jewish females so endowed.

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[2] Ibid., p. 75.

[3] Ernest Havemann and Patricia S. West, They Went to College (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1952), pp. 55-56.

[4] Lewis M. Terman, Genetic Studies of Genius, Vol. 4 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1947), p. 300.

Jewish families have also been found to be more stable than non-Jewish ones. Gerhard Lenski[5] in his Detroit study found the Jews to have a lower divorce rate than was the case among Catholics or Protestants. Thus, 4 per cent of the twenty-six Jewish respondents reported a divorce in contrast to 8 per cent among the 206 Catholic respondents and 16 per cent among the Protestants who had ever been married. The Lenski study also pointed to a higher proportion of Jewish men under the age of twenty-four as single. Thus, although comparatively more Jewish men tend to marry than is the case among non-Jews, they tend to do so at a later age.

Methodology

In order to gather information on Jewish marriages, every marriage certificate on file in the Middletown Health Department until December 31, 1934, was scanned. A total of 11,658 marriages were reviewed of which 106 involved at least one spouse who was positively identified as Jewish.

Once a certificate belonging to at least one Jew was identified, the next marriage certificate belonging to a non-Jewish couple was recorded. (Appendix O is a

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[5]Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1961), p. 198.

sample marriage certificate while Appendix P gives us the coding format for the analysis.)

If both Jewish parties originated in Middletown, the next non-Jewish certificate utilized was one in which both bride and groom came from Middletown. Similarly, if the Jewish bride came from Middletown, the non-Jewish bride had also to come from Middletown. Thus, we are able to compare Jews and non-Jews in terms of place of origin of spouse.

Findings

On March 21, 1858, Moses S. Strauss joined Abraham Hyms and Rosina Frank in holy matrimony. Mr. Hyms was Jewish, white, and twenty-five years of age and was born in Poland. Miss Frank was also Jewish, white, twenty-two years of age, and was born in Germany. That same day, W. C. Hoyt joined Alonzo C. Neff and Matilda McNary in holy matrimony. Mr Neff was a Gentile, twenty-three years of age and was born in Middletown, Connecticut. Miss McNary was also a Gentile, white, twenty-six years of age, and was also born in Middletown, Connecticut.

Slightly more than seventy-six years later on June 28, 1934, Rabbi Louis Greenberg joined Mr. Sam Elson and Miss Gertrude Clemens Palmer in holy matrimony. Mr. Elson was a twenty-five year old Jewish lawyer born in New York

City. His mother's maiden name was Sarah Reichik and his father was Alex Elson. Sam Elson came from St. Louis, Missouri, and was white and single. His bride was also Jewish, twenty-five years of age and born in New York City. Her mother was Bethia Clemens and her father was Isadore Palmer. Gertrude resided in Middletown, was white and single.

In that same week, Martin L. Guebert joined Percy Willesby Jackson and Wilhelmina Rasch in the bonds of Holy Matrimony. Mr. Jackson, a Gentile lace weaver, was twenty-five years of age and was born in Nottingham, England. His mother's maiden name was Beatrice E. Wright and his father was Alfred Jackson. Percy Jackson came from Middletown, was white and divorced. His bride was Gentile and nineteen years of age, born in Middletown. Her mother was Pauline Kolka and her father was Adam Rasch. Wilhelmina was white and single.

Marriage Rates

As in the case of births, we are in no position to speak of marriage rates in the strict sense of the term. In order to calculate marriage rates, it is necessary to have base Jewish population figures of those who are of eligible marriage age. These were not available. We can, however, calculate proportions of Jewish marriages and

it is in this sense that Jewish marriage rates are spoken.

As the data appear to indicate in Figure 3, the Jews always constituted a minute proportion of the total number of marriages which took place in Middletown. Exact figures are given on an annual basis as part of Appendix Q. In fact, they never exceeded 3.37 per cent of the total number. Table 24 gives us the figures by period, which indicate a significant rise in the percentage of Jewish marriages between the 1852-1869 and the 1870-1879 eras. The highest percentage of Jewish marriages took place in the 1920-1929 decade.

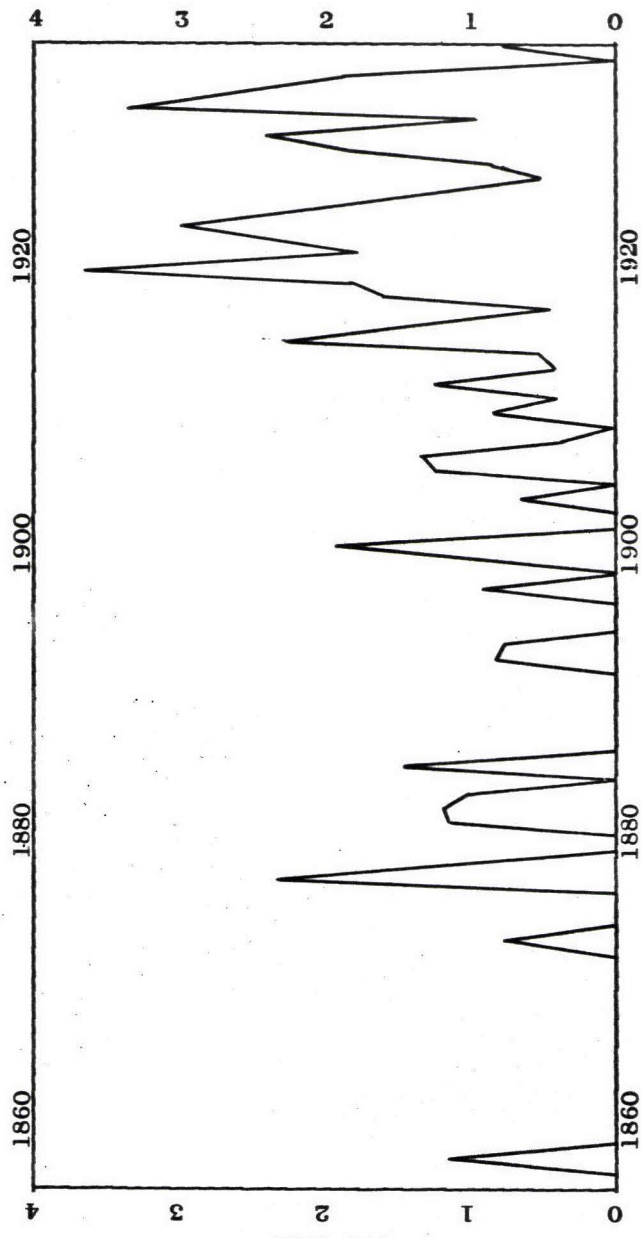


Figure 3.—Marriages

TABLE 24

DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH MARRIAGES OVER TIME

Item	1858-1869	1870-1879	1880-1889	1890-1899	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929	1930-1934	Total
Number of Jewish Marriages	1	4	4	4	11	30	36	16	106
Range of Jewish Marriages	0-1	0-4	0-4	0-4	0-11	1-30	1-36	0-16	
Total Number of Marriages	1,528	1,099	917	1,115	1,688	2,261	2,080	970	11,658
Range of Marriage	77-126	84-138	67-105	92-135	102-246	160-256	134-232	156-252	
Percentage of Jewish Marriages	0.06	0.36	0.43	0.35	0.65	1.32	1.73	1.64	0.91

Religion of Spouse

None of the grooms in a Jewish marriage was found to be non-Jewish, whereas three of the brides were found to be non-Jewish. One intermarriage took place in the 1920-1929 era, while two more took place in 1930-1934 era.

Place of Birth

Bride

Most Jewish brides as seen in Table 25 originated either from Russia, Poland, or Roumania. More than nine times as many Jewish as non-Jewish brides originating from these countries. High proportions of Jewish brides from eastern Europe can be seen throughout the entire period encompassed by the study.

Over four in ten Jewish brides were born in the United States compared with more than seven in ten among non-Jewish women. While a majority of non-Jewish brides born in the United States constituted a majority in every period, it was not until the 1920-1934 era that over half of the Jewish brides were born in the United States.

Groom

As seen in Table 26, more than eight out of every ten Jewish grooms came either from Russia, Poland, or

Roumania. This is in contrast to less than one in six non-Jewish grooms. Very high proportions of Jewish grooms from eastern Europe could be seen throughout every period of the study.

Many Jewish grooms came either from Germany, Austria, or Bohemia, more so in fact than was the case among non-Jews. There is, however, a decrease in the proportion of Western Europe Jewish grooms over time.

Although the proportion of Jewish grooms born in the United States increased over the years, especially between the 1900-1919 and 1920-1934 eras, it never approximated the proportion of non-Jewish grooms born in the United States.

Figures for our entire period indicate that whereas less than one in three Jewish grooms were born in the United States well over six out of ten non-Jewish men were similarly born.

TABLE 25

BIRTHPLACE OF BRIDE

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1858-1899		
Middletown	28.6 16.7 2	71.4 38.5 5	28.0	7
United States	28.6 16.7 2	71.4 38.5 5	28.0	7
Germany, Austria, Bohemia	66.7 16.7 2	33.3 7.7 1	12.0	3
England	100.0 83.0 1		4.0	1
Russia, Poland, Roumania	100.0 41.7 5		20.5	5
Ireland		100.0 7.7 1	4.0	1
Italy				
Scotland		100.0 7.7 1	4.0	1
France				
Canada				
Sweden				
Hungary				

TABLE 25—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1858–1899 (Continued)		
Total	48.0 12	52.0 13	100.0	25
		1900–1919		
Middletown	25.0 7.3 3	75.0 22.5 9	14.8	12
United States	34.8 19.5 8	65.2 37.5 15	28.4	23
Germany, Austria, Bohemia		100.0 12.5 5	6.2	5
England	100.0 2.4 1		1.2	1
Russia, Poland, Roumania	90.3 68.3 28	9.7 7.5 3	38.3	31
Ireland				
Italy		100.0 15.0 6	7.4	6
Scotland				
France				
Canada		100.0 5.0 2	2.5	2

TABLE 25—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1900-1909 (Continued)		
Sweden				
Hungary		100.0 2.4 1	1.2	1
Total	50.6 41	49.4 40	100.0	81
		1920-1934		
Middletown	37.5 23.1 12	62.5 39.2 20	31.1	32
United States	42.1 30.8 16	57.9 43.1 22	36.9	38
Germany, Austria, Bohemia	100.0 1.9 1		1.0	1
England	100.0 1.9 1		1.0	1
Russia, Poland, Roumania	88.0 42.3 22	12.0 5.9 3	24.3	25
Ireland		100.0 2.0 1	1.0	1
Italy		100.0 9.8 5	4.9	5

TABLE 25—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1920-1934 (Continued)		
Scotland				
France				
Canada				
Sweden				
Hungary				
Total	50.5 52	49.5 51	100.0	103
		All Ages		
Middletown	33.3 16.2 17	66.7 32.7 34	24.4	51
United States	38.2 24.8 26	61.8 40.4 42	32.5	68
Germany, Austria, Bohemia	33.3 2.9 3	66.7 5.8 6	4.3	9
England	100.0 2.9 3		1.4	3
Russia, Poland, Roumania	90.2 52.4 55	9.8 5.8 6	29.2	61
Ireland		100.0 1.9 2	1.0	2

TABLE 25—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		All Ages (Continued)		
Italy		100.0 10.6 11	5.3	11
Scotland		100.0 1.0 1	0.5	1
France				
Canada		100.0 1.9 2	1.0	2
Sweden				
Hungary	100.0 1.0 1		0.5	1
Total	50.2 105	49.8 104	100.0	209

TABLE 26

BIRTHPLACE OF GROOM

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1858-1899		
Middletown	12.5 7.7 1	87.5 53.8 7	30.8	8
United States	25.0 7.7 1	75.0 23.1 3	15.4	4
Germany, Austria, Bohemia	75.0 23.1 3	25.0 7.7 1	15.4	4
England	50.0 7.7 1	50.0 7.7 1	7.7	2
Russia, Poland, Roumania	100.0 53.8 7		26.9	7
Ireland		100.0 7.7 1	3.8	1
Italy				
France				
Canada				
Sweden				
Lithuania				
Total	50.0 13	50.0 13	100.0	26

TABLE 26—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1900-1919		
Middletown	12.5 2.4 1	87.5 17.1 7	9.8	8
United States	28.6 14.6 6	71.4 36.6 15	25.6	21
Germany, Austria, Bohemia	60.0 7.3 3	40.0 4.9 2	6.1	5
England				
Russia, Poland, Roumania	81.6 75.6 31	18.4 17.1 7	46.3	38
Ireland				
Italy		100.0 17.1 7	8.5	7
France		100.0 2.4 1	1.2	1
Canada		100.0 2.4 1	1.2	1
Sweden	100.0 2.4 1		1.2	1
Lithuania				
Total	50.0 41	50.0 41	100.0	82

TABLE 26—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1920-1934		
Middletown	33.3 13.5 7	66.7 27.5 14	20.4	21
United States	41.2 26.9 14	58.8 39.2 20	33.0	34
Germany, Austria, Bohemia	66.7 3.8 2	33.3 2.0 1	2.9	3
England	33.3 1.9 1	66.7 3.9 2	2.9	3
Russia, Poland, Roumania	87.1 51.9 27	12.9 7.8 4	30.1	31
Ireland				
Italy		100.0 19.6 10	9.7	10
France				
Canada				
Sweden				
Lithuania	100.0 1.9 1		1.0	1
Total	50.5 52	49.5 51	100.0	103

TABLE 26—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		All Ages		
Middletown	24.3 8.5 9	75.7 26.7 28	17.5	37
United States	35.6 19.8 21	64.4 36.2 38	28.0	59
Germany, Austria, Bohemia	66.7 7.5 8	33.3 3.8 4	5.7	12
England	40.0 1.9 2	60.0 2.9 3	2.4	5
Russia, Poland, Roumania	85.5 61.3 65	14.5 10.5 11	36.0	76
Ireland		100.0 1.0 1	0.5	1
Italy		100.0 16.2 17	8.1	17
France		100.0 1.0 1	0.5	1
Canada		100.0 1.0 1	0.5	1
Sweden		100.0 1.0 1	0.5	1

TABLE 26—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		All Ages (Continued)		
Lithuania	100.0 0.9 1		0.5	1
Total	50.2 106	49.8 105	100.0	211

Age of Spouses

Brides

We address ourselves in this section to age at first marriage. Figures given in Table 27 indicate that Jewish women over the entire period of the study married at younger ages. Thus, whereas Jewish women were on the average twenty-two years and nine months old at first marriage, non-Jewish women were approximately twenty-three years and five months old at first marriage.

The picture over time is mixed compared with non-Jewish brides. Thus, Jewish brides were older in the nineteenth century, slightly younger in the 1900-1919 era, and older during the 1920-1934 period.

Grooms

Jewish men became husbands at younger ages than non-Jews. Whereas Jewish men first married at slightly over twenty-six and one-half years of age, non-Jewish men first married at well over twenty-seven and one-half years of age.

This was not always the case. Thus, whereas Jewish men were younger at first marriage up until 1920, they were older than their non-Jewish neighbors at first marriage during the 1920-1934 era.

Both Jews and non-Jews generally speaking married at later ages over time. This pattern is far more pronounced among Jewish brides and grooms than it is among the non-Jews.

TABLE 27

AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

Item	Jews		Non-Jews	
	Brides	Grooms	Brides	Grooms
		1852-1899		
$\bar{X}$	21.00	22.60	19.00	23.29
sd	0	1.63	8.91	8.22
N	5	5	7	7
		1900-1919		
$\bar{X}$	22.49	26.05	23.06	27.77
sd	2.89	4.18	4.24	6.25
N	39	39	17	17
		1920-1934		
$\bar{X}$	23.28	27.35	22.52	26.70
sd	2.68	3.97	4.71	5.57
N	46	46	50	50
		Total		
$\bar{X}$	22.81	26.52	23.26	27.57
sd	2.76	4.13	5.51	6.32
N	90	90	74	74

We further wished to learn what relationship may have existed between age at first marriage and place of birth, whether native or foreign. Figures given in Table 28 show native-born Jewish women to have been younger than native-born non-Jewish women at first marriage. The data over time show a reverse trend in both groups. Whereas native-born Jewish women were getting older at first marriage, native-born non-Jewish women were getting decidedly younger.

Foreign-born Jewish women were older at first marriage than foreign-born non-Jewish women. The same pattern seen over time among the respective native-born women existed among the foreign-born. Thus, whereas foreign-born Jewish women were getting older at first marriage, foreign-born non-Jewish women were getting younger.

The picture is somewhat similar among grooms. Native-born men were on the over-all slightly younger than native-born non-Jewish men at first marriage. While over time, native-born Jewish men were getting older at first marriage, native-born non-Jewish men were getting decidedly younger.

Foreign-born Jewish men were older at first marriage than foreign-born non-Jewish men. The picture is similar to the one we have seen previously over time. Jewish men

of foreign birth were steadily getting older, while foreign-born non-Jewish men were for the most part getting younger.

TABLE 28

AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE: NATIVE VS. FOREIGN BORN

Item	Jews				Non-Jews			
	Brides		Grooms		Brides		Grooms	
	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign
				1858-1899				
$\bar{X}$	21.00	21.00	0.0	22.60	29.17	28.00	31.00	31.00
sd	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.63	9.62	0.0	7.97	0.0
N	1	4	0	5	6	1	4	1
				1900-1919				
$\bar{X}$	22.55	22.41	25.57	25.70	24.56	20.43	29.00	23.60
sd	3.92	2.39	4.03	3.49	4.48	2.13	7.18	1.86
N	11	27	7	30	9	7	9	5

TABLE 28—Continued

Item	Jews				Non-Jews			
	Brides		Grooms		Brides		Grooms	
	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign
				1920-1935				
$\bar{X}$	23.00	23.39	27.05	27.35	22.93	19.67	26.03	25.53
sd	2.58	2.52	4.36	3.61	4.78	2.21	5.20	3.05
N	27	18	21	23	40	9	31	15
				Total				
$\bar{X}$	22.82	22.65	26.68	26.09	23.87	20.47	27.09	25.33
sd	3.01	2.44	4.33	3.67	5.81	2.85	6.19	3.12
N	39	49	28	58	55	17	44	21

Occupation of Groom

The Hollingshead Two Factor Index of Social Position[6] was once again used to locate individuals in the occupational structure. (See Appendix F for an elaboration of the Index.)

Jewish men occupied higher positions within the occupational system at time of marriage than non-Jews. Table 29 shows that for the entire period of the study 7.7 per cent of the Jewish grooms were engaged in occupations of major professional and lesser professional status, in contrast to 5.7 per cent among the non-Jewish men. Jewish grooms made their entrance into these high status occupations primarily in the 1920-1934 period. Although percentage increases could be seen among the non-Jews in these positions, the increase during the 1920-1934 period is far more accented among the Jews. Thus, whereas in the latter period 13.4 per cent of the Jewish grooms were in the highest status occupational groups, only 7.6 per cent of the non-Jewish grooms were so engaged.

Far more Jewish grooms were to be found in the middle class occupational groups, defined herein as minor professional, owners of little businesses, and skilled

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[6]August B. Hollingshead, Two Factor Index of Social Position (New Haven: Privately Printed, 1957).

manual employees, than was the case among the non-Jewish grooms. Thus, whereas 76.2 per cent of the Jewish grooms were in middle status occupational groups, 58.7 per cent of the non-Jewish grooms were so occupied.

In every period of the study not less than three out of every four Jewish grooms were occupied in the middle status occupational groups. In no period did more than 5.7 out of every ten non-Jewish grooms occupy similar positions.

TABLE 29

OCCUPATION OF GROOM

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1858-1899		
Major Professional			0.0	0
Lesser Professional		100.0 8.3 1	4.2	1
Minor Professional	75.0 25.0 3	25.0 8.3 1	16.7	4
Little Business	100.0 25.0 3		12.5	3
Skilled Manual Employee	30.0 25.0 3	70.0 58.3 7	41.7	10
Semi-Skilled		100.0 16.7 2	8.3	2
Unskilled	75.0 25.0 3	25.0 8.3 1	16.7	4
Total	50.0 12	50.0 12	100.0	24

TABLE 29—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1900-1919		
Major Professional			0.0	0
Lesser Professional	50.0 2.4 1	50.0 2.5 1	2.5	2
Minor Professional	84.2 39.0 16	15.8 7.5 3	23.5	19
Little Business	75.0 14.6 6	25.0 5.0 2	9.9	8
Skilled Manual Employee	35.7 24.4 10	64.3 45.0 18	34.6	28
Semi-Skilled	33.3 4.9 2	66.7 10.0 4	7.4	6
Unskilled	33.3 14.6 6	66.7 30.0 12	22.2	18
Total	50.6 41	49.4 40	100.0	81

TABLE 29—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1920-1934		
Major Professional	71.4 9.6 5	28.6 3.8 2	6.7	7
Lesser Professional	50.0 3.8 2	5.0 3.8 2	3.8	4
Minor Professional	83.9 50.0 26	16.1 9.6 5	29.8	31
Little Business	63.6 13.5 7	36.4 7.7 4	10.6	11
Skilled Manual Employee	22.2 11.5 6	77.8 40.4 21	26.0	27
Semi-Skilled	27.8 9.6 5	72.2 25.0 13	17.3	18
Unskilled	16.7 1.9 1	83.3 9.6 5	5.8	6
Total	50.0 52	50.0 52	100.0	104

TABLE 29—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		Total		
Major Professional	71.4 4.8 3	28.6 1.9 2	3.3	7
Lesser Professional	42.9 2.9 3	57.1 3.8 4	3.3	7
Minor Professional	83.3 42.9 45	16.7 8.7 9	28.5	54
Little Business	72.7 15.2 16	27.3 5.8 6	10.5	22
Skilled Manual Employee	29.2 18.1 19	70.8 44.2 46	31.1	65
Semi-Skilled	26.9 6.7 7	73.1 18.3 19	12.4	26
Unskilled	35.7 9.5 10	64.3 17.3 18	13.4	28
Total	50.2 105	49.8 104	100.0	209

Race of Couple

All parties in the marriages comprised by this study were white.

Residence of Couple

Brides

Figures given as part of Table 30 show that slightly over six out of every ten Jewish brides came from Middletown in contrast to almost nine out of ten among non-Jewish brides. Whereas 16 per cent of the Jewish brides came from somewhere outside of Connecticut only about 6 per cent of the non-Jewish brides came from out of the state.

Although within each period at least over half of all Jewish brides derived from Middletown, considerably higher proportions of non-Jewish brides came from this town. One also sees increasing numbers of Jewish brides deriving from outside the borders of Connecticut.

Grooms

More non-Jewish grooms came from Middletown than was the case among the non-Jewish men. Table 31 shows that whereas 85.7 per cent of the non-Jewish men came from Middletown, the comparable figure for the Jewish men is

76.9 per cent. Throughout every period of the study, fewer Jewish than non-Jewish men derived from Middletown. Conversely, more Jewish than non-Jewish grooms came from locations outside of Middletown.

Thus, the data suggest that non-Jewish brides and grooms were more likely to come from Middletown than was the case among Jewish couples. They further suggest that Middletown men were more likely to marry women from outside of Middletown than Middletown Jewish women were likely to marry men who lived outside of the town.

TABLE 30

RESIDENCE OF BRIDE

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1858-1899		
Middletown	43.5 76.9 10	56.5 100.0 13	88.5	23
Connecticut	100.0 15.4 2		7.7	2
Other United States	100.0 7.7 1		3.8	1
Total	50.0 13	50.0 13	100.0	26
		1900-1919		
Middletown	39.3 53.7 22	60.7 82.9 34	68.3	56
Connecticut	73.7 34.1 14	26.3 12.2 5	23.2	19
Other United States	71.4 12.2 5	28.6 4.9 2	8.5	7
Total	50.0 41	50.0 41	100.0	82

TABLE 30—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1920-1934		
Middletown	42.3 63.5 33	57.7 86.5 45	75.0	89
Connecticut	72.7 15.4 8	27.3 5.8 3	10.6	11
Other United States	73.3 21.2 11	26.7 7.7 4	14.4	15
Total	50.0 52	50.0 52	100.0	52
		Total		
Middletown	41.4 61.3 65	58.6 86.8 92	74.1	157
Connecticut	75.0 22.6 24	25.0 7.5 8	15.1	32
Other United States	73.9 16.0 17	26.1 5.7 6	10.8	23
Total	50.0 106	50.0 106	100.0	212

TABLE 31

RESIDENCE OF GROOM

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1852-1899		
Middletown	45.8 84.6 11	54.2 100.0 13	92.3	24
Connecticut	100.0 7.7 1		3.8	1
Other United States	100.0 7.7 1		3.8	1
Total	50.0 13	50.0 13	100.0	26
		1900-1919		
Middletown	48.6 85.0 34	51.4 90.0 36	87.5	70
Connecticut	50.0 10.0 4	50.0 10.0 4	10.0	8
Other United States	100.0 5.0 2		2.5	2
Total	50.0 40	50.0 40	100.0	80

TABLE 31—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1920-1934		
Middletown	46.1 68.6 35	53.9 78.8 41	73.8	76
Connecticut	56.0 27.5 14	44.0 21.2 11	24.3	25
Other United States	100.0 3.9 2		1.9	2
Total	49.5 51	50.5 52	100.0	103
		Total		
Middletown	47.1 76.9 80	52.9 85.7 90	81.3	170
Connecticut	55.9 18.3 19	44.1 14.3 15	16.3	34
Other United States	100.0 4.8 5			
Total	49.8 104	50.2 105	100.0	209

Marital Status

Bride

By marital status is meant whether the spouses at time of marriages were single, widowed, or divorced. Figures given in Table 32 indicate that at the time of marriage Jewish women were less likely to be single and divorced and more likely to be widowed than non-Jewish women.

Numbers are exceedingly low precluding any meaningful discussion of this variable over time. The high numbers of widowed women marrying in the 1920-1934 period is, however, notable.

Groom

The picture among Jewish grooms is somewhat similar to that derived for Jewish brides. Compared with non-Jewish men, Jewish men were only slightly more likely to be single, more likely to be widowed, and less likely to be divorced, as seen in Table 33.

Again numbers are low precluding any real meaningful discussion of trends over time. The high numbers of widowed men, interestingly, equals that among Jewish women during the 1920-1934 period.

TABLE 32

MARITAL STATUS OF BRIDE

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1858-1899		
Single	50.0 100.0 5	50.0 71.4 5	83.3	10
Widowed		100.0 28.6 2	16.7	2
Divorced			0.0	0
Total	41.7 5	58.3 7	100.0	12
		1900-1919		
Single	70.4 92.7 38	29.6 88.9 16	91.5	54
Widowed	66.7 4.9 2	33.3 5.6 1	5.1	3
Divorced	50.0 2.4 1	50.0 5.6 1	3.4	2
Total	69.5 41	30.5 18	100.0	59

TABLE 32—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1920-1934		
Single	47.4 86.5 45	52.6 96.2 50	91.3	95
Widowed	87.5 13.5 7	12.5 1.9 1	7.7	8
Divorced		100.0 1.9 1	1.0	1
Total	50.0 52	50.0 52	100.0	104
		Total		
Single	54.7 89.8 88	45.3 94.8 73	92.0	161
Widowed	81.8 9.2 9	18.2 2.6 2	6.3	11
Divorced	33.3 1.0 1	66.7 2.6 2	1.7	3
Total	56.0 98	44.0 77	100.0	175

TABLE 33

MARITAL STATUS OF GROOM

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1852-1899		
Single	50.0 100.0 5	50.0 71.4 5	83.3	10
Widowed		100.0 28.6 2	16.7	2
Divorced			0.0	0
Total	41.7 5	58.3 7	100.0	12
		1900-1919		
Single	72.5 90.2 37	27.5 82.4 14	87.9	51
Widowed	66.7 9.8 4	33.3 11.8 2	10.3	6
Divorced		100.0 5.9 1	1.7	1
Total	70.7 41	29.3 17	100.0	58

TABLE 33—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1920-1934		
Single	48.4 84.6 44	51.6 90.4 47	87.5	91
Widowed	77.8 13.5 7	22.2 3.8 2	8.7	9
Divorced	25.0 1.9 1	75.0 5.8 3	3.8	4
Total	50.0 52	50.0 52	100.0	104
		Total		
Single	56.6 87.8 86	43.4 86.8 66	87.4	152
Widowed	64.7 11.2 11	35.3 7.9 6	9.8	17
Divorced	20.0 1.0 1	80.0 5.3 4	2.9	5
Total	56.3 98	43.7 76	100.0	174

Concluding Remarks

Very few Jews married in Middletown during the early years of its existence. This may suggest that Jews did not consider this small town to be a place for marrying and settling down.

Intermarriage figures are consistent with the low rates known to exist among Jews in their early years in America. The pattern of more Jewish males marrying out of the faith than females is upheld by our data.

Jewish spouses who married in Middletown for the most part came from eastern Europe. The countries of origin of Jewish spouses reflects the proportions who came from the various countries of Europe. There is now reason to believe that any one country was overrepresented under any marriage canopy within this small community. This was not found to be the case among many non-Jews, many of whom came to Middletown from Italy in disproportionate numbers.

Jews were seen generally speaking to marry at younger ages than non-Jews. This reflects the over-all tendency of Jews to marry. The influence of American culture on age at marriage for all spouses, Jewish and non-Jewish, is clearly discernible. Thus, we see people generally delaying the age at which they married. This phenomenon is far more pronounced among the Jews who were probably spending extra time getting formally educated

and/or otherwise getting themselves established.

Significant differences in age at first marriage were found between Jews and non-Jews when a control for country of origin was instituted. These data demonstrate quite clearly the tendency on the part of the Jews to delay marriage. This is in marked contrast to the non-Jews who married at ever younger ages. It is quite apparent that Jewish men and women increasingly saw the benefits to be accrued from delayed gratification.

Occupational data analyzed for grooms show quite clearly that Jewish men were better off occupationally at the time of marriage than non-Jewish men. In fact, as time went on, and as a group, they were getting better able to provide for their brides than was the case among their non-Jewish neighbors.

Middletown men apparently came first to the town and seeing that it had possibilities decided to marry. Since the Jewish population was so small and the number of eligible females minimal, the males were forced to turn outside of the borders of their small adopted town in search of mates.

Jewish families in the past were known for their relative stability and our figures indicating an almost total absence of divorce substantiates this assumption.

CHAPTER X

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

This chapter is addressed to social mobility among the Jewish men of Middletown. We will discuss some of the factors related to social mobility paying particular attention to the Jewish experience. A brief methodology section follows. Data from Middletown are then presented and the chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the findings.

The empirical indicators traditionally employed by sociologists to gauge social mobility are education and occupation. Educational status could not be ascertained. Since occupational mobility is a very potent indicator of social mobility, it is used in our discussion to denote the latter.

It is generally agreed that the Jewish people are among the most mobile of the ethnic groups who settled in these United States. We will discuss some of the possible reasons why this may be the case and present the Middletown experience.

American "core culture" has been delineated by Jurgen Ruesch as bearing the following characteristics: individualistic rational orientation, the achieving orien-

tation, the man against man or rational-mastery orientation and the future time orientation.[1] The work of David C. McClelland has stressed the thesis that parents who embrace an ideology consisting of diligent work, self reliance, and personal autonomy are apt to rear their children so as to inculcate strong motives for achievement. The achievement motive is conceived of as an enduring personality disposition to strive for success in situations where performance is to be evaluated in terms of some standard of excellence. The disposition is assumed to be learned, and as such may differ as between individuals. McClelland presents empirical evidence in support of the notion that high achievement motivation leads people to behave in most of the ways they should if they are to fulfill the entrepreneurial role successfully.

Lipset and Bendix state that industrial society shows that differential socialization in social class subcultures continues to affect mobility, especially by establishing different valuations of higher education

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[1] Jurgen Ruesch, "Social Technique, Social Status, and Social Change in Illness," in Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture, ed. by Clyde Kluckhohn and E. Murray (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1967), pp. 123-136.

among youths.[2] Anderson[3] has demonstrated that education has less impact on mobility than typically assumed in the literature but nevertheless concludes that increments of education continue to differentiate the mobile from the non-mobile among those starting from similar positions.

Jews have long recognized the importance of education as a means of social mobility. Shibutani and Kwan[4] point out that in many American ethnic groups, intellectual interests are considered effeminate, whereas among the Jewish people this is not the case. Among Jewish children, those who are not considered "smart" by their peers are in fact chided. A wealthy Jew, without any education, is considered vulgar.

Nathan Hurvitz, in an important article,[5] attributes upward social mobility among the Jews to be the result of three sources in their culture:

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[2]Seymour Martin Lipset and Rheinhart Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967).

[3]Arnold Anderson, "A Skeptical Note on the Relation of Vertical Mobility to Education," American Journal of Sociology, 66: 560-571.

[4]Tamotsu Shibutani and Kian M. Kwan, Ethnic Stratification: A Comparative Approach (New York: Macmillan, 1965).

[5]Nathan Hurvitz, "Sources of Motivation and Achievement of American Jews," Jewish Social Studies, 23: 217-234, 1961.

1. Socio-historical—related to their philosophy and the position of the Jews in society which created value orientations causing middle class status

2. Interpersonal—related to intra-family dynamics, which created tensions in the individual which required expression in relation to the social structure

3. Achievement motivation—related to the training for and the expectation of achievement in the first generation American family.

Thus, American Jews who achieved such rapid upward social mobility had the prerequisite value orientations, the interpersonal tensions which required expression, and the achievement motivation which offered a way of resolving the interpersonal tensions on the basis of value orientations.

The socio-historical sources of the value orientations of Americans were delineated by Hurvitz to be (a) their religious tradition, (b) their business ethic, (c) their urban psychology, and (d) their minority group status in modern history. Each of these values promoted middle-class values and characteristics in contemporary Jews, thus implanting a potential for middle class status. The middle class values inherent in each of these sources and the potential middle class status which they represented were part of the heritage brought to America by the thousands

of eastern European Jewish immigrants between 1880 and 1924. Hurvitz reports that these values, which held negative connotations in the semi-feudal European environment, held a positive one in the industrial and commercial setting of America.

The first generation American Jewish family was the setting in which the intra-family dynamics of stability and strain, solidarity and tension were most fully expressed and in which the values associated with middle class status were transferred by the European born parents to their American born children. Thus, not only did the socio-historical factors embody values which were paralleled by the values of the rising American middle class, but the interpersonal dynamics of the first generation American Jewish family also paralleled the interpersonal dynamics of the American socially mobile family.

Hurvitz cites studies of family interaction and inferences about intermarriage, divorce, and various types of deviant behavior associated with disorganized family structure which suggest that American Jews may have greater family stability and solidarity than members of other ethnic groups. However, psychological strains and tensions did exist within the first generation American Jewish family. These are stated to come from four sources:

1. The socio-historical factors which are sources of middle class value orientations of modern Jews

2. Culture conflict between European born parents and their American born children

3. The particular kind of interpersonal relations developed within the American Jewish family based on changed status roles of family members

4. The repression of aggressive and hostile feelings in the American born Jewish child. These being resolved by achievement motivation which was expected from the child and for which he was trained. The achievement by the American born Jewish child of middle class approved goals, derived from the latent class values of the eastern European Jews, resulting in the process of upward social mobility.

What Hurvitz describes as "achievement motivation," which is brought about by familial expectations and values, has been shown to be crucial to success orientation on the part of the child.

The child's view of acceptance is based on the degree to which he believes his parents value him. He arrives at this conclusion on the basis of the quality and frequency of his parents' sacrifices for him and of his perception of the enjoyment they derive from him. If, therefore, the child perceives that his parents place a

low worth on him or do not enjoy being in his company, he can only assume that it is his fault. The family is most important regarding this construct.

The nuclear family is an integral part of the total social environment of the individual. Value of success and, in general, achievement orientation seem to be correlated with familial attitudes. James S. Coleman,[6] writing on this subject, stated that despite the wide range of diversification of school facilities, curriculum, and teachers, and despite the wide diversity among student bodies in different schools, over 70 per cent of the variation in achievement for each group tested is variation within the same student body. Coleman concluded that the influence of family background and community context were the most important factors in the achievement orientation of the child.

We have seen that the American Jew, especially the first generation one, possessed many of the prerequisites necessary for upward social mobility.

It is generally acknowledged that upward social mobility is more a product of the large urban areas than

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[6]James S. Coleman, Equality of Educational Opportunities, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970).

the small communities, regardless of ethnic background.[7] We may therefore ask ourselves about the social mobility experience of the Jews in Middletown. Could the experience of the small town Jew have been any different from that of his urban cousin? Data gathered in Middletown may help shed some light on this question.

Methodology

Again, birth, death, and marriage certificates were used in order to shed light on the occupational mobility patterns of the Jews of Middletown. More specifically, the variable used was occupation either of the father, if birth certificates were used, of the groom, if marriage certificates were considered, and of a male deceased, in the case of death certificates. Thus, the data are confined to males.

The Hollingshead Two Factor Index of Social Position[8] was used in this analysis (see Appendix F for a description). Ideally, both education and occupation are used to determine social class position. Social mobility in turn is frequently derived from social class. The

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[7]Lipset and Bendix, Social Mobility.

[8]August B. Hollingshead, Two Factor Index of Social Position (New Haven: Privately Printed, 1957).

education variable as stated previously was not ascertained on the certificates. In such cases, investigators resort to the use of occupation alone both as an indicator of social class position and of mobility.

Age has been found to be very much related to occupational status.[9] It was therefore considered instructive to hold age constant in the analysis. As such, we will be comparing the occupational mobility of Jews and non-Jews over time within the following three age categories: (1) less than 25, (2) 25 to 39, and (3) over 40.

In order to handle low frequency cell counts, the Hollingshead occupational classification was trichotomized as follows:

1. Major Professionals and Lesser Professionals
2. Small Business, Little Business (Proprietors), and Skilled Manual Employees, and
3. Semi-Skilled Employees and Unskilled Employees.

Findings

Data presented in Table 34 show that for the entire period of the Middletown study, Jewish men were much more likely to be found in middle and upper class occupations

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[9] Oswald Hall, "The Stages of a Medical Career," American Journal of Sociology, 1948, 53: 327-337.

than non-Jews. The only exception to this is to be found among Jewish men over forty years of age in the upper class occupations.

Examinations of our figures over time are striking. They indicate that compared with non-Jewish men, the Jews rose swiftly within the occupational system and did so at increasingly younger ages. Thus, whereas there were no Jews in the upper occupational categories below thirty-nine years of age in the nineteenth century, by the twentieth, there were more Jews so occupied in these age categories than non-Jews.

A preponderance of Jews could be found in the middle class occupations from the very beginning. Ever-increasing proportions of Jews in every age group, comparatively speaking, could be seen within these occupations.

TABLE 34

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Age	Occupational Category						Total Jew	Total Non-Jew
	1-2		3-5		6-7			
	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew		
				1852-1899				
<25			12.3 58.3 14	18.8 61.3 19	20.8 41.7 10	19.4 38.7 12	14.8 24	18.1 31
25-39		62.5 5.1 5	70.2 74.1 80	56.4 58.2 57	58.3 25.9 28	58.1 36.7 36	66.7 108	57.3 98
40+		37.5 7.1 3	17.5 66.7 20	24.8 59.5 25	20.8 33.3 10	22.6 33.3 14	18.5 30	24.6 42
Per cent	0.0	4.7	70.4	59.1	29.6	36.3	100.0	100.0
Total	0	8	114	101	48	62	162	171

TABLE 34—Continued

Age	Occupational Category						Total Jew	Total Non-Jew
	1-2		3-5		6-7			
	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew		
				1900-1919				
<25			12.0 78.4 29	16.6 56.3 27	14.0 21.6 8	15.4 43.8 21	12.0 37	15.6 48
25-39	80.0 3.7 8	55.6 2.6 5	68.2 77.1 165	59.5 49.7 97	71.9 19.2 41	68.4 47.7 93	69.3 214	63.3 195
40+	20.0 3.4 2	44.4 6.2 4	19.8 82.8 48	23.9 60.0 39	14.0 13.8 8	16.2 33.8 22	18.8 58	21.1 65
Per cent	3.2	2.9	78.3	52.9	18.4	44.2	100.0	100.0
Total	10	9	242	163	57	136	309	308

TABLE 34—Continued

Age	Occupational Category						Total Jew	Total Non-Jew
	1-2		3-5		6-7			
	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew		
				1920-1934				
<25	5.3 5.0 1	6.3 2.6 1	7.1 70.0 14	16.8 50.0 19	27.8 25.0 5	16.5 47.4 18	8.6 20	16.0 38
25-39	94.7 11.3 18	56.3 7.2 9	66.8 82.4 131	54.9 49.6 62	55.6 6.3 10	49.5 43.2 54	68.2 159	52.5 125
40+		37.5 8.0 6	26.0 94.4 51	28.3 42.7 32	16.7 5.6 3	33.9 49.3 37	23.2 54	31.5 75
Per cent	8.2	6.7	84.1	47.5	7.7	45.8	100.0	100.0
Total	19	16	196	113	18	109	233	238

TABLE 34—Continued

Age	Occupational Category						Total Jew	Total Non-Jew
	1-2		3-5		6-7			
	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew		
	Total							
<25	3.4 1.2 1	3.0 0.9 1	10.3 70.4 57	17.2 55.6 65	18.7 28.4 23	16.6 43.6 51	11.5 81	16.3 117
25-39	89.7 5.4 26	57.6 4.5 19	68.0 78.2 376	57.3 51.7 216	64.2 16.4 79	59.6 43.8 183	68.2 481	58.3 418
40+	6.9 1.4 2	39.4 7.1 13	21.7 83.9 120	25.5 52.7 96	17.1 14.7 21	23.8 40.1 73	20.3 143	25.4 182
Per cent	4.1	4.6	78.4	52.6	17.4	42.8	100.0	100.0
Total	29	33	553	377	123	307	705	717

We next wished to determine the relationship between place of birth, native vs. foreign, and mobility among Jewish and non-Jewish men. In order to handle low frequency cell counts the age variable was dichotomized into less than thirty-five and over thirty-five categories.

Figures given in Table 35 referring to occupational mobility among the native born show that for the entire period of the study more non-Jews over the age of thirty-five were in the high status occupations than Jewish men of similar ages, while the figures are roughly comparable among those below the age of thirty-five. Our data also indicate that for the entire period of the study far more native born Jews in both age categories were likely to be in middle class occupations than was the case among native born non-Jews.

Inspection of the data over time shows no native born Jews in the upper status occupational categories until the 1920-1934 period. By this time, Jews were to be found in higher proportions below the age of thirty-five within these occupations than was the case among their non-Jewish peers. In both age categories and throughout the entire period of the study more native born Jewish men could be seen in the middle status occupational groups. Over time and with a few minor exceptions one sees a much more pronounced decline in both age groups of Jews in the lower status occupations than is the case among non-Jews.

TABLE 35

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY: NATIVE BORN

Age	Occupational Category						Total Jew	Total Non-Jew
	1-2		3-5		6-7			
	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew		
				1852-1899				
<35		57.1	61.5	67.9	16.7	70.4	53.1	67.8
		6.6	94.1	62.3	5.9	31.1	17	61
		4	16	38	1	19		
35+		42.9	38.5	32.1	83.3	29.6	46.9	32.2
		10.3	66.7	62.1	33.3	27.6	15	29
		3	10	18	5	8		
Per cent	0.0	7.8	81.3	62.2	18.8	30.0	100.0	100.0
Total	0	7	26	56	6	27	32	90

TABLE 35—Continued

Age	Occupational Category						Total Jew	Total Non-Jew
	1-2		3-5		6-7			
	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew		
				1900-1919				
<35		57.1 4.7 4	70.0 100.0 14	69.7 72.1 62		66.7 23.3 20	63.6 14	68.3 86
35+		42.9 7.5 3	30.0 75.0 6	30.3 67.5 27	100.0 25.0 2	33.3 25.0 10	36.4 22	31.7 40
Per cent	0.0	5.6	90.9	70.6	9.1	23.8	100.0	100.0
Total	0	7	20	89	2	30	36	126

TABLE 35—Continued

Age	Occupational Category						Total Jew	Total Non-Jew
	1-2		3-5		6-7			
	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew		
				1920-1934				
<35	83.3 10.0 5	53.8 8.8 7	75.5 80.0 40	68.8 55.0 44	100.0 10.0 5	82.9 36.3 29	78.1 50	71.4 80
35+	16.7 7.1 1	46.2 18.8 6	24.5 92.9 13	31.3 62.5 20		17.1 18.8 6	21.9 14	28.6 32
Per cent	9.4	11.6	82.8	57.1	7.8	31.3	100.0	100.0
Total	6	13	53	64	5	35	64	112

TABLE 35—Continued

Age	Occupational Category						Total Jew	Total Non-Jew
	1-2		3-5		6-7			
	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew		
	Total							
<35	83.3 6.2 5	55.6 6.6 15	70.7 86.4 70	68.9 63.4 144	46.2 7.4 6	73.9 30.0 68	68.6 81	69.2 227
35+	16.7 2.7 1	44.4 11.9 12	29.3 78.4 29	31.1 64.4 65	53.8 18.9 7	26.1 23.8 24	31.4 37	30.8 101
Per cent	5.1	8.2	83.9	63.7	11.0	28.0	100.0	100.0
Total	6	27	99	209	13	92	118	328

Foreign born Jewish men were engaged in higher status occupations than foreign born non-Jewish men. Figures given in Table 36 show that no foreign born non-Jewish men below the age of thirty-five could be found in the upper status occupations. Over five per cent of young foreign born Jewish males could be found so occupied. Far more foreign born Jewish men in both age categories could be seen in middle status occupational categories than is the case among non-Jewish foreign born men.

Examination of our figures over time shows that the occupational mobility of foreign born Jewish men far exceeded that of the foreign born non-Jewish males. By the 1900-1919 period Jews below the age of thirty-five could be seen in increasing proportions in the upper status occupations while foreign non-Jewish males were yet to be found within these categories.

One sees that compared with non-Jews, Jewish males steadily increased their relative proportions within the middle class occupational groups. This was true in both age categories, the only minor exception being Jewish males below the age of thirty-five during the 1900-1919 era.

The case for rapid upward mobility among Jewish males is perhaps most poignantly stated by data in the lowest occupational groups. Here we witness, compared with non-Jews, very dramatic relative decreases in the proportions of Jews within both age categories.

TABLE 36

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY: FOREIGN BORN

Age	Occupational Category						Total Jew	Total Non-Jew
	1-2		3-5		6-7			
	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew		
				1852-1899				
<35			77.5 65.5 55	54.8 53.1 17	70.7 34.5 29	53.6 46.9 15	75.0 84	54.2 32
35+			22.5 57.1 16	45.2 51.9 14	29.3 42.9 12	46.4 48.1 13	25.0 28	45.8 27
Per cent	0.0	0.0	63.4	52.5	36.6	47.5	100.0	100.0
Total	0	0	71	31	41	28	112	59

TABLE 36—Continued

Age	Occupational Category						Total Jew	Total Non-Jew
	1-2		3-5		6-7			
	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew		
				1900-1919				
<35	70.0 4.1 7		58.2 75.3 128	63.5 39.2 47	66.0 20.6 35	68.9 60.8 73	60.1 170	65.9 120
35+	30.0 2.7 3	100.0 3.2 2	41.8 81.4 92	36.5 43.5 27	34.0 15.9 18	31.1 53.2 33	39.9 113	34.1 62
Per cent	3.5	1.1	77.7	40.7	18.7	58.2	100.0	100.0
Total	10	2	220	74	53	106	283	182

TABLE 36—Continued

Age	Occupational Category						Total Jew	Total Non-Jew
	1-2		3-5		6-7			
	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew		
				1920-1934				
<35	84.6 12.8 11		46.2 76.7 66	51.0 44.6 25	69.2 10.5 9	41.9 55.4 31	50.9 86	44.8 56
35+	15.4 2.4 2	100.0 2.9 2	53.8 92.8 77	49.0 34.8 27	30.8 4.8 4	58.1 62.3 43	49.1 83	55.2 69
Per cent	7.7	1.6	84.6	39.2	7.7	59.2	100.0	100.0
Total	13	2	143	49	13	74	169	125

TABLE 36—Continued

Age	Occupational Category						Total Jew	Total Non-Jew
	1-2		3-5		6-7			
	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew	Jew	Non-Jew		
	Total							
<35	78.3 5.3 18		57.4 73.2 249	57.8 42.8 89	68.2 21.5 73	57.2 57.2 119	60.3 340	56.8 208
35+	21.7 2.2 5	100.0 2.5 4	42.6 82.6 185	42.2 41.1 65	31.8 15.2 34	42.8 56.3 89	39.7 224	43.2 158
Per cent	4.1	1.1	77.0	42.1	19.0	56.8	100.0	100.0
Total	23	4	434	154	107	208	564	366

Concluding Remarks

The notion of rapid upward social mobility among Jews has been sustained using occupational data gathered for Jewish males and a sample of non-Jewish men. While Jewish males were found to be more upwardly mobile than non-Jewish men, the relationship was found to be far more pronounced among foreign born Jewish males than foreign born non-Jewish men.

Some of the reasons for this relationship have been cited earlier. Further reflection leads us to offer the following.

It is quite clear that immigrant Jewish males differed considerably in very many respects from their non-Jewish neighbors. They were far more likely to come to these shores with their families of procreation and to remain in this country than were non-Jewish men. They came to stay and knew that there was no place to return. They also were more likely to possess this worldly attitude and sensed that the probability of a chance in another world was remote.

American Jewish immigrants were in a sense forced to make a go of it. Thus, there was a constant search for opportunities and a feeling that little could be lost by attempting the new. Education, the single most potent provider of opportunity for advancement, was one such

opportunity and the Jews lost no time in exploiting it.

It is fairly clear why the Jews seized upon educational opportunities. Theirs is a heritage of learning. Although commanded in a religious sense to study from the Holy Books, this long retained tendency to study could be more easily transferred to secular learning than if it had not been so emphasized in the first place. It is becoming clearer that high proportions of Jews were becoming increasingly secularized in Eastern as well as Western Europe. For years, many Jews were denied an opportunity to study and frustration in this area ran high in the average Jew who landed here. Hence, it is perhaps not surprising to find such high proportions of Jews enrolled in colleges and universities but also the extraordinary academic records they compiled. With high education attainment came high occupational status and both combined to help explain the rapid social mobility we witnessed.

CHAPTER XI

DEATH

This chapter examines factors relating to death among the Jews of Middletown. It begins with a review of some of the literature which has dealt with mortality among Jews. This is followed by a methodology section. The data are then presented and the chapter ends with concluding remarks.

Background

A great deal has been written about Jewish mortality and the factors influencing it. Dr. John S. Billings[1] with whom we are somewhat familiar addressed himself to Jewish mortality. His study, it will be recalled, was based upon 10,618 Jewish families including 60,630 persons who had been living in the United States for five years as of December 31, 1889.

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[1] John S. Billings, "Vital Statistics of the Jews," North American Review, 152: 70-84, 1891.

Billings found that " . . . the Jewish expectation of life is at each age markedly greater than that of the class of people who insure their lives; the average excess being a little over 20 per cent."[2] Dr. Billings also found that the death rate for males varied by the country of origin of mothers. Thus, males born to American born mothers had a death rate of 8.1, while males born to mothers of German nativity had a death rate of 6.1. The death rate for male children of Russian-Polish born mothers was 5/1,000.

Our author was also concerned with disease prevalence among Jews, finding that they were less likely than the average population to be insane, idiotic, blind, deaf-muted, deformed, maimed, and crippled. They were also less likely to be affected by the tubercular diseases than the general population. On the other hand, Jews were more likely than non-Jews to be affected by diseases of the nervous system, of the heart, digestive system, urinary organs, skin, and by diabetes. Billings also found a lower cancer rate among the Jews than among the rest of the population.

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[2] Ibid., p. 77.

In 1905, Simon Rosenbaum[3] published an analysis of mortality data based upon deaths occurring between 1899 and 1903 and registered by the Burial Boards of the United Synagogue of London. Among his findings were a high child mortality rate when compared with London and England and Wales. Rosenbaum was among the first to attempt to arrive at a Jewish age-specific death rate which was based on his questionable population figures for the various age ranges. Among his general conclusions was that the Jews had a favorable mortality.

Louis I. Dublin wrote on Jewish mortality employing statistics from New York State.[4] He made the assumption that those who claimed to be Russian born were Jews. Among his findings were that the death rate for the Russian born aged 10 to 44 was " . . . uniformly and appreciably lower than for the native born of native parentage."[5] Between the ages of 45 and 64, the Russian born males and females showed a slightly higher mortality rate than the native

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[3]S. Rosenbaum, "A Contribution to the Study of the Vital and Other Statistics of the Jews in the United Kingdom," Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 68: 526-556, 1905.

[4]Louis I. Dublin, "Factors in American Mortality: A Study of Death Rates in the Race Stocks of New York State, 1910," The American Economic Review, 6: 523-548, September, 1916.

[5]Ibid., p. 529.

born of native parentage.

Dublin standardized his data by age and reported that with:

> . . . the native born of native parentage as a basis, the rate becomes 13.1 for the Russian males and 12.3 for the females. The corresponding rates for the native born of native parentage [are] 13.8 and 12.4 respectively . . . .[6]

Our author also addressed himself to causes of death, finding the rates of tuberculosis and pneumonia to be considerably lower among the Russians than among the native Americans. Cancer rates among Russian males and females were found to be higher than corresponding figures for the general population. One minor exception was among Russian females beyond the age of sixty-five. These older Russians showed a slightly higher cancer rate, but Dublin warns that the low numbers preclude any general conclusions.

Finally, Dublin's figures point to a decidedly lower death rate from violent causes than that for the general population.

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[6] Ibid.

Charles Bolduan and Louis Weiner[7] studied 14,047 Jewish and 27,186 white non-Jewish deaths in New York City in 1931. They based their figures on cemetery records. Among their findings were that compared with non-Jews, Jews were:

1. More likely to die from diabetes, especially females after age 40-44 until 60-64

2. Less likely to die from tuberculosis

3. With slight variations throughout all the age periods less likely to die from pneumonia

4. Seen to experience a rapid rise in cancer up until the age 40-44, while the male incidence rate peaked somewhat later

5. Much more likely to die of cancers of the digestive tract and peritoneum

6. Less likely to die from cancer of the respiratory system

7. Less likely to die from cancer of the uterus

8. More likely until the age of 45 to die from cancer of the breast

9. More likely to die from cancer of the genital organs (males and females) within the ages 50-69

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[7]Charles Bolduan and Louis Weiner, "Causes of Death Among Jews in New York City," New England Journal of Medicine, 208, no. 8, 407-416, 1933.

10. Less likely to die from cancer of the buccal cavity

11. Probably less likely to die from diseases of the liver generally speaking with females experiencing a higher incidence up to the age of 50 after which time the relationship is reversed

12. Less likely to suffer from syphillitic diseases

13. More likely to suffer from diseases of the nervous system especially below the age of 25

14. Twice as likely to die as a result of suicide

15. Not much more likely to die from cardio-arterio diseases including apoplexy.

In the early 1930's, J. B. Maller[8] compared Jewish figures in selected areas of New York City with Federal and municipal statistics. He found the Jewish death rate to be 7.9 while the rest of the city had a death rate of 10.4. Maller also found considerably lower infant mortality and stillbirth rates among the Jews than among the non-Jews.

In examining causes of death, Maller found the Jewish death rate lower for heart disease, tuberculosis, cancer, pneumonia, congenital diseases, suicide, and higher

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[8]J. B. Maller, "A Study of Jewish Neighborhoods in New York City," Jewish Social Services Quarterly, 10: 271-276, 1934.

for diabetes.

Mortimer Spiegelman[9] examined longevity figures for 170,241 Canadian Jews enumerated in the June 1, 1941, census and including 3,457 death recorded for the period 1940-1942. Spiegelman's major conclusion is that Jews have a comparatively lower mortality rate in youth but that the rate increases with age. In Spiegelman's words:

> Jewish infants in Canada start life with a mortality rate in the first year only two-fifths of that for the general population. This advantage for Jews is observed through childhood, adolescence, and early maturity. However, the margin between the Jewish and total populations decreased with advance in age until, shortly after age 50, the Jews begin to show the higher mortality rates.[10]

David M. Liberson,[11] in a 1953 study of causes of death among New York Jewry, found the Jews more likely to die from diabetes, cancer (within the ages of fifteen and forty-four), cancer of the digestive tract, breast cancer, among females, heart disease and other diseases of the circulatory system, Tay-Sachs disease, and Parkinson's

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[9] Mortimer Spiegelman, "The Longevity of Jews in Canada, 1940-1942," Population Studies, 2: 292-304, 1948-1949.

[10] Ibid., p. 302.

[11] David M. Liberson, "Causes of Death Among Jews in New York in 1953," Jewish Social Studies, 18: 83-117, 1956.

disease. Liberson's data lead him to suggest the possibility of a higher suicide rate among the Jews.

On the other hand, Liberson found Jews less likely to die from respiratory cancer, uterine cancer among females, prostate cancer among males, tuberculosis, syphilis, mental, psychosomatic, and personality disorders, alcoholism, respiratory diseases, diseases of the digestive system (even excluding cirrhosis of the liver), violent causes, and complications of pregnancy.

Liberson suggested the possibility that the Jewish death rate was 5 per cent lower than that of the non-Jewish population. He also came to the same conclusion arrived at by Spiegelman regarding comparatively favorable mortality figures among younger Jews, writing that:

> In general the lower the age, the larger the mortality rate difference between Jews and other groups. This tendency was evident in New York City as long as seventy years ago and has been reduced with the years, but not erased.[12]

Seidman, Garfinkel, and Craig[13] studied 202,851 deaths occurring in New York City in the years 1949-1951.

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[12] Ibid., p. 101.

[13] Herbert Seidman, Lawrence Garfinkel, and Leonard Craig, "Death Rates in New York City by Socio-Economic Class and Religious Group and by Country of Birth, 1949-1951," Jewish Journal of Sociology, 4: 254-272, 1962.

Among these deaths were 60,642 Jews and 142,209 non-Jews. Their findings substantiate the comparatively lower death rate found in the younger age groups among the Jews. They were also able to show that this pattern is uninfluenced by social class status, writing:

> In previous analyses of Jewish death rates in various countries the phenomenon of low death rates in the younger age groups followed by a reversal of the later ages has been noted. It has been seen in this study that the pattern of reversal of death rates prevails throughout socio-economic classes for each sex.[14]

Kurt Gorwitz[15] reported on 1,478 Jewish deaths and twenty-five Jewish stillbirths which occurred during the calendar years 1955, 1956, and 1957 in St. Louis and St. Louis County, Missouri. He found a Jewish death rate of 8.5 per 1,000 estimated population in contrast to 9.9 per 1,000 in the total white population during this three year period.

Jews were found to have a much smaller proportion of total deaths in age groups under forty-five and over eighty-five than the white population. Jews were thus found to have a larger percentage of deaths between the ages of

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[14] Ibid., p. 269.

[15] Kurt Gorwitz, "Jewish Mortality in St. Louis and St. Louis County, 1955-1957," Jewish Social Studies, 24: 248-254, 1962.

forty-five and eighty-four. The Jewish arithmetic mean age at death was 66.7, while for the total white population it was 64.4, or 2.3 years less.

Gorwitz also found the Jewish infant and stillbirth rate lower than that of the rest of the white population, writing that:

> The white infant mortality and stillbirth rates in St. Louis during 1955-1957 were 20.7 and 14.5 respectively. The annual Jewish infant death rate is between 10.3 and 12.6, while the stillbirth rate is between 7.5 and 9.2.[16]

While not controlling for age, an important consideration, our author found Jews dying in higher proportions from diabetes, general arteriosclerosis and hyperplasia of the prostate, while less likely to die from heart disease, malignant neoplasms, vascular lesions, accidents, pneumonia, diseases of early infancy, suicide, chronic and unspecified nephritis, cirrhosis of the liver, tuberculosis, and syphilis.

Where cancer was found to be a cause of death, major differences were found between Jews and non-Jews as to the site of the malignancy. Thus, Jews were much more likely to die from cancers of the lymphatic and hematopoietic tissues and just as likely as non-Jews to die from

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[16] Ibid., p. 250.

cancers of the digestive organs and peritoneum, respiratory system, breast, and other unspecified sites. Jewish cancer rates were substantially lower for the buccal cavity, pharynx, and genito-urinary system.

Sidney Goldstein[17] studied 1,556 Jewish households in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1963. Among his findings was that the Jewish crude death rate was slightly below that of the white population. Whie the Jewish male death rate was slightly below that of the total white population, the female death rate was above that of the total white female population. As in the other studies cited, Goldstein also found a lower Jewish death rate below the age of one and a higher Jewish death rate among males above sixty-five and among females above fifty-five years of age.

Among males, forty-five to sixty-four years of age, Jews were more likely to die of heart disease and suicide and less likely to die of malignant neoplasms than the white population. Above the age of sixty-five the respective groups reversed themselves with heart disease more prevalent among the white population and malignant neoplasms less prevalent.

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[17]Sidney Goldstein, "Jewish Mortality and Survival Patterns: Providence, Rhode Island, 1962-1964," Eugenics Quarterly, 13, no. 1, March, 1966, pp. 48-62.

S. Joseph Fauman and Albert J. Mayer,[18] in their study of Jewish mortality in Providence, Rhode Island, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Detroit, Michigan, concluded as did other investigators that Jewish life expectancy compared with the rest of the white population is greater up until the age of sixty-four and that it decreases beyond that age.

Methodology

The following procedures were employed in order to gather information on Jewish deaths. All 32,170 death certificates in the Middletown Health Department from the end of the eighteenth century through 1934 were examined. Of this number, 215 or 0.67 per cent were positively identified as belonging to Jews.

Once a certificate belonging to a Jew was identified, the very next certificate belonging to a non-Jew of the same sex was also recorded. (Appendix R represents a sample death certificate, while Appendix S outlines the coding procedures followed.) Thus, there is a control for sex and for the following reasons. First, length of

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[18] S. Joseph Fauman and Albert J. Mayer, "Jewish Mortality in the U.S.," Human Biology, 41: 416-426, 1969.

life is related to sex. Second, cause of death is also related to sex. Finally, the entire sample is relatively small, and a control for time periods further reduces sample size.

Among the variables coded was primary and secondary cause of death. The coding of these variables followed that found in the International Classification of Diseases.[19] One cannot study mortality data over time with large groups of individuals without some form of quantitative technique based upon a classificatory system. The editors of the International Classification of Diseases have stressed this point as follows:

> Classification is fundamental to the quantitative study of any phenomenon. . . . It is recognized as the basis of all scientific generalization and is therefore an essential element in statistical methodology. Uniform definitions and uniform systems of classification are prerequisites in the advancement of scientific knowledge. In the study of illness and death, therefore, a standard classification of disease and injury for statistical purposes is essential.[20]

There are a number of caveats which must be kept in mind when interpreting the stated cause of death on a

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[19] International Classification of Diseases, Eighth Revision (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Public Health Service Publication no. 1693, 1968), Vol. I.

[20] Ibid., p. xii.

death certificate. The most valid way to determine cause of death is *via* autopsy. The vast majority of Jews are not autopsied for religious reasons. Studies[21] have been undertaken in several countries to determine the validity of cause of death as stated on death certificates. Among their many findings are that cancers tend to be recorded if they are present at death, while diabetes, hypertension, and pneumonia are not, even if there is reason to believe that they contributed to the death. McMahon and Pugh,[22]

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[21]See for example M. R. Alderson and T. W. Meade, *et al.*, "Accuracy of Diagnosis on Death Certificates Compared with That in Hospital Records," *Brit. J. Prev. Soc. Med.*, 21: 22-29, 1967; S. Jablon, D. M. Angevine, *et al.*, "On the Significance of Cause of Death as Recorded on Death Certificates in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan." In *Epideminological Approaches of the Study of Cancer and Other Chronic Diseases*, ed. by W. Haenszel. National Cancer Institute Monograph no. 19, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1966; M. A. Heasman, "Accuracy of Death Certification," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 55, pp. 733-736, 1962; G. James, R. E. Patton, *et al.*, "Accuracy of Cause-of-Death Statements on Death Certificates," *Public Health Reports*, 70, pp. 39-51, 1955; I. M. Moriyama, W. S. Baum, *et al.*, "Inquiry into Diagnostic Evidence Supporting Medical Certifications of Death," *American Journal of Public Health*, 48, pp. 1376-1387, 1958; I. M. Moriyama and T. R. Dawber, *et al.*, "Evaluation of Diagnostic Information Supporting Medical Certification on Deaths from Cardiovascular Disease," in W. Haenszel, *Epideminological Approaches*. W. Munck, "Autopsy Findings and Clinical Diagnosis," *Acta Med. Scand.* (Suppl. 266), 142: 775-781, 1952.

[22]Brian MacMahon and Thomas F. Pugh, *Epidemiology: Principles and Methods* (Edinburgh: Churchill/Livingstone, 1970), p. 76.

citing the work of MacKenzie and Brown above state that:

> The accuracy of diagnosis appearing on the death certificate may vary not only with the specific diagnosis, but with the age and sex of the descendent, the area of the body affected by the disease, and the specific wording on the certificate.[23]

Extreme caution should therefore be exercised in evaluating cause of death based upon the alleged determinant listed on the death certificate.

Data

On December 24, 1852, Sarah Levy died at the age of one year and eight months. She was Jewish, white, born in England, and Dr. William B. Casey declared that she died of Dropsy of the Head. On the 28th of that month Charlotte May died at the age of thirty-six. She was Gentile, single, and white, born in Hartford, Connecticut, and Dr. William B. Casey declared that she died of pulmonary consumption.

Almost eighty-two years later on June 6, 1934, Hessie Edelberg died at the age of forty-seven. She was Jewish, white, and married. Mrs. Edelberg was born in Russia, the daughter of Sarah and Israel Bichkov. Dr.

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[23] A. MacKenzie and Court Brown, et al., "Mortality from Primary Tumours of Bone in England and Wales," British Journal of Medicine, 1: 1782-1790, 1961.

William E. Wrang certified that she died of Chronic Nephritis complicated by Arterio-sclerosis. On June 29, 1934, Catherine G. Johnson died at the age of thirty-three years. She was Gentile, white, and married. Mrs. Johnson was born in Hartford, Connecticut, the daughter of Alvira and Ernest Thody. Dr. Carl C. Harvey certified that she died of Carcinoma Sigmoid with metastasis to the liver.

Death Rates

It is impossible to calculate crude death rates among the Jews because the computation of such a rate necessitates knowledge of the number of Jews in Middletown. These figures were not available. Nevertheless, we can speak of the proportion of Jewish deaths occurring in Middletown, and it is in this sense that Jewish death rates are spoken of.

Between 1852 and the end of 1934, 32,170 Middletown people died of whom 215 or 0.67 per cent were positively identified as Jews. Figure 4 represents in graph form the proportional rise and fall of the Jewish death rate. It shows a high mortality rate in the 1860's and relatively low death rate between 1890 and 1910. Table 37 gives the statistics broken down over time, while an annual breakdown forms Appendix T.

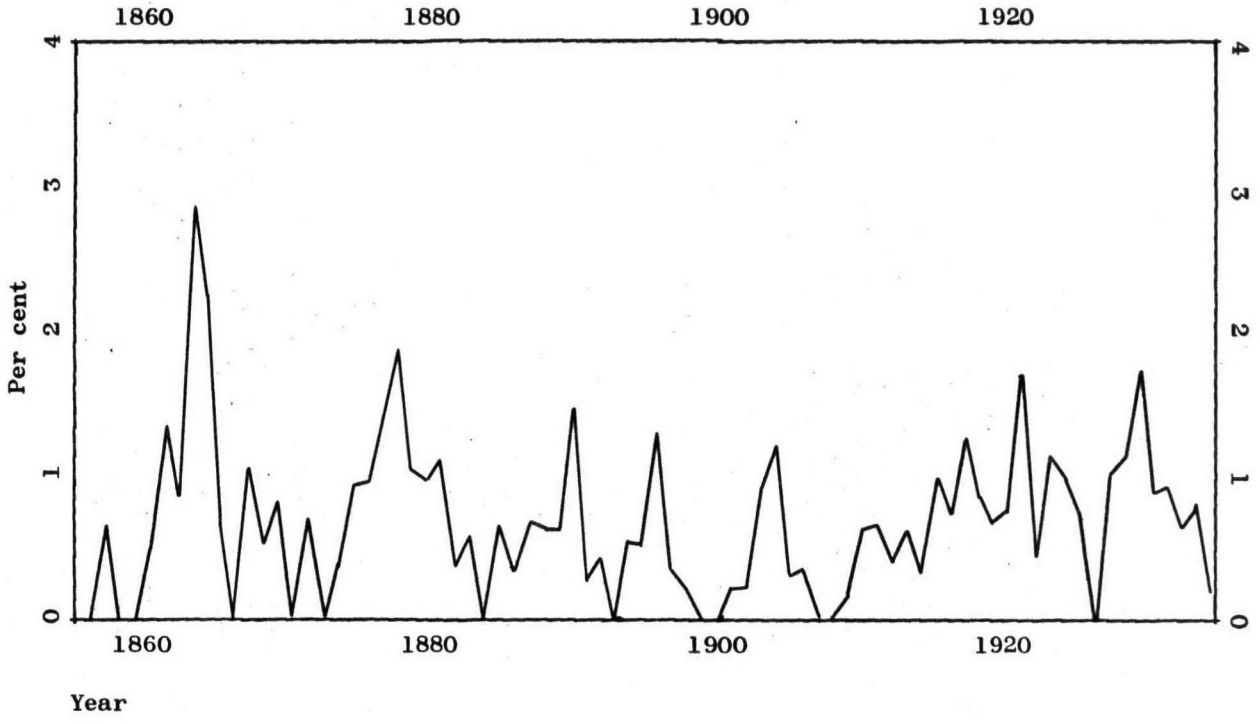


Figure 4.—Deaths

TABLE 37

DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH DEATHS OVER TIME

Item	1852-1869	1870-1879	1880-1889	1890-1899	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929	1930-1934	Total
Number of Jewish Deaths	20	16	19	18	18	51	53	20	215
Range of Jewish Deaths	0-5	0-4	1-3	0-5	0-6	2-10	0-10	1-5	
Total Number of Deaths	2,692	2,257	2,816	3,614	5,504	6,963	5,395	2,929	32,170
Range of Deaths	141-234	191-274	205-329	286-455	435-674	588-918	459-652	565-633	
Percentage of Jewish Deaths	0.74	0.71	0.68	0.50	0.33	0.73	0.98	0.68	0.67

Sex of Deceased

One hundred and twenty-three or 57 per cent of the 215 Jews who died in Middletown during the entire period of our study were males. This distribution is statistically significant ($Z = 2.04$, $p < .05$). A majority of males died in each of the three major periods of the study.

Occupational Status at Time of Death

Jews were engaged in occupations of higher status than non-Jews at the time of death. Figures in Table 38 comprise those for whom an occupation was reported at time of death. It follows the Hollingshead Two Factor Index of Social Position.[24] (A description of the Index is given in Appendix F.) While the Jews were not as highly represented as the non-Jews in the Major and Lesser Professional categories, considerably higher proportions were found in the Minor Professional and Little Business categories. Conversely, whereas 43 per cent of the Jews could be found in the Unskilled category, close to 57 per cent of the non-Jews were thus occupationally engaged. The figures over time are fairly consistent.

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[24] August B. Hollingshead, Two Factor Index of Social Position (New Haven: Privately printed, 1957).

TABLE 38

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AT TIME OF DEATH

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Total
	1852-1899		
Major Professional	0.0 0	2.33 100.0 1	1
Lesser Professional	0.0 0.0 0	0.0 0.0 0	0
Minor Professional	6.06 28.5 2	11.63 71.5 5	7
Little Business	9.09 50.0 3	6.98 50.0 3	6
Skilled Manual Employee	33.33 50.0 11	25.58 50.0 11	22
Semi-Skilled Employee	36.36 48.0 12	30.23 52.0 13	25
Unskilled Employee	15.15 33.3 5	23.26 66.7 10	15
Total	100.0 33	100.0 43	76

TABLE 38—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Total
	1900-1919		
Major Professional	5.71 50.0 2	6.00 50.0 2	4
Lesser Professional	2.86 100.0 1	0.0 0.0 0	1
Minor Professional	17.14 100.0 6	0.0 0.0 0	6
Little Business	5.71 40.0 2	9.09 60.0 3	5
Skilled Manual Employee	17.14 50.0 6	18.18 50.0 6	12
Semi-Skilled Employee	8.57 50.0 3	9.09 50.0 3	6
Unskilled Employee	42.86 44.1 15	57.58 55.9 19	34
Total	100.0 35	100.0 33	68

TABLE 38—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Total
	1920-1934		
Major Professional	0.0 0.0 0	1.96 100.0 1	1
Lesser Professional	0.0 0.0 0	3.92 100.0 2	2
Minor Professional	35.29 94.7 18	1.96 5.3 1	19
Little Business	9.80 62.5 5	5.88 37.5 3	8
Skilled Manual Employee	7.84 22.2 4	27.45 77.8 14	18
Semi-Skilled Employees	5.88 37.5 3	9.8 62.5 5	8
Unskilled Employee	41.18 45.6 21	49.02 54.4 25	46
Total	100.0 51	100.0 51	102

TABLE 38—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Total
	All Ages		
Major Professional	1.68 33.3 2	3.15 66.7 4	6
Lesser Professional	.84 33.4 1	1.57 66.6 2	3
Minor Professional	21.85 81.2 26	4.72 18.8 6	32
Little Business	8.4 52.6 10	7.09 47.4 9	19
Skilled Manual Employee	17.65 40.3 21	24.41 59.7 31	52
Semi-Skilled Employee	15.13 46.2 18	16.54 53.8 21	39
Unskilled Employee	34.45 43.2 41	42.52 56.8 54	95
Total	100.0 119	100.0 127	246

Marital Status at Time of Death

Figures given in Table 39 indicate that the Jews were more likely to be married and divorced, far less likely to be single and less likely to be widowed at the time of death when compared with non-Jews. These findings are fairly consistent except for the first period when fewer Jews than non-Jews were married. Jews were also less likely during this period to be single. Nevertheless, the figures are fairly consistent over time and lend support to the marriage proneness of Jews.

TABLE 39

MARITAL STATUS AT TIME OF DEATH

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Total
	1852-1899		
Single	28.57 33.0 10	39.22 67.0 20	30
Widowed	22.86 50.0 8	15.69 50.0 8	16
Divorced	2.86 100.0 1	0.0 0.0 0	1
Married	45.71 41.1 16	45.10 58.9 23	39
Total	100.0 35	100.0 51	86
	1900-1919		
Single	13.51 33.3 5	22.73 66.7 10	15
Widowed	16.22 30.0 6	31.82 70.0 14	20
Divorced	2.70 100.0 1	0.0 0.0 0	1
Married	67.57 55.5 25	45.45 44.5 20	45
Total	100.0 37	100.0 44	81

TABLE 39—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Total
	1920-1934		
Single	8.77 21.7 5	31.03 78.3 18	23
Widowed	33.33 50.0 19	32.76 50.0 19	38
Divorced	0.0 0.0 0	1.72 100.0 1	1
Married	57.89 62.3 33	34.48 37.7 20	53
Total	100.0 57	100.0 58	115
	Total		
Single	15.50 29.5 20	31.37 70.5 48	68
Widowed	25.58 44.5 33	26.80 55.5 41	74
Divorced	1.55 66.7 2	.67 33.3 1	3
Married	57.36 54.1 74	41.18 45.9 63	137
Total	100.0 129	100.0 153	282

Age at Death

Contrary to findings in other studies, we found the average age at death of the Jews to be considerably lower than that for the non-Jews. In fact, as shown in Table 40, Jews were on the average slightly more than eight years younger at time of death than non-Jews. Examination of our figures over time shows that the average age at death was consistently lower among the Jews than among the non-Jews.

We next wished to determine the relationship between age at death and nativity of both parents. Again, and as seen in Table 41, the same basic relationships hold. Jews born to either American or foreign born parents lived shorter lives than non-Jews born to either American or foreign born parents. The difference is far more pronounced among foreign born parents that is to say Jews born to foreign born parents lived considerably shorter lives than non-Jews born to non-Jewish foreign born parents in comparison with Jews of American born parents and non-Jews of native born parentage.

TABLE 40

AGE AT DEATH: JEWS VS. NON-JEWS

Item	Jew	Non-Jew
	1852-1899	
$\bar{X}$	25.65	33.87
sd	27.96	27.78
N	75	74
	1900-1919	
$\bar{X}$	30.37	42.25
sd	27.77	32.92
N	67	67
	1920-1934	
$\bar{X}$	44.35	48.47
sd	25.39	27.81
N	72	72
	Total	
$\bar{X}$	33.42	41.44
sd	28.22	30.12
N	214	213

TABLE 41

AGE AT DEATH: U.S. VS. FOREIGN BORN PARENTAGE

Item	Jews		Non-Jews	
	U.S.	Foreign	U.S.	Foreign
		1852-1899		
$\bar{X}$	41.00	17.92	29.88	36.38
sd	34.29	24.22	31.40	22.36
N	7	25	16	16
		1900-1919		
$\bar{X}$	60.20	21.11	47.29	36.49
sd	15.24	26.42	37.61	31.60
N	5	47	17	33
		1920-1934		
$\bar{X}$	17.67	47.78	51.91	48.13
sd	28.11	22.19	29.80	28.15
N	6	58	22	39
		Total		
$\bar{X}$	38.56	32.39	43.67	41.63
sd	32.60	27.87	34.05	29.16
N	18	130	55	88

In an effort to explain the above findings, our attention was next drawn to infant and child mortality. Figures shown in Table 42 clearly demonstrate that Jews were far more likely to die in infancy and childhood than non-Jews. Thus, over 24 per cent of the Jews in contrast to close to 17 per cent of the non-Jews died in infancy. Considerably higher proportions of Jews than non-Jews died in infancy in every period.

The same relationship is found for childhood mortality defined as those who survived the age of two but who did not live beyond the age of twelve. Close to 12 per cent of the Jews who died were children in contrast to almost 9 per cent among the non-Jews. This is true for all periods with the exception of the 1920-1934 period. Thus, what appears to be accounting for the lower longevity among the Jews is their high infant and child mortality, especially the former.

TABLE 42

INFANT AND CHILD MORTALITY: JEWS VS. NON-JEWS

Item	Jews	Non-Jews
	1852-1899	
Less Than Two	23 30.26	14 18.42
Between Two and Eleven	14 18.42	8 10.52
Less Than Twelve	37 48.68	22 28.95
N	76	76
	1900-1919	
Less Than Two	19 28.36	15 22.39
Between Two and Eleven	7 10.45	6 8.96
Less Than Twelve	26 38.81	21 31.34
N	67	67

TABLE 42—Continued

Item	Jews	Non-Jews
	1920-1934	
Less Than Two	10 13.89	7 9.72
Between Two and Eleven	4 5.55	5 6.94
Less Than Twelve	14 19.44	12 16.67
N	72	72
	Total	
Less Than Two	52 24.19	36 16.74
Between Two and Eleven	25 11.63	19 8.84
Less Than Twelve	77 35.81	55 25.50
N	215	215

We wished to learn the relationship between average age at death for those who did not survive childhood and birthplace of both parents whether American or foreign born. Figures given in Table 43 indicate that children of American born parents lived slightly longer than children born to non-Jewish American born parents. Non-Jewish children of foreign born parents, however, lived longer than Jewish children of foreign born parents.

TABLE 43

AGE AT DEATH OF CHILDREN:* U.S. VS. FOREIGN BORN PARENTAGE

Item	Jews		Non-Jews	
	U.S.	Foreign	U.S.	Foreign
		1852-1899		
$\bar{X}$	2.50	0.73	1.43	1.50
sd	2.50	1.24	2.50	0.50
N	2	15	7	2
		1900-1919**		
$\bar{X}$		1.69		1.42
sd		3.07		1.85
N		26		12
		1920-1934		
$\bar{X}$	0.75	1.43	1.00	2.29
sd	1.30	2.06	1.23	1.67
N	4	7	4	7
		Total		
$\bar{X}$	1.33	1.35	1.00	1.71
sd	1.97	2.53	1.88	1.75
N	6	48	17	21

*Defined as those below the age of 12.

**No data available for children of U.S. parentage during the 1900-1919 period.

The same question was posed for those surviving childhood, namely, what relationships exist between nativity of both parents, whether American or foreign born and age at death among those twelve years of age and older. Figures given in Table 44 show that adults born to non-Jewish parents of both American and foreign birth lived longer than Jewish adults of both American and foreign birth. These findings are fairly consistent except for the first period when they reverse themselves.

TABLE 44

AGE AT DEATH OF THOSE SURVIVING CHILDHOOD:*
U.S. VS. FOREIGN BORN PARENTAGE

Item	Jews		Non-Jews	
	U.S.	Foreign	U.S.	Foreign
		1852-1899		
$\bar{X}$	56.40	43.70	52.00	41.36
sd	28.52	18.88	25.09	19.30
N	5	10	9	14
		1900-1919		
$\bar{X}$	60.20	45.14	72.82	56.52
sd	15.24	22.49	18.42	21.52
N	5	21	11	21
		1920-1934		
$\bar{X}$	51.50	54.14	62.00	58.16
sd	25.50	14.97	20.20	20.12
N	2	51	18	32
		Total		
$\bar{X}$	57.17	50.56	62.76	54.13
sd	23.53	18.26	22.31	21.45
N	12	82	38	67

*Defined as those above the age of 12.

Race of Deceased

Three blacks were encountered in the study, two in the 1852-1899 era, and one in the 1900-1919 period. The blacks were not Jewish.

Birthplace of Deceased

More Jews who died in Middletown, compared with non-Jews, were born in Russia, Poland, or Roumania, and/or Germany, Austria, or Bohemia. Table 45 shows that 28.4 per cent of the Jews who died in Middletown came from these east European countries in contrast to 3.5 per cent among the non-Jews. Over twice the proportion of Jews as non-Jews were born in Germany, Austria, or Bohemia.

Higher numbers of non-Jews came from both Middletown and the rest of these United States. Thus, whereas 57.3 per cent of the Jews came from the United States, including Middletown, 67.2 per cent of the non-Jews who died in Middletown claimed such nativity.

This was not always found to be the case. During our first period, more of the Jews who died in Middletown were, in fact, born in this town when compared with the non-Jews. As expected, one does see an increasing number of Jews who died in Middletown, having been born in the eastern European countries.

TABLE 45

BIRTHPLACE OF DECEASED

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1852-1899		
Middletown	59.4 60.3 41	40.6 44.4 28	52.7	69
United States	41.9 19.1 13	58.1 28.6 18	23.7	31
Germany, Austria, Bohemia	100.0 7.4 5		3.8	5
England	66.7 5.9 4	33.3 3.2 2	4.6	6
Russia, Poland, Roumania	100.0 2.9 2		1.5	2
Ireland	6.7 1.5 1	93.3 22.2 14	11.5	15
Italy			0.0	0
Scotland			0.0	0
France			0.0	0
Canada			0.0	0

TABLE 45—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1852–1899 (Continued)		
Sweden		100.0 1.6 1	0.8	1
Hungary			0.0	0
Prussia	100.0 1.5 1		0.8	1
Cuba	100.0 1.5 1			
Czechoslovakia			0.0	0
Total	51.9	48.1	100.0	131
		1900–1919		
Middletown	44.6 39.1 25	55.4 46.3 31	42.7	56
United States	46.7 21.9 14	53.3 23.9 16	22.9	30
Germany, Austria, Bohemia	70.0 10.9 7	30.0 4.5 3	7.6	10
England	16.7 1.6 1	83.3 7.5 5		

TABLE 45—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1900-1919 (Continued)		
Russia, Poland, Roumania	100.0 23.4 15		11.5	15
Ireland	10.0 1.6 1	90.0 13.4 9	7.6	10
Italy		100.0 1.5 1	0.8	1
Scotland		100.5 1.5 1	0.8	1
France			0.0	0
Canada	100.0 1.6 1		0.8	1
Sweden		100.0 1.5 1	0.8	1
Hungary			0.0	0
Prussia			0.0	0
Cuba			0.0	0
Czechoslovakia			0.0	0
Total	48.9 64	51.1 67	100.0	131

TABLE 45—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1920-1934		
Middletown	33.3 19.4 14	66.7 39.4 28	29.4	42
United States	41.7 13.9 10	58.3 19.7 14	16.8	24
Germany, Austria, Bohemia	50.0 5.6 4	50.0 5.6 4	5.6	8
England	25.0 1.4 1	75.0 4.2 3	2.8	4
Russia, Poland, Roumania	85.4 56.9 41	14.6 9.9 7	33.6	48
Ireland		100.0 7.0 5	3.5	5
Italy		100.0 8.5 6	4.2	6
Scotland			0.0	0
France			0.0	0
Canada		100.0 4.2 3	2.1	3

TABLE 45—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1920-1934 (Continued)		
Sweden			0.0	0
Hungary	100.0 2.8 2		1.4	2
Prussia			0.0	0
Cuba			0.0	0
Czechoslovakia		100.0 1.4 1	0.7	1
Total	50.3 72	49.7 71	100.0	143
		All Ages		
Middletown	47.9 39.2 80	52.1 43.3 87	41.2	167
United States	43.5 18.1 37	56.5 23.9 48	21.0	85
Germany, Austria, Bohemia	69.6 7.8 16	30.4 3.5 7	5.7	23
England	37.5 2.9 6	62.5 5.0 10	4.0	16

TABLE 45—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		All Ages (Continued)		
Russia, Poland, Roumania	89.2 28.4 58	10.8 3.5 7	16.0	65
Ireland	6.7 1.0 2	93.3 13.9 28	7.4	30
Italy		100.0 3.5 7	1.7	7
Scotland		100.0 0.5 1	0.2	1
France			0.0	0
Canada	25.0 0.5 1	75.0 1.5 3	1.0	4
Sweden		100.0 1.0 2	0.5	2
Hungary	100.0 1.0 2		0.5	2
Prussia	100.0 0.5 1		0.2	1
Cuba	100.0 0.5 1		0.2	1

TABLE 45—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		All Ages (Continued)		
Czechoslovakia		100.0 0.5 1	0.2	1
Total	50.4 204	49.6 201	100.0	405

Cause of Death

Primary findings related to cause of death are reported in terms of the seventeen major categories of diseases as listed in the International Classification of Diseases, Vol. I. Readers are urged to consult this compendium of diseases for an elaboration of the specific diseases which fall within each of the categories.

Examination of figures in Table 46 indicates that the Jews were more likely than non-Jews to die of diseases of the circulatory system, followed by neoplasms and perinatal causes, accidents and poisonings, and diseases associated with the digestive system, in that order. In each case, the Jews were comparatively more likely to die of these diseases in at least two out of three periods.

On the other hand, Jews were comparatively less likely to die of respiratory diseases and symptoms (ill defined conditions), infective diseases, and diseases associated with the nervous system, in that order. Viewed historically and with the exception of diseases associated with the nervous system, the Jews were comparatively less likely to die of diseases within the above categories in at least two out of the three time periods.

TABLE 46

PRIMARY CAUSE OF DEATH

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1854-1899		
Infective	44.9 45.6 31	55.1 51.4 38	48.6	69
Neoplasm	100.0 4.4 3		2.1	3
Endocrine	62.5 7.4 5	37.5 4.1 3	5.6	8
Blood			0.0	0
Mental	100.0 1.5 1		0.7	1
Nervous	16.7 1.5 1	83.3 6.8 5	4.2	6
Circulatory	72.7 11.8 8	27.3 4.1 3	7.7	11
Respiratory	44.4 11.8 8	55.6 13.5 10	12.7	18
Digestive	42.9 4.4 3	57.1 5.4 4	4.9	7
Genito-Urinary		100.0 1.4 1	0.7	1

TABLE 46—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1854-1899 (Continued)		
Pregnancy			0.0	0
Skin			0.0	0
Musculo-Skeletal			0.0	0
Congenital	40.0 2.9 2	60.0 4.1 3	3.5	5
Perinatal	100.0 1.5 1		0.7	1
Symptoms	12.5 1.5 1	87.5 9.5 7	5.6	8
Accidents and Poisoning	100.0 5.8 4		2.8	4
Total	47.9 68	51.2 74	100.0	142
		1900-1919		
Infective	51.4 27.3 18	48.6 25.4 17	26.3	35
Neoplasm	71.4 7.6 5	28.6 3.0 2	5.3	7

TABLE 46—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
	1900-1919 (Continued)			
Endocrine	100.0 1.5 1		0.8	1
Blood			0.0	0
Mental	100.0 1.5 1		0.8	1
Nervous	100.0 1.5 1		0.8	1
Circulatory	30.4 10.6 7	69.6 23.9 16	17.3	23
Respiratory	42.3 16.7 11	57.7 22.4 15	19.5	26
Digestive	60.0 4.5 3	40.0 3.0 2	3.8	5
Genito-Urinary	66.7 6.1 4	33.3 3.0 2	4.5	6
Pregnancy	50.0 1.5 1	50.0 1.5 1	1.5	2
Skin			0.0	0
Musculo-Skeletal	100.0 1.5 1		0.8	1

TABLE 46—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1900-1919 (Continued)		
Congenital	100.0 1.5 1		0.8	1
Perinatal	55.6 7.6 5	44.4 6.0 4	6.8	9
Symptoms	28.6 3.0 2	71.4 7.5 5	5.3	7
Accidents and Poisoning	62.5 7.6 5	37.5 4.5 3	6.0	8
Total	49.6 66	50.4 67	100.0	133
		1920-1934		
Infective	33.3 5.6 4	66.7 11.1 8	8.3	12
Neoplasm	45.5 13.9 10	54.5 16.7 12	15.3	22
Endocrine		100.0 1.4 1	0.7	1
Blood		100.0 1.4 1	0.7	1

TABLE 46—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1920-1934 (Continued)		
Mental		100.0 1.4 1	0.7	1
Nervous			0.0	0
Circulatory	63.6 48.6 35	36.4 27.8 20	38.2	55
Respiratory	25.0 5.6 4	75.0 16.7 12	11.1	16
Digestive	62.5 6.9 5	37.5 4.2 3	5.6	8
Genito-Urinary	50.0 2.8 2	50.0 2.8 2	2.8	4
Pregnancy		100.0 1.4 1	0.7	1
Skin			0.0	0
Musculo-Skeletal			0.0	0
Congenital	100.0 2.8 2		1.4	2
Perinatal	66.7 5.6 4	33.3 2.8 2	4.2	6

TABLE 46—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1920-1934 (Continued)		
Symptoms	50.0 2.8 2	50.0 2.8 2	2.8	4
Accidents and Poisoning	36.4 5.6 4	63.6 9.7 7	7.6	11
Total	50.0 72	50.0 72	100.0	144
		All Ages		
Infective	47.5 25.7 53	54.3 29.6 63	27.7	116
Neoplasm	56.3 8.7 18	43.8 6.6 14	7.6	32
Endocrine	60.0 2.9 6	40.0 1.9 4	2.4	10
Blood		100.0 0.5 1	0.2	1
Mental	66.7 1.0 2	33.3 0.5 1	0.7	3
Nervous	28.6 1.0 2	71.4 2.3 5	1.7	7

TABLE 46—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
	All Ages (Continued)			
Circulatory	56.2 24.3 50	43.8 18.3 39	21.2	89
Respiratory	38.3 11.2 23	61.7 17.4 37	14.3	60
Digestive	55.0 5.3 11	45.0 4.2 9	4.8	20
Genito-Urinary	54.5 2.9 6	45.5 2.3 5	2.6	11
Pregnancy	33.3 0.5 1	66.7 0.9 2	0.7	3
Skin			0.0	0
Musculo-Skeletal	100.0 0.5 1		0.2	1
Congenital	62.5 2.4 5	37.5 1.4 3	1.9	8
Perinatal	62.5 4.9 10	37.5 2.8 6	3.8	16
Symptoms	26.3 2.4 5	73.7 6.6 14	4.5	19

TABLE 46—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
	All Ages (Continued)			
Accidents and Poisoning	52.4 6.3 13	47.6 4.7 10	1.0	23
Total	49.2 206	50.8 213	100.0	419

Since the cause of death is related to age, this variable was broken down into the following categories: less than six, six to fourteen, fifteen to twenty-four, twenty-five to thirty-nine, forty to forty-nine, and fifty and above. Table 47 shows that Jews below the age of six were more likely than non-Jews to die of infective diseases, endocrine diseases, diseases of the circulatory system, congenital diseases, and accidents and poisonings, in that order.

Our numbers are too low for any meaningful comparisons until the fifty and above age category. Within this category we find the Jews more likely to have died of neoplastic diseases, circulatory diseases, diseases of the digestive system, genito-urinary diseases, and mental disorders, in that order.

The data were further broken down into age at death and historical period. Numbers are understandably quite low, thus precluding any meaningful discussion. The only possible exception was for infective diseases occurring among those below the age of six. Jews below the age of six were far more likely to die of subjective diseases in the nineteenth century until 1920 than their non-Jewish peers.

TABLE 47

PRIMARY CAUSE OF DEATH BY AGE OF DECEASED

Item	Jew	Non-Jew
	<6	
Infective	50.0 37.7 26	27.9 31.5 17
Neoplastic	5.6 1.4 1	7.1 1.9 1
Endocrine	50.0 4.3 3	25.0 1.9 1
Blood		
Mental	50.0 1.4 1	
Nervous		20.0 1.9 1
Circulatory	8.0 5.8 4	2.6 1.9 1
Respiratory	43.5 14.5 10	37.8 25.9 14
Digestive	27.3 4.3 3	33.3 5.6 3
Genito-Urinary		
Pregnancy	100.0 1.4 1	50.0 1.9 1

TABLE 47—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew
	<6 (Continued)	
Skin		
Musculo-Skeletal		
Congenital	100.0 7.2 5	66.7 3.7 2
Perinatal	100.0 14.5 10	100.0 11.1 6
Symptoms		28.6 7.4 4
Accidents and Poisonings	50.0 7.2 5	30.0 5.6 3
Total	33.7 69	25.6 54
	6-14	
Infective	9.6 62.5 5	4.9 100.0 3
Neoplastic	5.6 12.5 1	
Endocrine		
Blood		

TABLE 47—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew
	6-14 (Continued)	
Mental		
Nervous	50.0 12.5 1	
Circulatory		
Respiratory		
Digestive		
Genito-Urinary		
Pregnancy		
Skin		
Musculo-Skeletal		
Congenital		
Perinatal		
Symptoms		
Accidents and Poisonings	9.1 12.5 1	
Total	3.9 8	1.4 3

TABLE 47—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew
	15-24	
Infective	5.8 33.3 3	18.0 61.1 11
Neoplastic		
Endocrine		
Blood		
Mental		
Nervous		20.0 5.6 1
Circulatory	2.0 11.1 1	5.1 11.1 2
Respiratory	8.7 22.2 2	2.7 5.6 1
Digestive	9.1 11.1 1	
Genito-Urinary		20.0 5.6 1
Pregnancy		
Skin		
Musculo-Skeletal		
Congenital		

TABLE 47—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew
	15-24 (Continued)	
Perinatal		
Symptoms		
Accidents and Poisonings	18.2 22.2 2	20.0 11.1 2
Total	4.4 9	8.5 18
	25-39	
Infective	13.5 33.3 7	26.2 72.7 16
Neoplastic	5.6 4.8 1	7.1 4.5 1
Endocrine	16.7 4.8 1	
Blood		
Mental		
Nervous	50.0 4.8 1	
Circulatory	8.0 19.0 4	

TABLE 47—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew
	25-39 (Continued)	
Respiratory	17.4 18.0 4	8.1 13.6 3
Digestive		11.1 4.5 1
Genito-Urinary	16.7 4.8 1	
Pregnancy		50.0 4.5 1
Skin		
Musculo-Skeletal		
Congenital		
Perinatal		
Symptoms		
Accidents and Poisonings	18.2 9.5 2	18.2 9.5 2
Total	10.2 21	10.4 22

TABLE 47—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew
	40-49	
Infective	9.6 20.0 5	8.2 26.3 5
Neoplastic	16.7 12.0 3	
Endocrine	16.7 4.0 1	25.0 5.3 1
Blood		100.0 5.3 1
Mental		
Nervous		40.0 10.5 2
Circulatory	14.0 28.0 7	10.3 21.1 4
Respiratory	4.3 4.0 1	2.7 5.3 1
Digestive	27.3 12.0 3	22.2 10.5 2
Genito-Urinary	33.3 8.0 2	20.0 5.3 1
Pregnancy		

TABLE 47—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew
	40-49 (Continued)	
Skin		
Musculo-Skeletal	100.0 4.0 1	
Congenital		
Perinatal		
Symptoms		
Accidents and Poisonings	18.2 8.0 2	20.0 10.5 2
Total	12.2 25	9.0 19
	50+	
Infective	11.5 8.2 6	14.8 9.5 9
Neoplastic	66.7 16.4 12	85.7 12.6 12
Endocrine	16.7 1.4 1	50.0 2.1 2
Blood		

TABLE 47—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew
	50+ (Continued)	
Mental	50.0 1.4 1	100.0 1.1 1
Nervous		20.0 1.1 1
Circulatory	68.0 46.6 34	82.1 33.7 32
Respiratory	26.1 8.2 6	48.6 18.9 18
Digestive	36.4 5.5 4	33.3 3.2 3
Genito-Urinary	50.0 4.1 3	60.0 3.2 3
Pregnancy		
Skin		
Musculo-Skeletal		
Congenital		33.3 1.1 1
Perinatal		
Symptoms	100.0 6.8 5	71.4 10.5 10

TABLE 47—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew
	50+ (Continued)	
Accidents and Poisonings	50.0 1.4 1	30.0 3.2 3
Total	35.6 73	45.0 95
	Total	
Infective	25.4 52	28.9 61
Neoplastic	8.8 18	6.6 14
Endocrine	2.9 6	1.9 4
Blood	0 0	.5 1
Mental	1.0 2	.5 1
Nervous	1.0 2	2.4 5
Circulatory	24.4 50	18.5 39
Respiratory	11.2 23	17.5 37
Digestive	5.4 11	4.3 9

TABLE 47—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew
	Total (Continued)	
Genito-Urinary	2.9 6	2.4 5
Pregnancy	.5 1	.9 2
Skin	0 0	0 0
Musculo-Skeletal	.5 1	0 0
Congenital	2.4 5	1.4 3
Perinatal	4.9 10	2.8 6
Symptoms	2.4 5	6.6 14
Accidents and Poisonings	6.4 13	4.7 10
Total	100.0 205	100.0 211

Secondary Cause of Death

Those certifying cause of death were less prone to state a secondary cause of death and therefore numbers are considerably lower than among the primary causes of death. They nevertheless indicate, as shown in Table 48, that compared with non-Jews the Jews were more likely to die of respiratory diseases, neoplasms, accidents and poisonings, and diseases anonated with the circulatory system, in that order. Examination of our figures over time indicates that this pattern is evident in every disease category in at least two out of the three historical periods.

Jews were comparatively less likely to die of infective diseases symptoms (ill-defined causes), pregnancy, and digestive diseases, and musculo-skeletal disorders, in that order.

Numbers were too low for any meaningful discussion of age and secondary cause of death and for any further controlling by time period.

TABLE 48

SECONDARY CAUSE OF DEATH

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1852-1899		
Infective	25.0 8.3 1	75.0 30.0 3	18.2	4
Neoplasms			0.0	0
Endocrine			0.0	0
Blood			0.0	0
Mental			0.0	0
Nervous	100.0 8.3 1		4.5	1
Circulatory	75.0 25.0 3	25.0 10.0 1	18.2	4
Respiratory	100.0 16.7 2		9.1	2
Digestive			0.0	0
Genito-Urinary		100.0 10.0 1	4.5	1
Pregnancy			0.0	0
Skin			0.0	0
Musculo-Skeletal	100.0 8.3 1		4.5	1

TABLE 48—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1852-1899 (Continued)		
Congenital			0.0	0
Perinatal			0.0	0
Symptoms	37.5 25.0 3	62.5 50.0 5	36.4	8
Accidents and Poisongs	100.0 8.3 1		4.5	1
Total	54.5 12	45.5 10	100.0	22
		1900-1919		
Infective	20.0 4.2 1	80.0 12.9 4	9.1	5
Neoplasm	100.0 4.2 1		1.8	1
Endocrine	66.7 8.3 2	33.3 3.2 1	5.5	3
Blood			0.0	0
Mental			0.0	0
Nervous	100.0 4.2 1		1.8	1

TABLE 48—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1900-1919 (Continued)		
Circulatory	53.8 29.2 7	46.2 19.4 6	23.6	13
Respiratory	40.0 8.3 2	60.0 9.7 3	9.1	5
Digestive	50.0 8.3 2	50.0 6.5 2	7.3	4
Genito-Urinary	66.7 16.7 4	33.3 6.5 2	10.9	6
Pregnancy		100.0 6.5 2	3.6	2
Skin			0.0	0
Musculo-Skeletal		100.0 3.2 1	1.8	1
Congenital		100.0 3.2 1	1.8	1
Perinatal			0.0	0
Symptoms	30.0 12.5 3	70.0 22.6 7	18.2	10

TABLE 48—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1900-1919 (Continued)		
Accidents and Poisonings	33.3 4.2 1	66.7 6.4 2	5.4	3
Total	43.6 24	56.4 31	100.0	55
		1920-1934		
Infective	42.9 8.3 3	57.1 13.8 4	10.8	7
Neoplasm	100.0 8.3 3		4.6	3
Endocrine	40.0 5.6 2	60.0 10.3 3	7.7	5
Blood			0.0	0
Mental		100.0 3.4 1	1.5	1
Nervous	50.0 2.8 1	50.0 3.4 1	3.1	2
Circulatory	50.0 25.0 9	50.0 31.0 9	27.7	18

TABLE 48—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		1920-1934 (Continued)		
Respiratory	100.0 13.9 5		7.7	5
Digestive	25.0 2.8 1	75.0 10.3 3	6.2	4
Genito-Urinary		100.0 6.9 2	3.1	2
Pregnancy	50.0 2.8 1	50.0 3.4 1	3.1	2
Skin			0.0	0
Musculo-Skeletal		100.0 3.4 1	1.5	1
Congenital			0.0	0
Perinatal	100.0 5.6 2		3.1	2
Symptoms	60.0 8.3 3	40.0 6.9 2	7.7	5
Accidents and Poisonings	75.0 16.7 6	25.0 3.4 2	12.3	8
Total	55.4 36	44.6 29	100.0	65

TABLE 48—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
		All Ages		
Infective	31.3 6.9 5	68.8 15.7 11	11.3	16
Neoplam	100.0 5.6 4		2.8	4
Endocrine	50.0 5.6 4	50.0 5.7 4	5.6	8
Blood			0.0	0
Mental		100.0 1.4 1	0.7	1
Nervous	75.0 4.2 3	25.0 1.4 1	2.8	4
Circulatory	54.3 26.4 19	45.7 22.9 16	24.6	35
Respiratory	75.0 12.5 9	25.0 4.3 3	8.5	12
Digestive	37.5 4.2 3	62.5 7.1 5	5.6	8
Genito-Urinary	44.4 5.6 4	55.6 7.1 5	6.3	9

TABLE 48—Continued

Item	Jew	Non-Jew	Per cent	Total
	All Ages (Continued)			
Pregnancy	25.0 1.4 1	75.0 4.3 3	2.8	4
Skin			0.0	0
Musculo-Skeletal	33.3 1.4 1	66.7 2.9 2	2.1	3
Congenital		100.0 1.4 1	0.7	1
Perinatal	100.0 2.8 2		1.4	2
Symptoms	39.1 12.5 9	60.9 20.0 14	16.2	23
Accidents and Poisonings	60.0 11.1 8	40.0 5.8 4	8.4	12
Total	50.7 72	49.3 70	100.0	142

Concluding Remarks

Fewer than one per cent of those who died in Middletown between 1852 and 1934 were Jewish. This percentage is less than what was encountered among births and marriages, leading to the suggestion that Jews who may have been married and had children in Middletown may also have moved out of the town and completed their life cycles elsewhere. This argument is supported by data relating to comparatively higher infant and child mortality among the Jews than among the non-Jews.

A statistically significantly greater number of Jewish males than Jewish females died in Middletown. Higher proportions of Jewish males than Jewish females died within each of the major periods of the study. Several factors may be accounting for this. One, there were more males in Middletown. Two, more Jewish males than Jewish females were born. This tends to be the case generally, but especially among Jews. Males do not have as high a survival rate as females, especially in infancy, and a high number of Jewish infants died.

There was no control for race of the deceased and three non-Jewish black decedents were encountered.

Very high proportions of Jewish decedents were born in Eastern Europe, while significant numbers derived from Western Europe. Although higher numbers of non-Jewish

decedents were born in Middletown, this was not the case during the first period. Among the reasons for this is that the last half of the nineteenth century witnessed a high proportion of Jewish deaths involving Jewish infants who were born in Middletown.

Jews died at earlier ages than non-Jews, and this finding was consistent during all three periods of the study. It made no difference whether both parents of the deceased were native or foreign born. This relationship, however, was even more pronounced among Jews born to foreign born parents in comparison with non-Jews of foreign born parentage. These findings are at variance with reported research in other studies. Other studies, it will be recalled, related a favorable longevity among Jews.

In an effort to explain this seeming paradox, frequency counts were remade of Jews and non-Jews dying in infancy, herein defined as those below the age of two. Frequency counts were also made of Jews and non-Jews dying in childhood, herein defined as those between the ages of two and twelve. Higher numbers of Jews than non-Jews in infancy and childhood, especially the former. In fact, this held true in each of the three historical periods, with the exception of the 1920-1934 period when slightly more non-Jews than Jews died in childhood. The data indicate that foreign born Jewish parents contributed most

substantially to the high infant and child mortality found among Jews generally. Jews who survived childhood nevertheless died at earlier ages than non-Jews who also survived childhood. This was true for the entire period of the study whether both parents of the deceased were native or foreign born.

Higher proportions of Jews could be found in the middle and upper status occupational categories at the time of death, than was the case among non-Jews. These findings are consistent with the occupational statuses found among Jewish men at time of marriage and birth of a child.

The data lent support to the acknowledged tendency to marry found among Jews. Thus, the Jews were less likely to have died as spinsters or bachelors than was the case among the non-Jews.

The Jews were found to have died from allegedly different causes of death than non-Jews. Thus, they were reported to have more likely died than non-Jews of diseases associated with the circulatory system and of neoplasms. These findings are in keeping with those encountered in many previous studies cited.

CHAPTER XII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study attempted to begin a reconstruction of the history of the Jews in a small New England town, Middletown, Connecticut. Initial attempts at writing a conventional history proved difficult because of the paucity of records available. Efforts to uncover historically relevant materials from present and former residents of Middletown were met with almost total failure.

A different, perhaps somewhat unique, approach was clearly called for. The assumption was made that since Jews in numbers were known to have lived in Middletown since the middle of the nineteenth century, they must have endured certain life processes such as birth and death and perhaps even married in the town. A further assumption was made that since these events must be recorded by law, an examination of such documents might shed light on the historical patterns of the Jews of Middletown.

Another source of information are city directories. These directories are published on an annual basis and usually consist of two sections: one, a list of the names and addresses of the town's residents and two, a business

section which gives the names and addresses of people owning various businesses or engaged in the professions. The latter section of each of the city directories was thought to be useful in delineating the occupational development of the Jews in this small town.

An important factor one must keep in mind when reading about the history of a given people is that their development took place consonant with and in contrast to that of the people who surrounded them. This study attempted to deal with this problem by sampling data from among non-Jews. Hence, the reader may weigh the findings for the Jews against what was occurring among their non-Jewish peers. It is therefore a systematically controlled study, perhaps among the first in American Jewish history.

Since the end of World War II, students of American Jewry have increasingly focused attention on the development of Jews in urban areas. A perusal of these works shows that the cities dealt with by the various authors were for the most part very large ones. This is unfortunate since in the aggregate many Jews settled in small communities throughout the country. They were called upon to make contributions to the development of America and to the American Jewish community at large and did so unfailingly. And yet, we know very little about them. They seem to have left little in the way of records and have gone

relatively unnoticed by scholars. In short, we are as yet in no position to gauge in what ways if any the Jews in the small communities deviated from the patterns set by their correligionists in the large urban areas. This study has been an attempt to shed light on this neglected subject in American Jewish history.

The benefits of the high-speed electronic computer were clearly needed in order to handle the large amount of quantitative data generated by this study. Data used in the computer were properly copied, coded, punched, verified, and further checked before being analyzed. Along with standard package programs such as the Harvard Data-Text,[1] other statistical programs were called for. These latter programs written specifically for this study are found in the appendices. They may with slight modification be used for replication purposes.

Middletown is located roughly in the center of Connecticut. It is a small town consisting today of approximately 33,000 people. Among Middletown's major institutions are the Connecticut Valley Hospital and Wesleyan University.

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[1] Harvard Data-Text (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967).

Middletown was founded by a group of dissident Indians from Wethersfield who broke away from their tribe in the early part of the seventeenth century. The town was then known by its Indian name of Mettebeseck. Shortly thereafter a small band of Englishmen from the Hartford area settled in the town. Minor skirmishes with the Indians ensued followed by a permanent peace settlement. The Connecticut Legislature incorporated the city of Middletown in 1654.

Thereafter, the town developed rapidly, becoming the largest city in the state of Connecticut in the year 1790. Among the forces shaping this development were a great deal of slave trading, a developing ship-building industry, and large-scale trade with the West Indies and London. The nineteenth century saw a decline in these industries and a concomitant decline in the growth of Middletown. Several important industries did spring up in this town during the nineteenth century and including among them were the Russell Manufacturing Company, makers of elastic webbing, and the Wilcox Crittenden Company, well-known manufacturers of hardware used on ships.

Two important institutions were also created in Middletown during the nineteenth century, namely the Methodist sponsored Wesleyan University, opened in 1831, and the Hospital for the Insane in the State of Connecticut, which

opened its doors in 1888. The town of Middletown offered the land for this institution and passed certain statutes designed to protect it.

Among the notable developments in Middletown during the middle of the nineteenth century was the arrival of a significant number of Jews. These people came primarily from Europe. They were an oppressed people eager for an opportunity to seek their own fortunes.

The Jews who came from Germany had experienced a number of insults to their integrity as a people. In some areas of Germany they lost their political rights, in others they could not trade, in still others they were denied their own places of worship.

Russian Jews, their correligionists to the east, in many ways suffered more. They too had been relegated to an inferior position by virtue of laws designed specifically to humiliate them. Russian Jews suffered not only at the hands of the authorities but were also subjected to the murderous whims of the peasantry. Both the authorities and the peasantry united in a series of pogroms, the most notorious of which probably took place in Gomel and Kishinev.

The Jews were restricted as to place of residence and to movement. Thus, they were most likely to be found in an area comprising little more than 5 per cent of Russia.

Russian Jews compared with their non-Jewish countrymen were far more likely to be found in the urban areas, occupying middle class positions. Close to 40 per cent of them or over twice the proportion among the non-Jews were involved in manufacturing. Almost one-third or ten times the non-Jewish proportion were engaged in commerce. Whereas 61 per cent of the non-Jews were engaged in agricultural pursuits, only 3 per cent of the Jews were similarly engaged.

The May Laws seriously affected the Jewish position in that their principal statutes curtailed participation of the Jews both in the areas of agriculture and commerce. The percentage rule of 1866 and 1867 further aggravated the situation by limiting the number of Jews who could qualify for an education.

The Jews of Roumania had similar experiences. They were heavily engaged in the handicraft industry, in clothing, food, furniture and textile industries, among others. Roumanian Jews like their Russian brethren were mainly urban and middle class. They were severely restricted in their commercial enterprises, could not purchase land, and for all practical purposes were denied citizenship.

The Jews of Austria and Hungary suffered perhaps less than their counterparts we visited. Nevertheless, toward the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the

Jews of Austria and Hungary were subjected to economic boycott, unfair taxation, and the accusation of ritual murder.

Like the other Jews whose history we have touched upon, the Jews of Austria and Hungary were engaged well out of their proportions in commerce and, interestingly, in agriculture. They were also very heavily urbanized and likely to be found in the middle classes.

Very high numbers of Jews took advantage of the easing of emigration policies in Eastern Europe and the relatively liberal American immigration policies extant toward the end of the nineteenth century. They thus came to America and many settled in the large urban areas along the eastern seaboard. A few settled in small towns such as Middletown, Connecticut.

We know that the Jews could be found in Connecticut in the seventeenth century. Among the Jews who came to Connecticut during that time were Aron Lopez and John Carsen. The first Jew to surface in Middletown was Isaac Solomons who in the early eighteenth century petitioned a court regarding the duty on certain goods which he imported from London. During the eighteenth century a number of well known Jews including Myer Myers invested in a lead mine located in Middletown. Other than these few facts we know nothing of the very early history of Middletown Jewry, in a traditional historical sense.

Once they arrived in any numbers in Middletown, they apparently made a point of gathering to pray. The oldest members of the community claim that men gathered for prayers in the home of Jacob Mattes on Williams Street in the late 1870's.

The first legal documents of the Jewish community in Middletown were signed by a Samuel Mirovitz and Benjamin Enowitz on March 13, 1897. This particular document alludes to the purchase of approximately one acre of land in Portland, Connecticut, to be used as a cemetery. On May 11, 1905, the Connecticut State Legislature passed a resolution incorporating the Congregation Adath Israel.

During the first decade of this century, and perhaps previous to that, Middletown Jews prayed in rented halls. One such hall belonged to Max Frank, who was a Jewish grocer. Mr. Simon Edelberg relates that in 1913 there were three kosher butcher shops and a mikva on Sumner Street.

That same year saw a serious controversy develop between Reverend Samuel Vernikoff and the congregation over a sum of money allegedly owed him. A rabbinical court sided in favor of the clergyman.

In the middle of the 1920's, Middletown's Jews began to look into the feasibility of erecting a new edifice. A number of congregants thought it would be better to remain

on Union Street. After a series of discussions, those who wanted to build prevailed.

A series of regularly scheduled meetings were held either in the home or office of Judge Israel Poliner. The first meeting, however, was held in the home of Max Levine on January 25, 1928. Members of the various committees charged with collecting funds, engaging a contractor, and supervising the erection of the building were very efficient. In fact, they were so devoted and efficient that the edifice was dedicated on Sunday afternoon, May 6, 1929.

We draw our attention next to the findings of the study beginning with births. Fewer than 2 per cent of all births in the years 1852-1934 were born to children, at least one of whose parents was Jewish. The year 1903 saw the highest number of Jewish children born in Middletown. More male children were born to Jewish parents than were born to non-Jewish parents. Most parents derived from Eastern Europe. An abnormally high proportion of Jewish children were stillborn. Jewish children were almost entirely delivered by physicians, far more than was the case among non-Jewish children. There were no cases of illegitimacy among the Jews and a comparatively high number of Jewish children were born as twins.

Jewish fathers occupied positions of much higher status than their non-Jewish counterparts. Over the years

Jewish parents tended to have children at older ages. And although we do not have information on completed families, the data on uncompleted families indicate that the Jews had fewer children than non-Jews. This was especially the case during the twentieth century.

The history of the economic development of the Jews of Middletown closely parallels their experience throughout the rest of the country. They began as peddlers, tailors, and shoemakers. Middletown Jews rapidly entered into retailing especially clothing until they were thus engaged well out of their proportions. In many ways, the Jews of Middletown paralleled the occupations they held while still in Europe. During the twentieth century increasing proportions of Jews could be seen in the professions.

Very few Jews married in Middletown from the middle of the eighteenth century until the end of 1934. In fact fewer than one per cent of all the marriages which took place in Middletown involved one partner of the Jewish faith. The highest number of Jewish marriages took place in 1919.

There were three cases of religious intermarriage and in all cases they involved a male Jewish partner. Most Jewish brides and grooms came from eastern Europe. Jewish men and women first married at younger ages than

their non-Jewish counterparts. Over the period of this study both groups tended first to marry at older ages. This was particularly the case among the Jews.

Jewish men were found in positions of higher occupational status than non-Jewish men at the time of marriage. The data suggest that Jewish men had to look out of Middletown for spouses.

Finally, Jewish brides were more likely to be single and divorced and more likely to be widowed than non-Jewish brides. Jewish grooms were slightly more likely to be single, more likely to be widowed, and less likely to be divorced than their non-Jewish counterparts.

The Jewish men of Middletown compared with their non-Jewish counterparts were very upwardly mobile, as measured by their rising proportions in occupations of middle and high status. Although a sizable proportion of Jewish men could be found in occupations of low status during the early period, their relative numbers diminished rapidly over time. Their social class position in Middletown as measured by occupational status was very similar to the one they occupied while still in Europe.

Few Jews died in Middletown when compared with the Jewish proportions of births and marriages in the town. More Jewish males than females died and high proportions of those who died were themselves born in Eastern Europe.

Jews died at younger ages than non-Jews. More Jews than non-Jews died in infancy and childhood. Higher proportions of Jews than non-Jews at time of death could be found in the middle and upper status occupational categories.

The data corroborated other studies pointing to a greater tendency among the Jews to marry. They also show that Jews were more likely to die of circulatory and neoplastic diseases than non-Jews.

This work was written as a catalyst to future investigators both in Middletown and elsewhere. Hopefully the Jews of Middletown will endeavor to uncover aspects of their history which the foregoing data will most probably corroborate. Thus for example, one day in 1969, the writer chanced upon an old family friend, Al Halpern. During the course of the conversation, it was noted that Mr. Halpern was in the fruit and vegetable business for a period of at least four years during the 1920's. Mr. Halpern denied ever having been engaged in such an enterprise but shortly after having been confronted with evidence from city directories vaguely recalled having made his living in such a way.

Researchers working on other towns outside of Middletown may wish to replicate this work in other small towns, while still others are encouraged to examine similar

data from larger communities. Once this is done, comparisons can be made and fruitful insights may be engendered.

This work has been a rewarding experience. Much in fact was learned which was not directly germane to the aims and purposes of the study. This is frequently the case in research when investigators must continually make decisions as they progress. As such, the preceding pages can be considered, in a certain way, as the fruit of a series of decisions, many of which had to be rescinded in light of more valid alternatives. The author has benefitted from the challenge presented by these alternatives.

There is no doubt in the author's mind that this work contains errors, both of commission and omission. The author can only hope that his readers have accepted it in the spirit which Samuel Johnson[2] asked the readers of his Dictionary to accept his work. In Johnson's words:

> That it will immediately become popular I have not promised to myself: a few wild blunders, and risible absurdities, from which no work of such multiplicity was ever free, may for a time furnish folly with laughter, and harden ignorance in contempt. . . . a writer will sometimes be hurried by eagerness to the end, and sometimes faint with weariness under a task. . . . that what is obvious is not always known, and what is known is not always present; that sudden fits of

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[2]Samuel Johnson, A Dictionary of the English Language (New York: A.M.S. Press, Incorporated, 1967), Preface.

inadvertency will surprize vigilance, slight avocations will seduce attention, and casual eclipses will darken learning; and that the writer shall often in vain trace his memory at the moment of need, for that which yesterday he knew with intuitive readiness, and which will come uncalled into his thoughts tomorrow.

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APPENDICES

PLEASE NOTE:

Appendix pages are not original copy with indistinct and blurred type. Best available copy.

UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS.

Appendix A

Permission from Probate Court to Employ Birth Records

PROBATE COURT

District of Middletown
94 Court Street
Middletown, Connecticut 06457
Tel. 347-7424

Walter P. Stanisziewski, Judge

Miss Frances D. Turso, Clerk
Mrs. Mabel W. Coughlin, Ass't. Clerk

December 2, 1970

Bureau of Vital Statistics
Middletown
Connecticut

Gentlemen:

You are hereby authorized to allow Dr. Jacob Lindentnal of Yale University to examine birth records for the purpose of making an ethnic survey.

He understands that he will not be allowed to record any names whatsoever or dates of any particular individual's records.

Very truly yours,

Walter P. Stanisziewski
Judge of Probate

WPS:fdt

A TRUE COPY.

ATTEST: Mabel W. Coughlin
Assistant Clerk

Appendix B

Index of Vital Activity

APPENDIX B

INDEX OF VITAL ACTIVITY

Year	Jews	Total	Per cent
1855	0.	464.	0.00000
1856	3.	469.	0.63966
1857	1.	520.	0.19231
1858	4.	455.	0.87912
1859	3.	442.	0.67873
1860	0.	534.	0.00000
1861	2.	504.	0.39683
1862	3.	529.	0.56711
1863	3.	504.	0.59524
1864	6.	432.	1.38889
1865	6.	465.	1.29032
1866	1.	478.	0.20921
1867	1.	498.	0.20080
1868	3.	498.	0.60241
1869	3.	517.	0.58027
1855-1869	39.0000	7309.0000	0.53359
1870	3.	603.	0.49751
1871	1.	574.	0.17422

Year	Jews	Total	Per cent
1872	2.	648.	0.30864
1873	3.	673.	0.44577
1874	4.	628.	0.63694
1875	5.	554.	0.90253
1876	7.	538.	1.30112
1877	4.	516.	0.77519
1878	5.	545.	0.91743
1879	6.	576.	1.04167
1870-1879	40.0000	5855.0000	0.68318
1880	4.	542.	0.73801
1881	2.	616.	0.32468
1882	5.	579.	0.86356
1883	6.	667.	0.89955
1884	8.	601.	1.33111
1885	8.	615.	1.30081
1886	5.	661.	0.75643
1887	4.	673.	0.59435
1888	4.	683.	0.58565
1889	7.	730.	0.95890
1880-1889	53.0000	6367.0000	0.83242
1890	8.	768.	1.04167
1891	4.	779.	0.51348
1892	8.	931.	0.85929

Year	Jews	Total	Per cent
1893	12.	867.	1.38408
1894	7.	812.	0.86207
1895	6.	906.	0.66225
1896	12.	771.	1.55642
1897	11.	762.	1.44357
1898	7.	924.	0.75758
1899	9.	806.	1.11663
1890-1899	84.0000	8326.0000	1.00889
1900	10.	1089.	0.91827
1901	12.	925.	1.29730
1902	7.	897.	0.78038
1903	21.	1097.	1.91431
1904	16.	1060.	1.50943
1905	19.	1304.	1.45706
1906	17.	1276.	1.33229
1907	18.	1351.	1.33235
1908	11.	1319.	0.83397
1909	18.	1397.	1.28848
1900-1909	149.0000	11715.0000	1.27187
1910	21.	1579.	1.32996
1911	25.	1417.	1.76429
1912	18.	1650.	1.09091
1913	17.	1433.	1.18632
1914	22.	1528.	1.43979

Year	Jews	Total	Per cent
1915	21.	1502.	1.39814
1916	21.	1565.	1.34185
1917	30.	1748.	1.71625
1918	21.	1740.	1.20690
1919	18.	1465.	1.22867
1910-1919	214.0000	15627.0000	1.36942
1920	28.	1556.	1.79949
1921	28.	1510.	1.85430
1922	21.	1357.	1.54753
1923	22.	1305.	1.68582
1924	14.	1378.	1.01597
1925	10.	1403.	0.71276
1926	14.	1417.	0.98800
1927	15.	1352.	1.10947
1928	20.	1335.	1.49813
1929	18.	1410.	1.27660
1920-1929	190.0000	14023.0000	1.35492
1930	19.	1299.	1.46266
1931	26.	1331.	1.95342
1932	15.	1391.	1.07836
1933	16.	1409.	1.13556
1934	14.	1396.	1.00287
1930-1934	90.0000	6826.0000	1.31849
All Years	859.0000	76048.0000	1.12955

Appendix C

Sample Birth Certificate

LIVE–BIRTH RECORD
VS-16A 11/71

CONNECTICUT STATE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

79 ELM ST., HARTFORD, CONN. 06115

This is a ☐ COPY ☐ CERTIFIED COPY *(Not valid without seal of certifying official.)* ☐ CORRECTION of the Original Certificate.

THIS CHILD

1. Child's name *(First)*	*(Middle)*	*(Last)*
2. Weight *(Lbs.)* *(Oz.)*	3. Sex	4. Hour of Birth	5. Date of Birth
6. Plurality of Birth ☐ Single ☐ Twin ☐ Triplet	7. If not single, this child born ☐ First ☐ Second ☐ Third	

PLACE OF BIRTH

8. Town	9. County
10. Hospital name *(if applicable)* and/or street address	

MOTHER

11. Mother's name *(First)*	*(Middle)*	*(Maiden)*	12. Race
13. Birthplace *(City, State or Foreign Country)*		14. Mother's birthdate	15. Mother's age
16. Residence *(No. and St., Town, County, State or Foreign Country)*			
17. Mailing address *(Include Zip Code)*			

FATHER

18. Father's name *(First)*	*(Middle)*	*(Last)*	19. Race
20. Birthplace *(City, State or Foreign Country)*		21. Father's birthdate	22. Father's age

INFORMANT

23. Name of person who supplied above information *(First, Middle, Last)*	24. Relationship to child

ATTENDANT'S CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that I attended this birth and that the child was born at the hour, date and place stated above

25. Date signed	26. Signed *(Attendant)*	
27. Attendant's name *(Type or print-First, Middle, Last)*		28. Degree or title
29. Attendant's address *(No. and St., City, State or Foreign Country)*		

REGISTRAR, Town of Occurrence

Date received by local registrar	Signed *(Registrar of Vital Statistics)*

REGISTRAR, Town of

Date received	Signed *(Registrar of Vital Statistics)*

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PLEASE TYPE or print legibly in permanent black record ink.

CORRECTION OF LIVE–BIRTH CERTIFICATE

AFFIDAVIT

Name of deponent	Address

Original Certificate Recorded and Filed

As that of *(Give name exactly as recorded on original certificate)*	
On *(Mo., Day, Year)*	At

Reasons for incorrect or omitted information on original certificate

I, the undersigned, being duly sworn, depose and say that:

1. The above information is true and correct.
2. I am the person who made out or caused to be made out, on the reverse side of this blank, the correction of the original certificate recorded and filed as stated above.
3. Certain statements contained in said original certificate are incorrect or that certain information required by law is not given therein and therefore, for the purpose of affording a complete and correct official record, the correct statements or the omitted information has been entered on the reverse side of this form.

Signature of deponent
×

Jurat

Sworn to before me	On *(Mo., Day, Year)*	At *(Town)*
Title *(Notary Public, Commissioner of Superior Court, or Registrar of Vital Statistics)*		Signature of jurat ×

FOR REGISTRAR'S USE ONLY

Registrar of Vital Statistics

This form has been accepted for filing and a notation of the corrections or additions has been made on the original certificate.

Town of	Date	Signature of Registrar
		×

COPY OF LIVE–BIRTH CERTIFICATE

I certify that the reverse is a true copy of the certificate received for record.

Date	Signed *(Registrar of Vital Statistics)*

This copy of certificate received for record at town of	On *(Mo., Day, Year)*	Signed *(Registrar of Vital Statistics)*

CERTIFIED COPY OF LIVE-BIRTH RECORD

Legal Fee $2.00

I certify that the reverse is a true transcript of the information on the birth record as recorded in this office.

Town of	Date *(Mo., Day, Year)*	Signed *(Registrar of Vital Statistics)*

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Appendix D

Coding of Birth Certificates

APPENDIX D

BIRTH CERTIFICATE

Code

Column Number	Identification
1-4	Page Number
5	Religion of Infant: 1 = Jew, 2 = Non-Jew
6	Title: 2 = Births
7	Sex of Infant: 1 = Male, 2 = Female, 3 = Unknown
8, 9	Volume Number
10-12	Page Number
13-20	Date of Birth
21	Religion of Father: 1 = Jew, 2 = Non-Jew
22	Religion of Mother: 1 = Jew, 2 = Non-Jew
23, 24	Birthplace of Father: 1 = Middletown 2 = United States 3 = Germany, Austria, Bohemia 4 = England 5 = Russia, Poland, Roumania 6 = Ireland

7 = Italy

8 = Scotland

9 = France

10 = Canada

11 = Sweden

12 = Hungary

13 = Lithuania

14 = Bavaria

15 = Syria

16 = Holland

17 = Greece

25, 26 Birthplace of Mother—same as above

27, 28 Age of Father

29, 30 Age of Mother

31 Race of Father: 1 = White, 2 = Black

32 Race of Mother: 1 = White, 2 = Black

33 Occupation of Father—Refer to Hollingshead, Index of Social Position

34, 35 Number of Children of Mother

36, 37 Number of Children of Mother Living

38, 39 Name of Attending Physician:

1 = G. W. Burke

2 = E. B. Nye

3 = C. Woodward

4 = Eliz. Balier

5 = W. E. Carey

6 = E. Burr

7 = C. Andrews

8 = R. Balier

9 = W. C. Bell

10 = M. C. Hazen

11 = Catherine Shea

12 = M. D. Murphy

13 = F. D. Edgerton

14 = Mary Farinir

15 = C. C. Clark

16 = L. Bailey

17 = B. D. Maguire

18 = A. P. Osborne

19 = John Morgan

20 = A. L. Osborne

21 = D. R. Cleveland

22 = F. L. Burr

23 = P. V. Burnett

24 = F. H. Sage

25 = J. E. Bailey

26 = A. J. Campbell

27 = F. M. Farnham

28 = J. Brownhill

29 = F. B. Cook

30 = A. H. Denning

31 = C. Muller

32 = D. L. Maitland

33 = D. A. Nolan

34 = F. P. Griswold

35 = H. C. Howard

36 = J. H. McDougal

37 = A. A. Hand

38 = R. C. Downey

39 = C. B. Young

40 = K. C. Mead

41 = A. Petrophy

42 = J. E. Loveland

43 = J. H. Mountain

44 = F. E. Potter

45 = J. Murphy

46 = T. P. Walsh

47 = B. Zemen

48 = A. T. Harryton

49 = J. T. Mitchell

50 = A. A. Hurd

51 = A. Petrossi

52 = R. Nocera

53 = J. F. Calef

54 = M. E. Lawrence

55 = R. C. Downey

56 = S. Misenti

57 = J. H. Standish

58 = T. S. Skladzien

59 = J. Gwinzdoska

60 = L. Simonson

61 = G. Petrocelli

62 = C. W. Kellog

63 = F. J. O'Brien

64 = J. F. Pickett

65 = M. Carlson

66 = C. E. Zink

67 = C. C. Harvey

68 = W. E. Wrang

69 = H. Burr

70 = C. M. Craig

71 = C. B. Chedel

72 = L. Lafredo

73 = E. A. Wilder

74 = H. S. Frank

75 = J. H. Grower

76 = L. O. LaBella

77 = H. E. Speight

78 = J. Magnano

79 = J. R. Miller

80 = J. A. Wilson

81 = P. A. Park

82 = P. F. Piasta

83 = F. E. Tracy

84 = N. Gissler

40 Mode of Delivery:

1 = Physician

2 = Midwife

3 = Registrar

4 = Self-delivery

5 = Registered Nurse

41 Nature of Birth:

1 = Live Birth

2 = Stillbirth

42 Number of Children:

1 = Single Birth

2 = Twins

43 Legitimacy:

1 = Legitimate

2 = Illegitimate

Appendix E

Number of Births on an Annual Basis

APPENDIX E

BIRTHS

Year	Jews	Total	Per cent
1855	0.	187.	0.00000
1856	3.	207.	1.44928
1857	1.	227.	0.44053
1858	2.	222.	0.90090
1859	3.	204.	1.47059
1860	0.	236.	0.00000
1861	1.	224.	0.44643
1862	0.	218.	0.00000
1863	1.	193.	0.51813
1864	1.	172.	0.58140
1865	2.	169.	1.18343
1866	0.	203.	0.00000
1867	1.	210.	0.47619
1868	1.	188.	0.53191
1869	2.	229.	0.87336
1855-1869	18.0000	3089.0000	0.58271
1870	1.	262.	0.38168
1871	1.	233.	0.42918

Year	Jews	Total	Per cent
1872	0.	243.	0.00000
1873	2.	273.	0.73260
1874	3.	279.	1.07527
1875	5.	255.	1.96078
1876	5.	221.	2.26244
1877	2.	215.	0.93023
1878	0.	225.	0.00000
1879	1.	293.	0.34130
1870-1879	20.0000	2499.0000	0.80032
1880	2.	246.	0.81301
1881	0.	267.	0.00000
1882	1.	232.	0.43103
1883	4.	238.	1.68067
1884	5.	269.	1.85874
1885	5.	256.	1.95313
1886	4.	272.	1.47059
1887	2.	275.	0.72727
1888	2.	268.	0.74627
1889	5.	311.	1.60772
1880-1889	30.0000	2634.0000	1.13895
1890	3.	337.	0.89021
1891	3.	318.	0.94340
1892	5.	358.	1.39665

Year	Jews	Total	Per cent
1893	11.	388.	2.83505
1894	5.	348.	1.43678
1895	4.	393.	1.01781
1896	8.	335.	2.38806
1897	9.	370.	2.43243
1898	6.	370.	1.62162
1899	8.	380.	2.10526
1890-1899	62.0000	3597.0000	1.72366
1900	8.	313.	2.55591
1901	11.	380.	2.89474
1902	6.	330.	1.81818
1903	15.	400.	3.75000
1904	10.	436.	2.29358
1905	15.	489.	3.06748
1906	12.	506.	2.37154
1907	17.	523.	3.25048
1908	11.	565.	1.94690
1909	15.	581.	2.58176
1900-1909	120.0000	4523.0000	2.65311
1910	15.	550.	2.72727
1911	18.	587.	3.06644
1912	14.	659.	2.12443
1913	12.	625.	1.92000

Year	Jews	Total	Per cent
1914	15.	651.	2.30415
1915	12.	658.	1.82371
1916	15.	639.	2.34742
1917	16.	727.	2.20083
1918	10.	662.	1.51057
1919	6.	645.	0.93023
1910-1919	133.0000	6403.0000	2.07715
1920	19.	678.	2.80236
1921	13.	719.	1.80807
1922	12.	666.	1.80180
1923	13.	655.	1.98473
1924	6.	653.	0.91884
1925	5.	631.	0.79239
1926	12.	641.	1.87207
1927	6.	651.	0.92166
1928	9.	614.	1.46580
1929	6.	640.	0.93750
1920-1929	101.0000	6548.0000	1.54246
1930	8.	551.	1.45191
1931	16.	610.	2.62295
1932	8.	606.	1.32013
1933	11.	581.	1.89329
1934	11.	579.	1.89983
All Years	538.0000	32220.0000	1.66977

Appendix F

Occupational Status

APPENDIX F

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Over the years, social scientists concerned with stratification have developed a series of indices to measure social status. Among the most widely used today is the Two Factor Index of Social Position developed by August B. Hollingshead. This index employs occupation and the years of school completed by the head of the household as indicators of socioeconomic status. Unfortunately, in this study, the years of education completed by the subjects could not be ascertained. Therefore, the only viable alternative was the use of occupation alone which does, however, give us a good key to the understanding of the location of individuals in the socioeconomic structure.

The Hollingshead Index categorizes occupations into seven major categories. The following is an explication of the categories including representative occupations within each of the categories.

I. Higher Executives, Proprietors of Large Concerns, and Major Professionals

Included herein are Bank Presidents, Contractors,

Accountants (C.P.A.), Clergymen (Professionally Trained), Lawyers and Physicians.

II. Business Managers, Proprietors of Medium Sized Businesses, and Lesser Professionals

This category includes Brokerage Salesmen, Postmasters, Clothing Store Owners, Furniture Businesses, Jewelers (the latter three concerns each having a value between $35,000 and $100,000), Accountants (not C.P.A.), Nurses, Pharmacists, and Teachers (Elementary and High).

III. Administrative Personnel, Small Independent Businesses, and Minor Professionals

Within this category one finds Sales Representatives, Shop Managers, Bakeries, Clothing Stores, Dry Goods, Jewelry, Shoe Shops, Shoe Repairs (the latter six concerns each having a value between $6,000 and $35,000), Interior Decorators, and Travel Agents.

IV. Clerical and Sales Workers, Technicians, and Owners of Little Businesses (Value under $6,000)

Within this category are found Bookkeepers, Clerical and Stenographic Workers, Sales Clerks, Timekeepers, and Tailor Shops.

V. Skilled Manual Employees

Herein are found Bakers, Barbers, Butchers, Cabinet Makers, Electricians, Painters, Plumbers, and Policemen.

VI. Machine Operators and Semi-Skilled Employees

This category includes Bartenders, Hairdressers, Housekeepers, Meat Cutters and Packers, Wine Bottlers, and Machine Wood Workers.

VII. Unskilled Employees

Farm Helpers, Garbage Collectors, Janitors, Peddlers, Shoe Shiners, and Window Cleaners.

Appendix G

Sample of Printout of Occupations

Appendix H

Program to Derive Data on Number of Jews on an Annual Basis

```
FATFMAS                 5F20A1-3608                 DATE 07/25/72     TIME 08.47.20**  304  PAGE  1
  MODE    : FPI   SOURCE STATEMENT  -  IFN(S)  -

      DATA  ISST,LASK/3H0,1H /
      DIMENSION LABEL(5),LAB(5)
      DIMENSION NSYM(20),NSYMT(20),KOCC(65),KSYMB(20)
      DIMENSION KY1(65),KY2(65)
      DIMENSION TITLE(20)
      COMMON/ITEST
      DATA KSYMB/3HA,1HB,1HC,1HD,1HE,1HF,1HG,1HH,1HI,1HJ,1HK,1HL,1HM,1HN
     1,1HO,1HP,1HQ,1HR,1HS,1HT/
      READ(5,1)(TITLE
    1 FORMAT(20A4)                                                      1
      NSYM=20
      DATA NSYMT/1,3,5,7,9,11,13,15,17,19,21,23,25,27,29,31,33,35,37,39/
      DO 2 I=1,20
      NSYM(I)=LASK
    2 NSYMT(I)=LASK
      PRINT
      WRITE(6,3)                                                        11
    3 FORMAT(1H1,15X,14HSYMBOL VALUES)
      DO 4 I=1,20
      WRITE(6,333) NSYM(I),NSYMT(L),KSYMB(L)                            14
  333 FORMAT(10X,2A2,10X,A1)
    4 CONTINUE
      ITEST=0
      DO 23 I=1,1024
      L=I-1024*(I/1024)
      II=(I/2)
      III=I-2*II
      KY1(I)=1H0+III
      KY2(I)=1H0+LLL
   23 CONTINUE
      DO 30 I=1,65
   30 KOCC(I)=LASK
      WRITE (6,200)(KY1(L),L=1,65),(KY2(L),L=1,65)                     39
  200 FORMAT(1H1,8X,4HYEAR,2X,65I1,2X,4HYEAR/
     1 16X,65I1/10X,4HDOCP,1X,1HI,65(1H-),1HI,1X,4HDOCP)
      LINE=3
      KOPP=1
  100 READ(3,2100) NYR,NDOC,JPK,NTOT,(LABEL(K),K=1,5)                  53
 2100 FORMAT(I2,I2,I2,5A5)
      ITEST=2
      IF(ITEST.NE.2) GO TO 220
      IF(NDOC.EQ.KOPP) GO TO 170
   22 WRITE(6,2400) KOPP,KOCC,(LAB(K),K=1,5)                            71
 2400 FORMAT(10X,I2,1X,1HI,4A5,1HI,1X,5A6)
      KOPP=NDOC
      DO 333 I=1,65
  333 KOCC(I)=LASK
      LINE=LINE+1
      IF(LINE.LT.55) GO TO 170
      WRITE(6,2401)(KY1(L),L=1,65),(KY2(L),L=1,65)                      90
 2401 FORMAT(1H1,8X,4HDOCP,1X,1HI,65(1H-),1HI,1X,4HDOCP/
     1 16X,65I1/10X,4HYEAR,2X,65I1,2X,4HYEAR)
      WRITE(6,222) TITLE                                                103
  222 FORMAT(1H0,9X,20A4)
      IF(ITEST.EQ.0) GO TO 100
```

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```
                    FAZTKAS  FPI  SOURCE STATEMENT  -  IFN(S)  -
      DO 39 L=1,65
39    KOCC(L)=L*NW
      WRITE(6,2003)(KYR1(L),L=1,65),(KYR2(L),L=1,65)                    114
      LINE=0
170   DO 79 K=1,5
79    LAB(K)=LABEL(K)
      IYR=NYR-1963
      IF(IYR.LT.1.OR.IYR.GT.65) GO TO 1000
      NREC=(JOC.*FLOAT(JEW)/FLOAT(NTOT))+.5
      DO 255 L=1,NSYMB
C     IF(NTOT.LT.NSYIN(L).OR.NTOT.GT.NSYUT(L)) GO TO 255
C     IF(JEW .LT.NSYIN(L).OR.JEW .GT.NSYOT(L)) GO TO 255
C     IF(NREC.LT.NSYIN(L).OR.NREC.GT.NSYOT(L)) GO TO 255
      NSYMA=KSYMB(L)
      GO TO 256
255   CONTINUE
      NSYMA=NAST
256   KOCC(IYR)=NSYMA
      GO TO 1000
900   IZIP=1
      LINE=59
      GO TO 137
930   STOP
      END
```

Appendix J

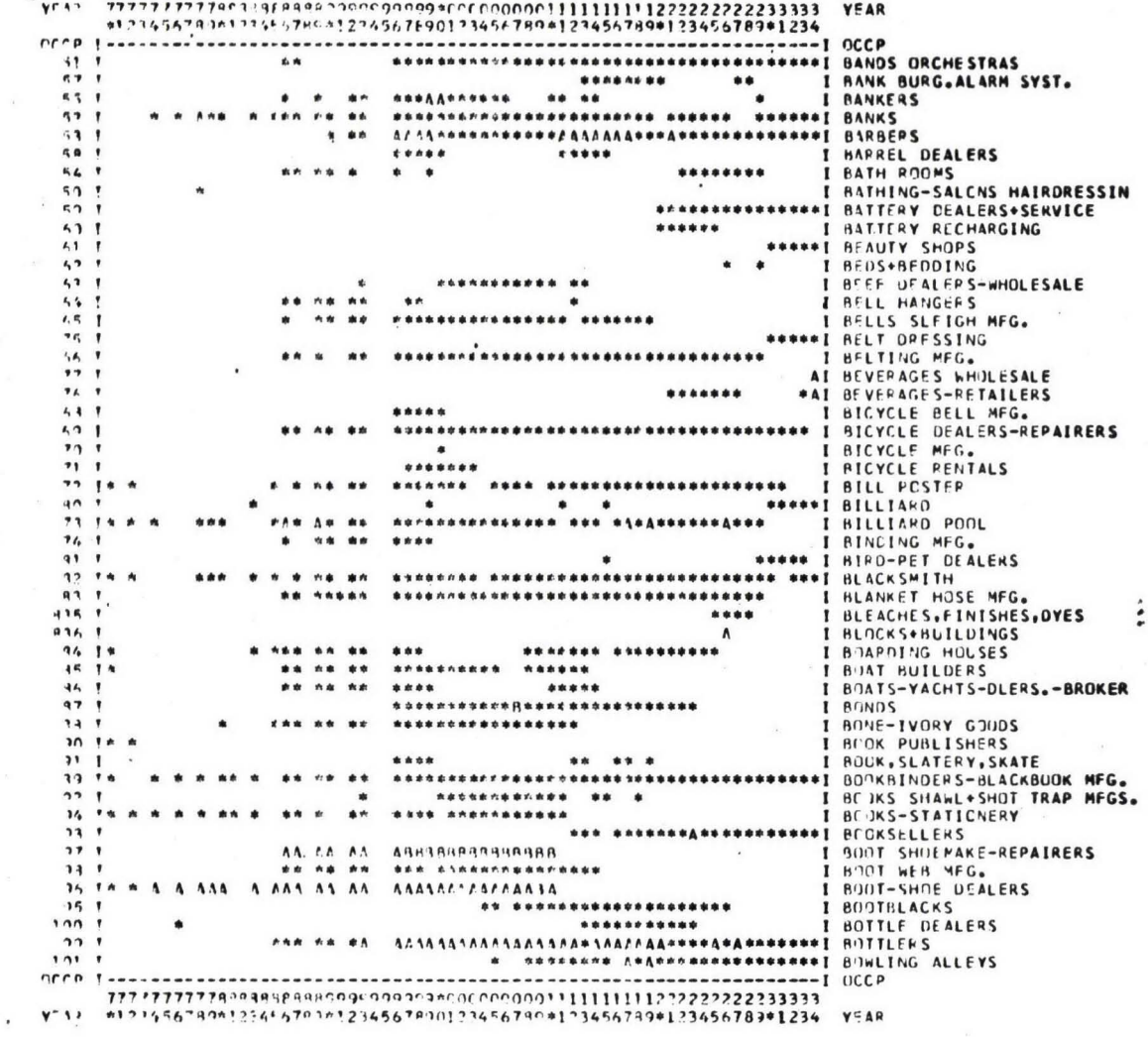
Number of Jews on an Annual Basis

KEY

1- 5	A
6-10	B
11-15	C
16-20	D
21-25	E
26-30	F
31-35	G
36-40	H
41-45	I
46-50	J
51-55	K
56-60	L
61-65	M
66-70	N
71-75	O
76-80	P
81-85	Q
86-90	R
91-95	S
96-100	T



MIDDLETOWN STUDY - NUMBER OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



MIDDLETOWN STUDY - NUMBER OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



MIDDLETOWN STUDY - NUMBER OF JOBS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



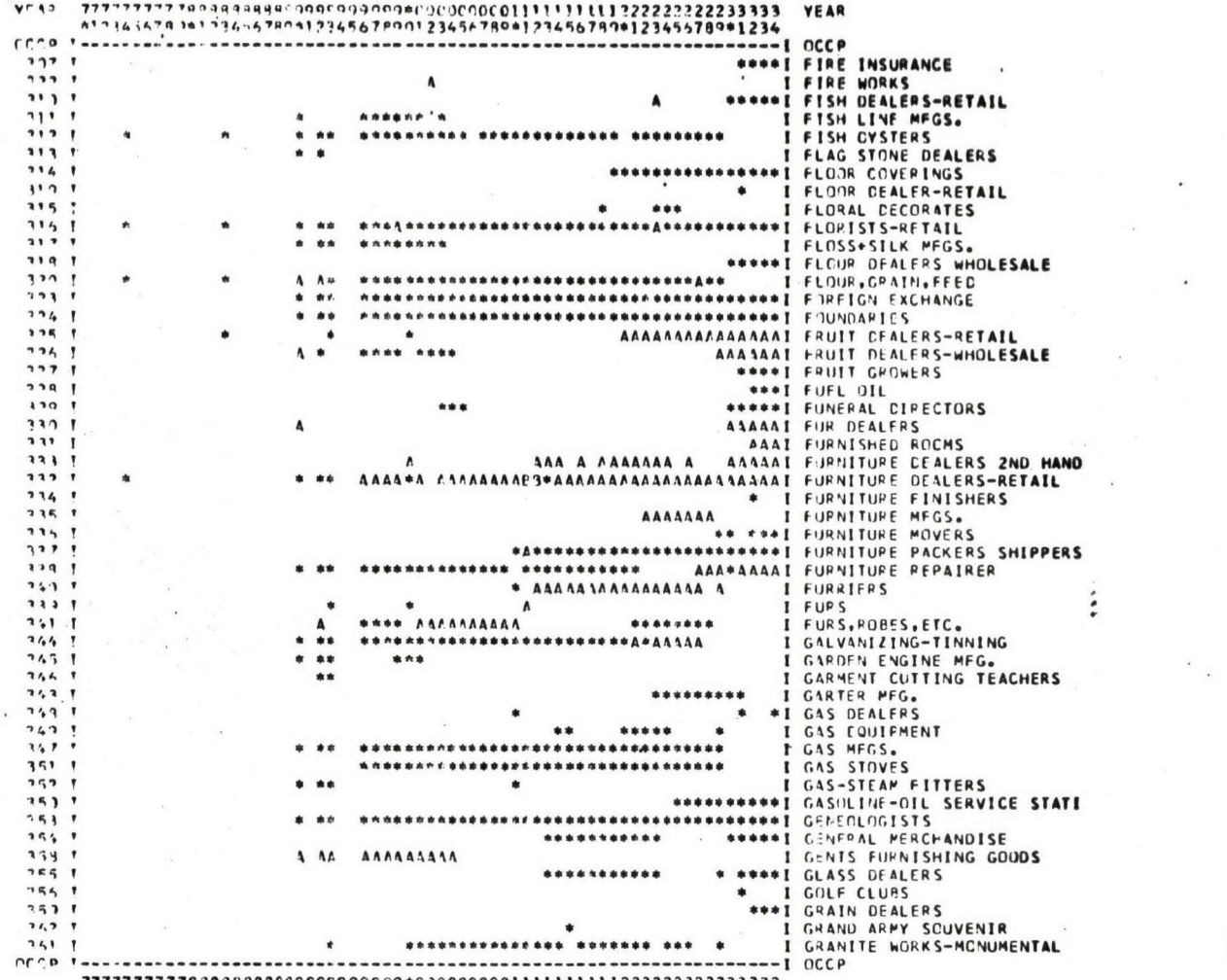
MIDDLETOWN STUDY - NUMBER OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



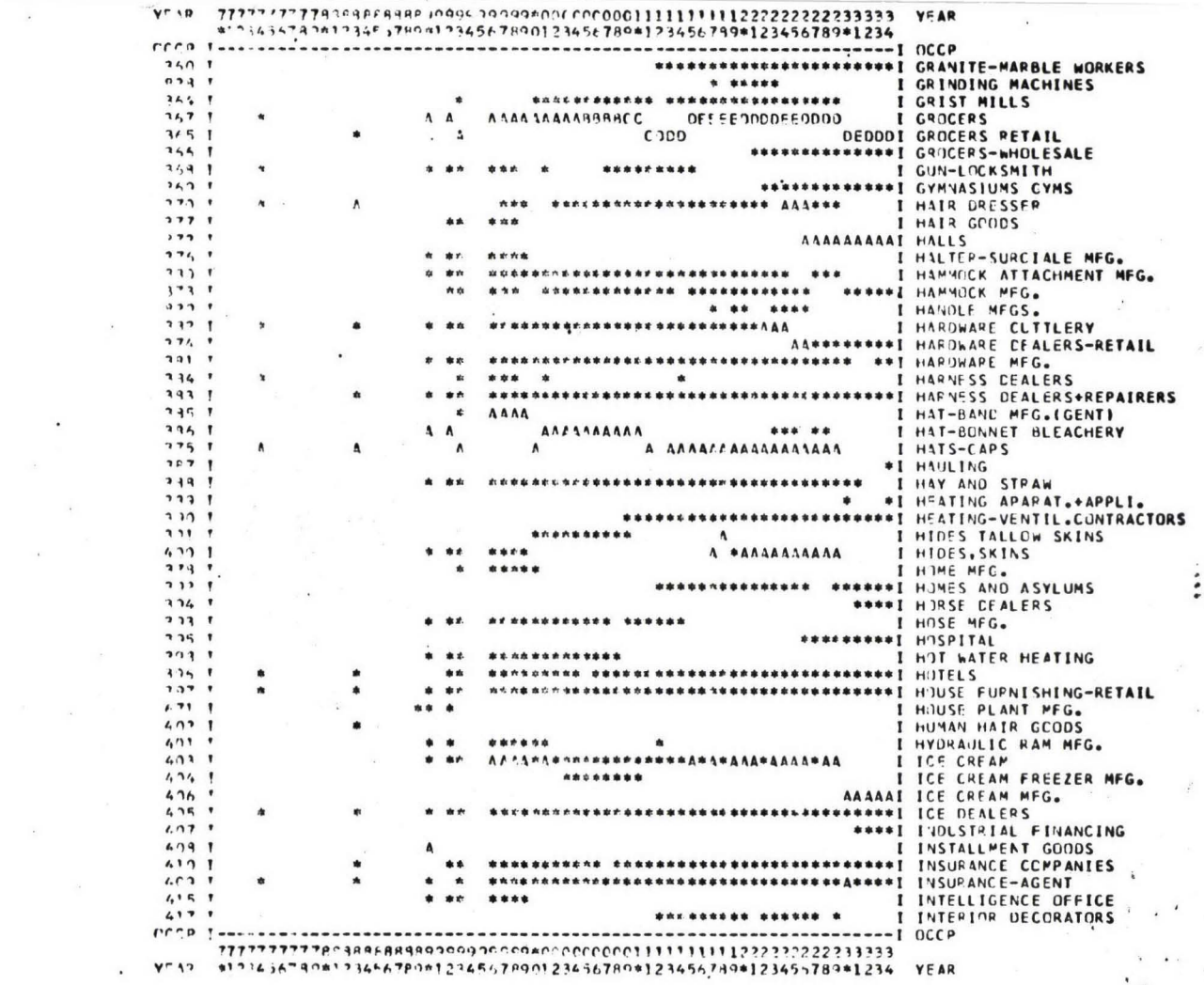
MIDDLETOWN STUDY - NUMBER OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



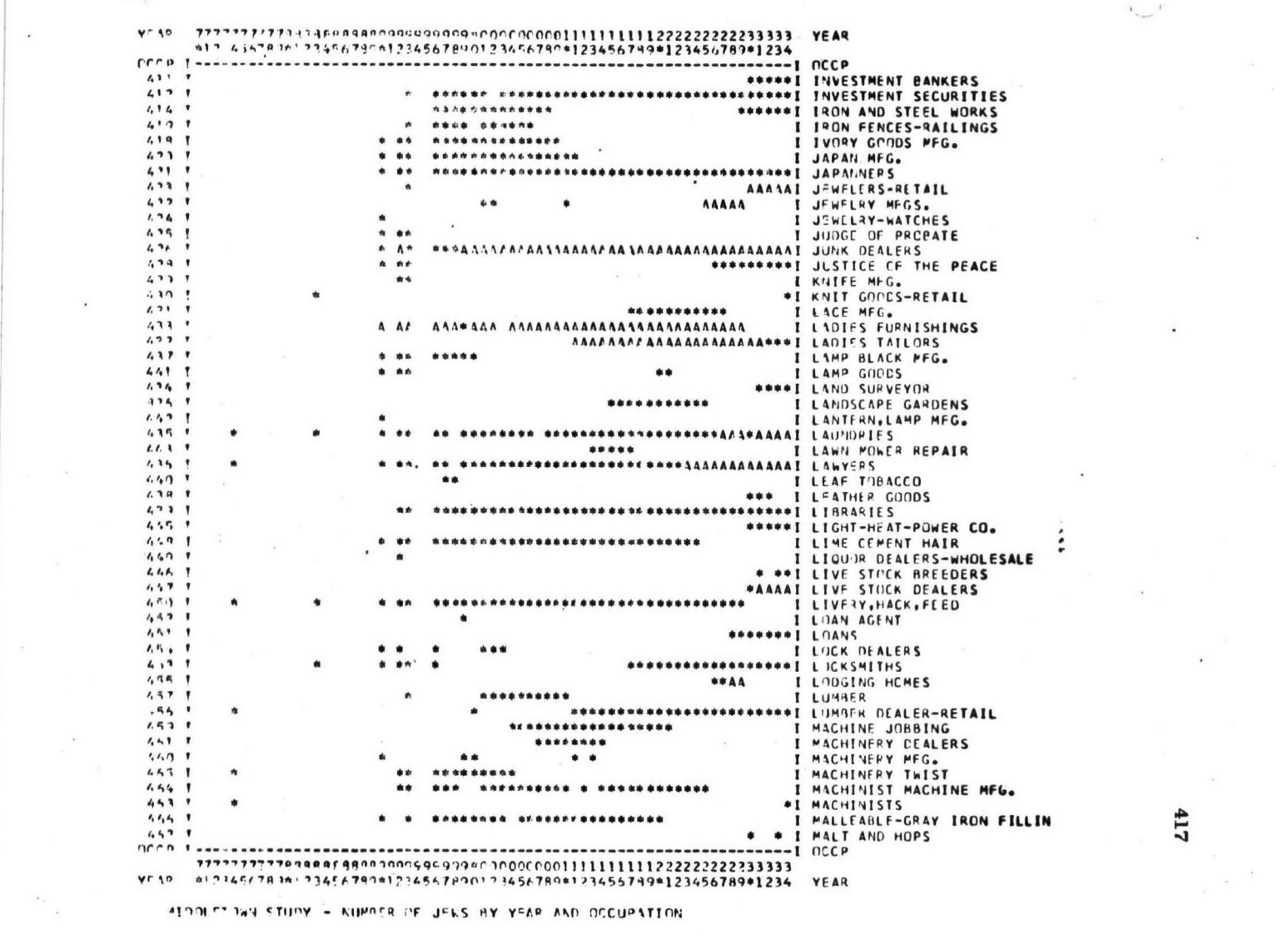
MIDDLETOWN STUDY - NUMBER OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



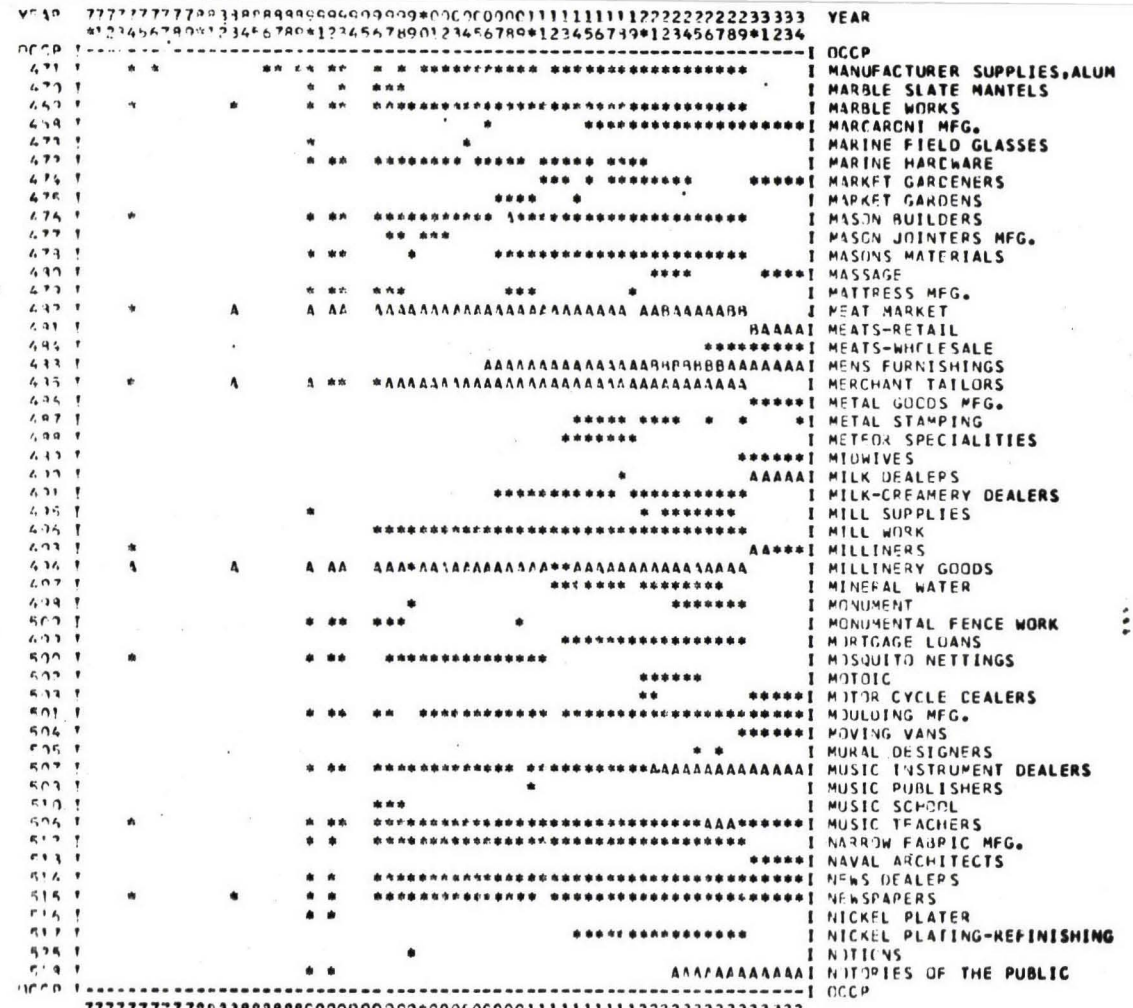
MIDDLETOWN STUDY - NUMBER OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



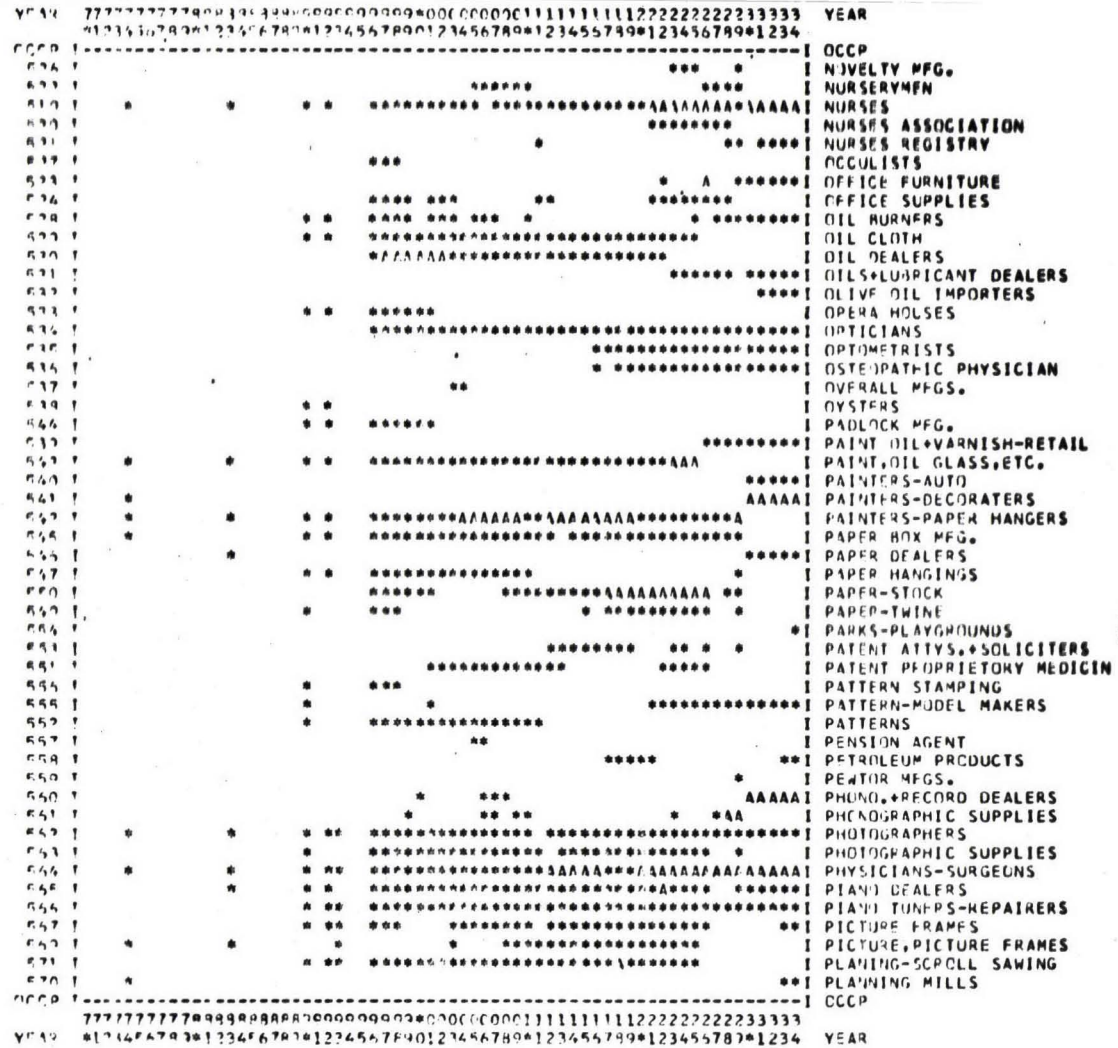
MIDDLETOWN STUDY - NUMBER OF JOBS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



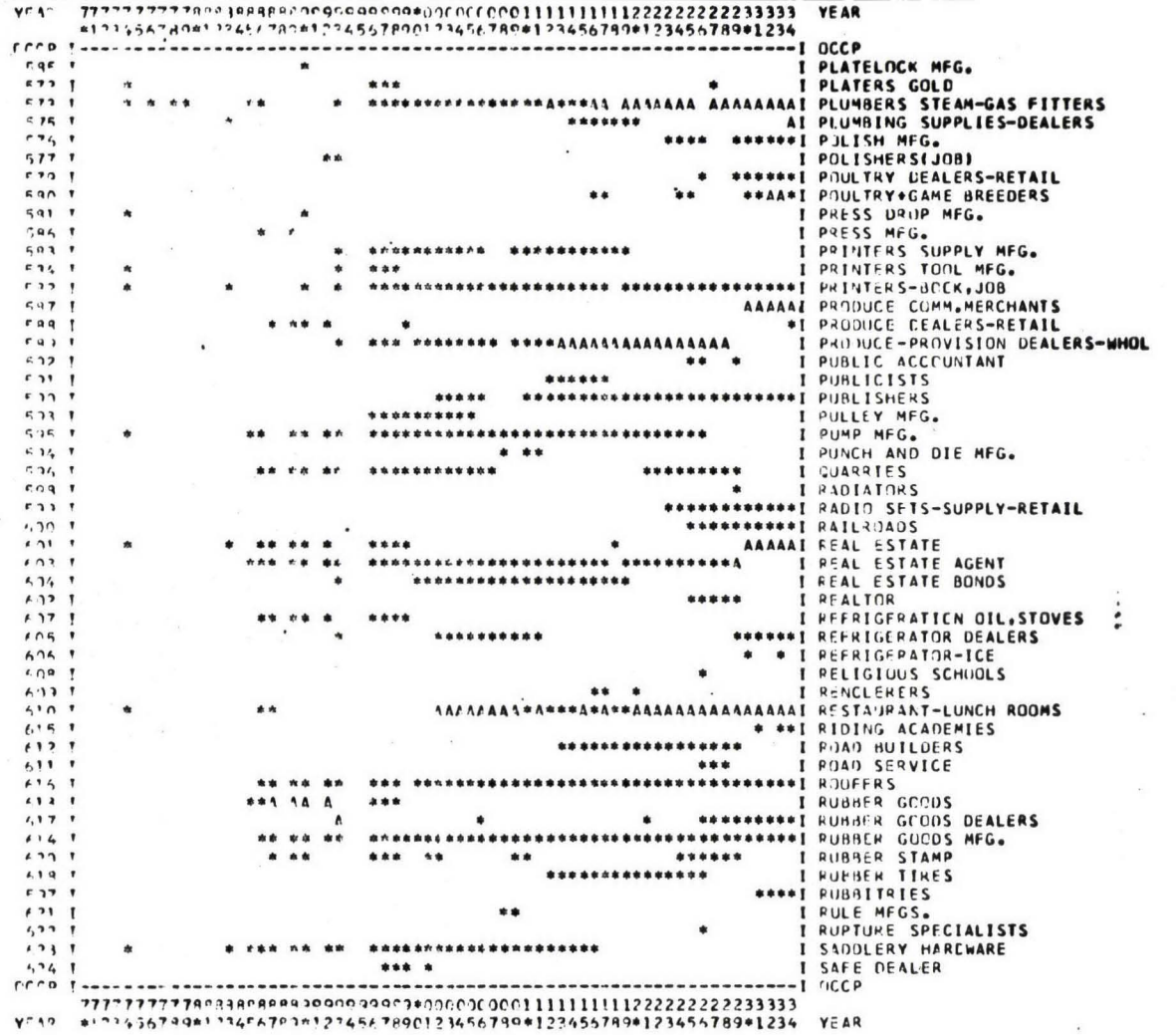
HISTORICAL STUDY - NUMBER OF JOBS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



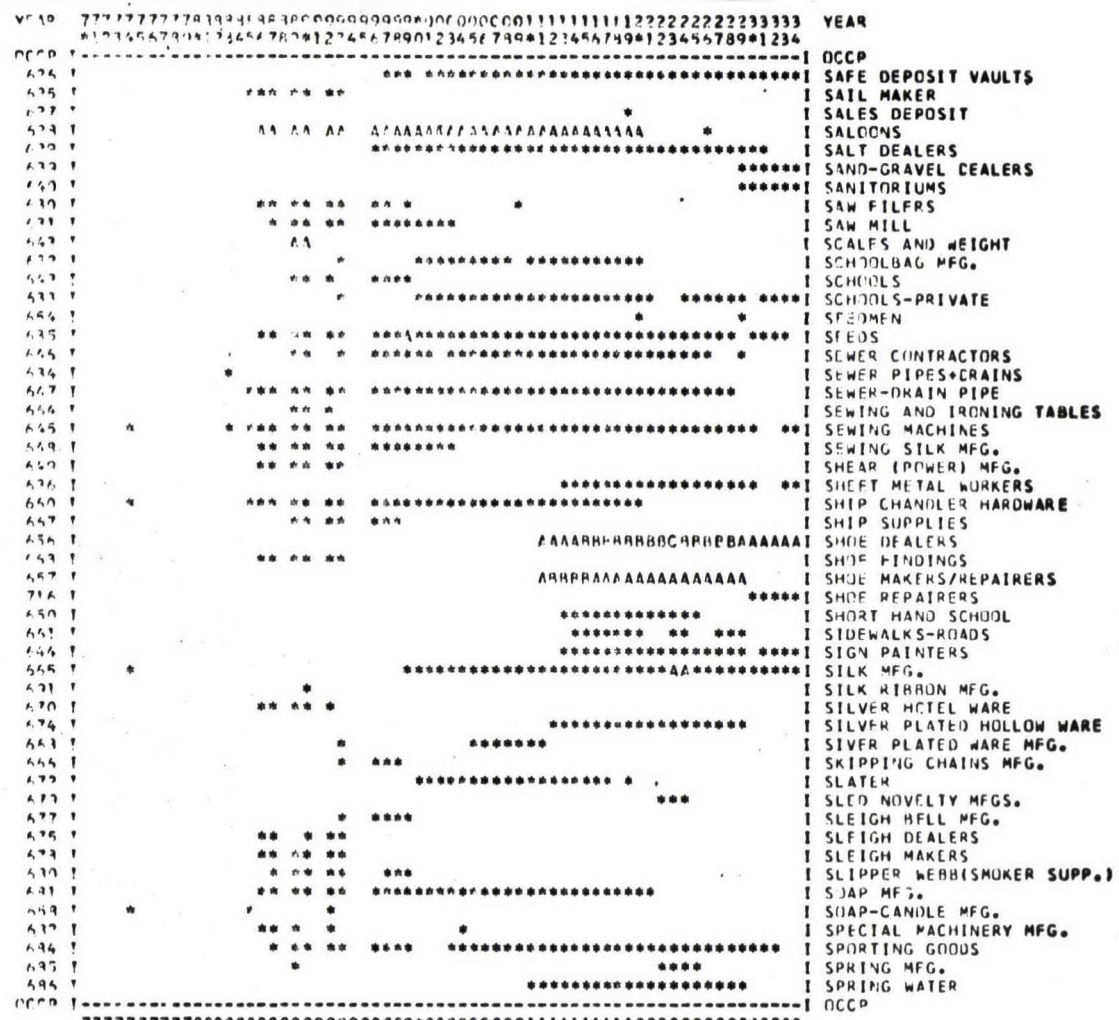
MIDDLETOWN STUDY - NUMBER OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



MIDDLETOWN STUDY - NUMBER OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



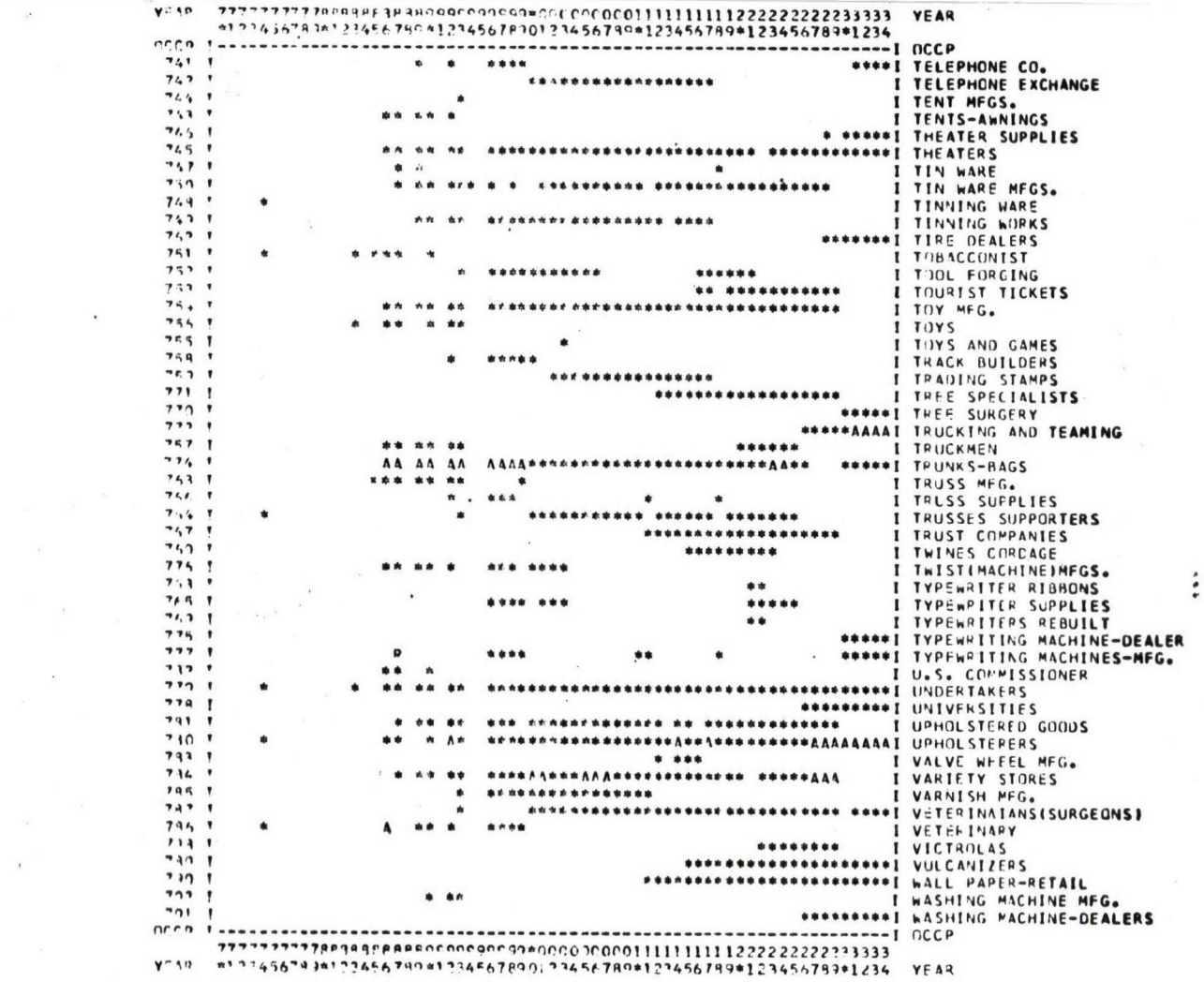
MIDDLETOWN STUDY - NUMBER OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



MIDDLETOWN STUDY - NUMBER OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



MIDDLETOWN STUDY - NUMBER OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



MIDDLETOWN STUDY - NUMBER OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



MIDDLETOWN STUDY - NUMBER OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION

Appendix K

Program to Derive Data on Number of People on an Annual Basis

```
                                                                                1
                                                                               11
                                                                               14
                                                                               39
                                                                               53
                                                                               71
                                                                               90
                                                                              103
```

```
                                                                                114
```

Appendix L

Data on Number of People on an Annual Basis

KEY

1- 5	A
6-10	B
11-15	C
16-20	D
21-25	E
26-30	F
31-35	G
36-40	H
41-45	I
46-50	J
51-55	K
56-60	L
61-65	M
66-70	N
71-75	O
76-80	P
81-85	Q
86-90	R
91-95	S
96-100	T



STUDY - TOTAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE, BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION

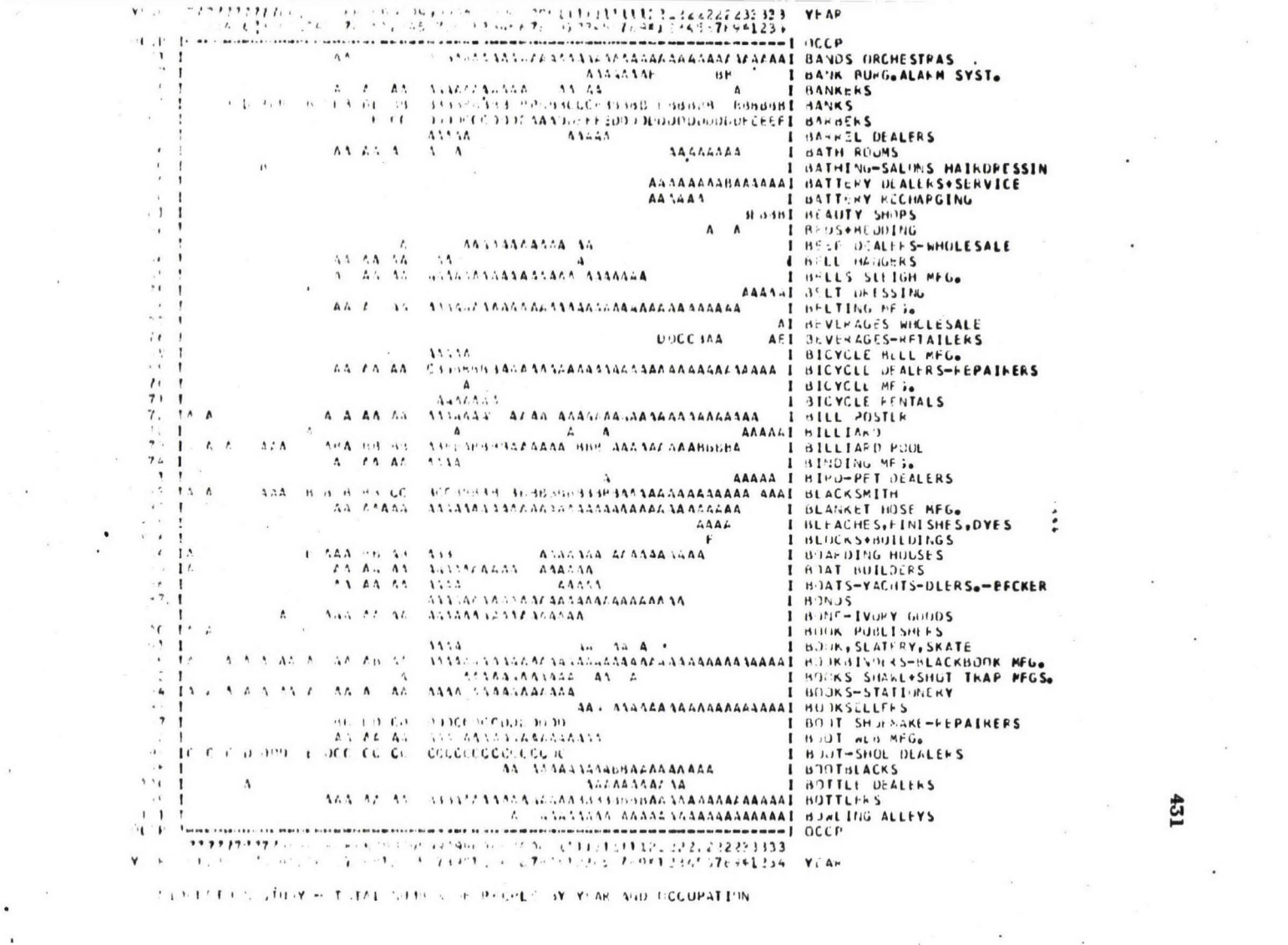


TABLE XXIV - TOTAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION

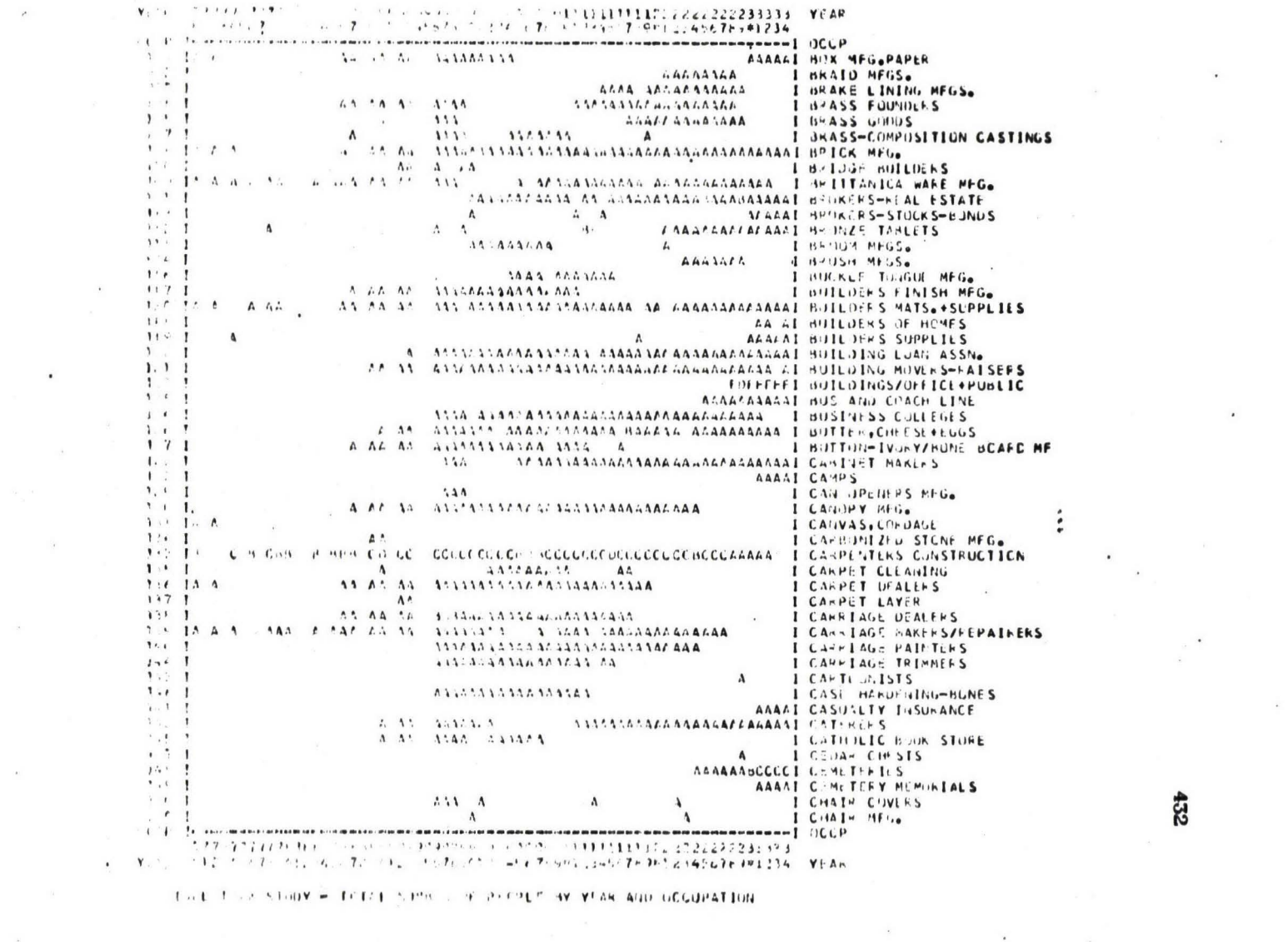
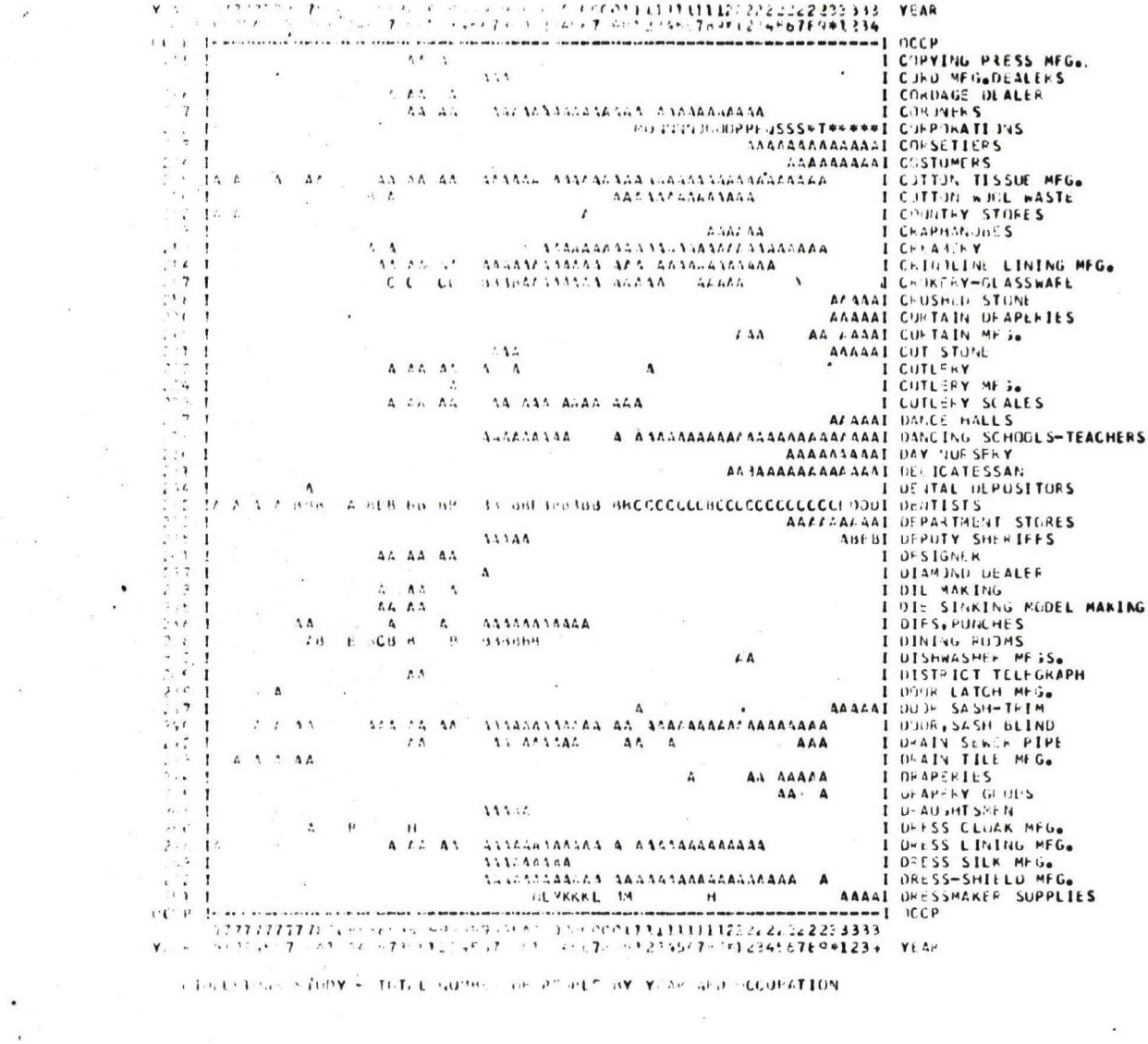
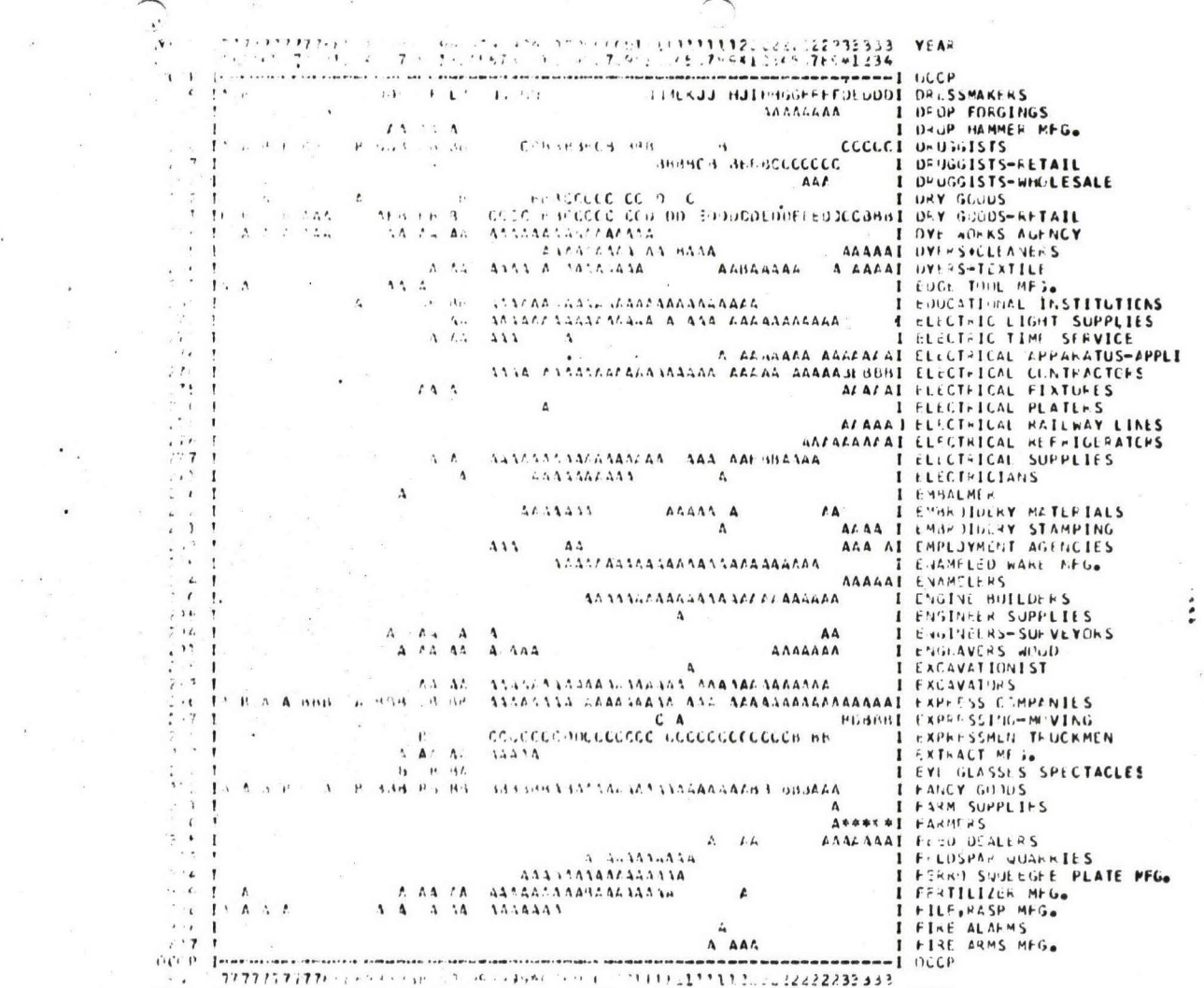


TABLE 1.A STUDY = TOTAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION

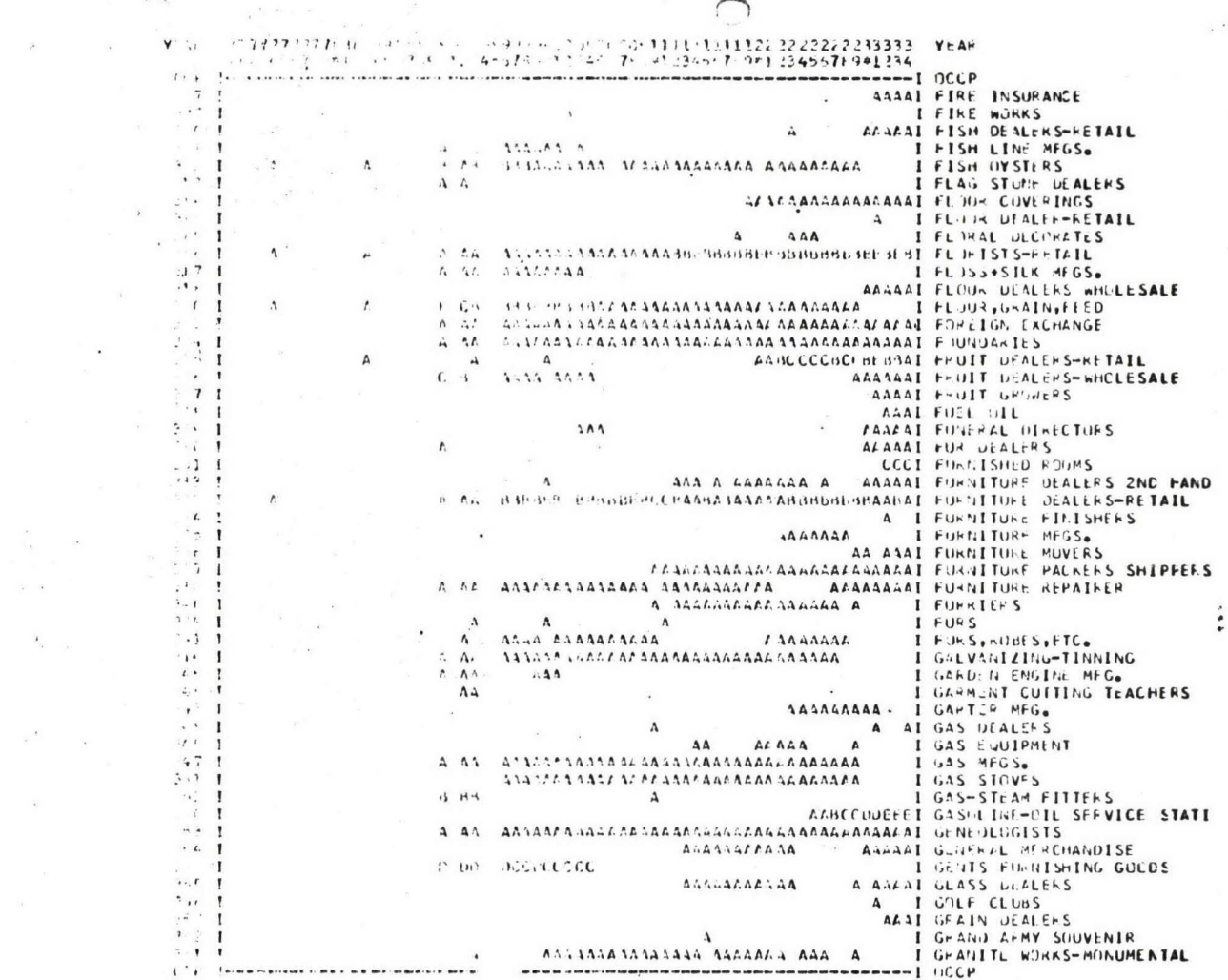

YEAR
OCCP
CHAMBR OF COMMERCE
CHEESE MFG.
CHEMICAL MFG.
CHILDRENS WEAR
CHINA-GLASSWARE-RETAIL
CHIROPODISTS-MANICURE
CHIROPRACTORS
CHRISTIAN SCI.PRACTITIONER
CHURCHES
CIGAR PRESSES MFG.
CIGAR MFG.
CIGAR-TOBACCO RETAIL
CIGAR-TOBACCO WHOLESALE
CIRCULATING LIBRARY
CIVIL ENGINEERS
CLEANERS DYERS
CLERGYMEN
CLOAKS,SUITS
CLOTHIERS
CLOTHING DEALERS-MEN-BOYS
CLOTHING DEALERS-WOMEN
CLOTHING MFG.
CLUTCH MFG.
COAL-CHARCOAL DEALERS
COFFEE TEA MFG.EXTRACT
COIN DEALERS
COLD STORAGE
COLLECTIONS-COLL.AGENCIES
COMMISSION DEALERS
COMMISSIONER NY-PENN.
COMPOSITION CASTING
COMPOUND OZ DEALER
COMPOUND OZ MFG.
CONCRETE CONSTRUCTION
CONCRETE CONTRACTOR
CONDIMENT MFG.
CONFECTIONERS MFG.
CONFECTIONERY-ICE CREAMRET
CONFECTIONERY-WHOLESALE
CONSTABLES
CONTRACTORS PLASTERING
CONTRACTORS-GENERAL
CONTRACTORS-HEATING
CONTRACTORS-MASON
CONTRACTORS-PLAD
CONTRACTORS/CARPENTERS
CONTRACTORS/EXCAVATION
CONVENTS
COOPERS
COPYING
OCCP
YEAR

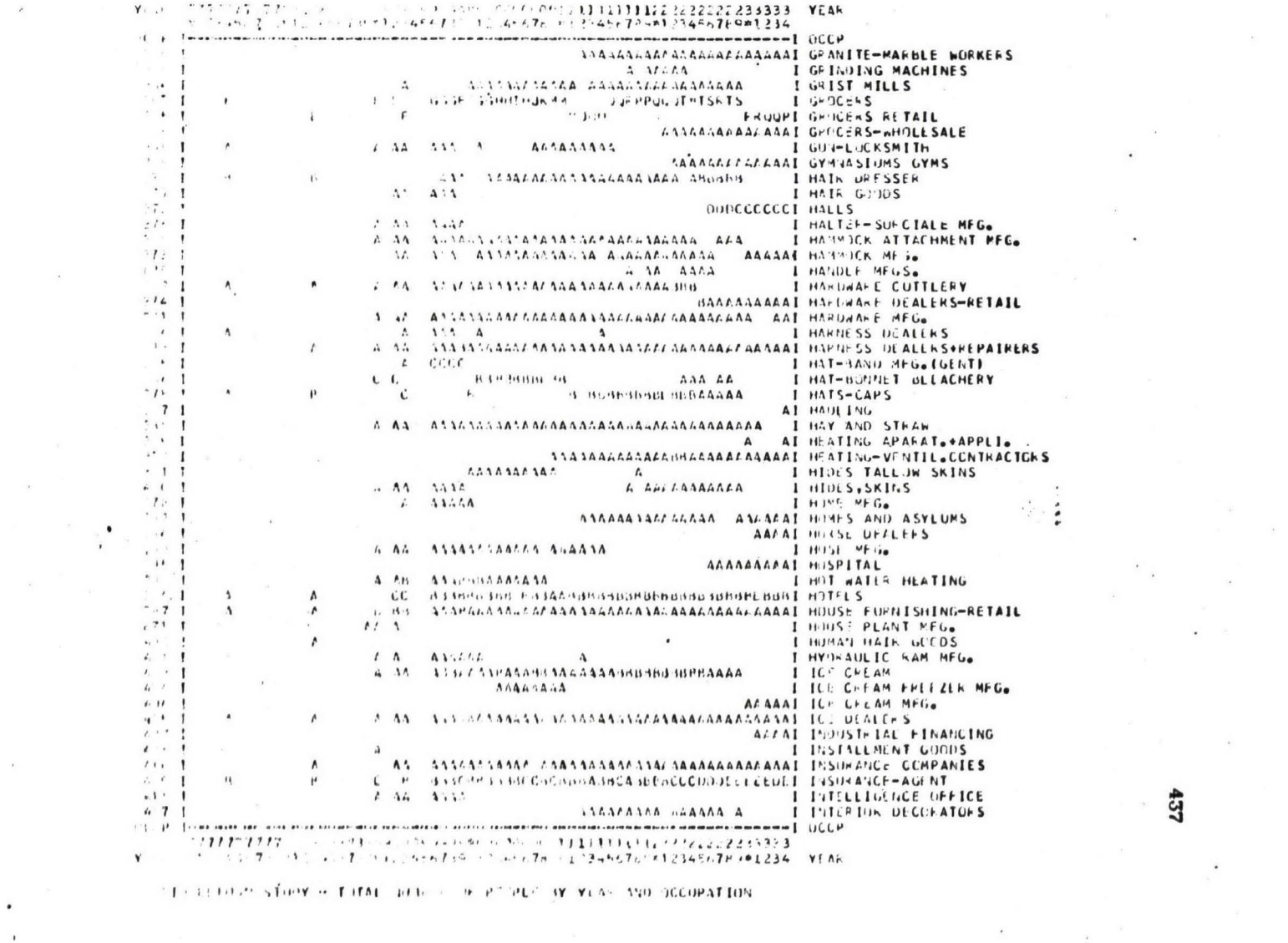


STUDY - TOTAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION

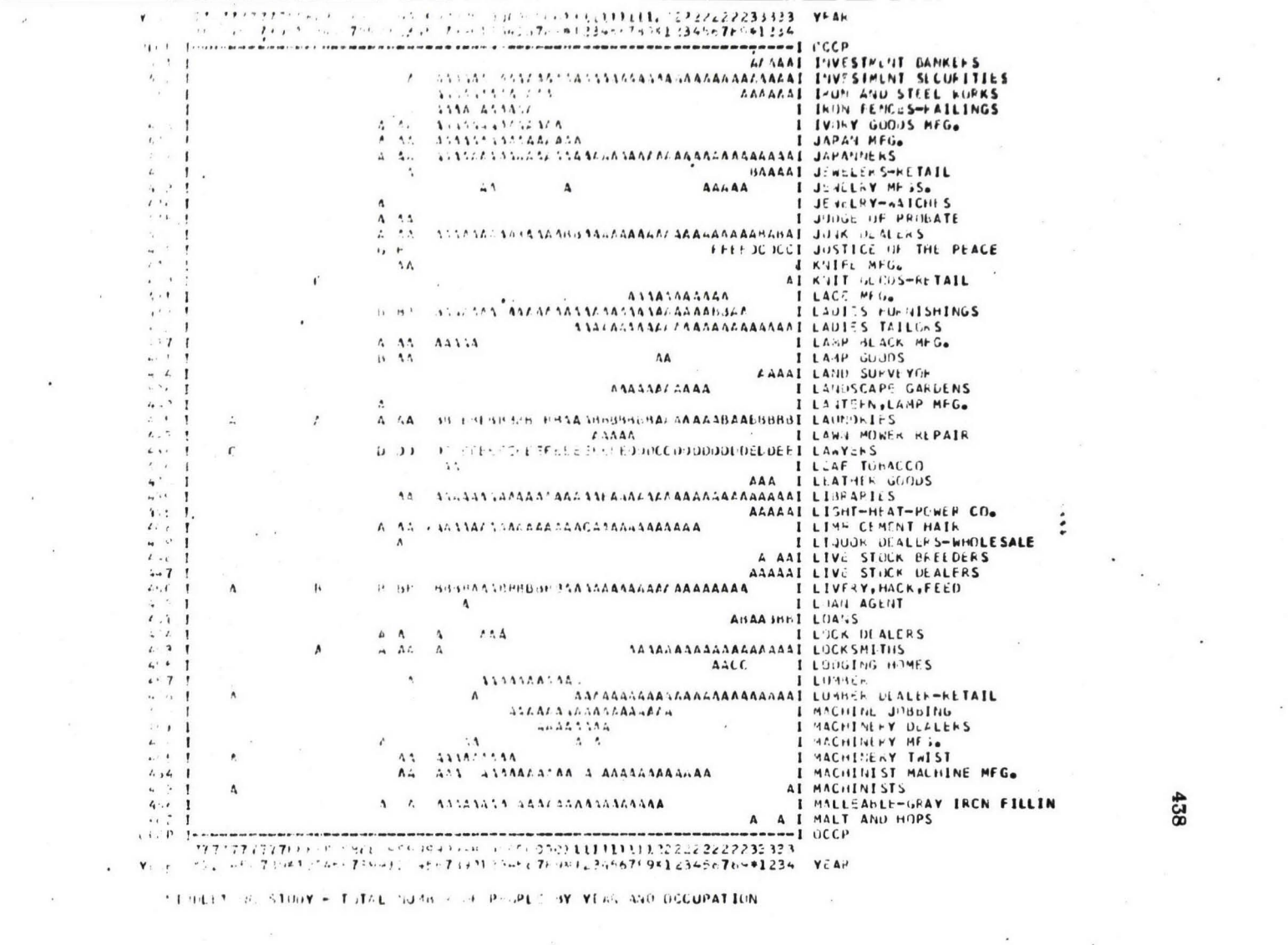

YEAR
OCCP
DRESSMAKERS
DROP FORGINGS
DROP HAMMER MFG.
DRUGGISTS
DRUGGISTS-RETAIL
DRUGGISTS-WHOLESALE
DRY GOODS
DRY GOODS-RETAIL
DYE WORKS AGENCY
DYERS+CLEANERS
DYERS-TEXTILE
EDGE TOOL MFG.
EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS
ELECTRIC LIGHT SUPPLIES
ELECTRIC TIME SERVICE
ELECTRICAL APPARATUS-APPLI
ELECTRICAL CONTRACTORS
ELECTRICAL FIXTURES
ELECTRICAL PLATERS
ELECTRICAL RAILWAY LINES
ELECTRICAL REFRIGERATORS
ELECTRICAL SUPPLIES
ELECTRICIANS
EMBALMER
EMBROIDERY MATERIALS
EMBROIDERY STAMPING
EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES
ENAMELED WARE MFG.
ENAMELERS
ENGINE BUILDERS
ENGINEER SUPPLIES
ENGINEERS-SURVEYORS
ENGRAVERS WOOD
EXCAVATIONIST
EXCAVATORS
EXPRESS COMPANIES
EXPRESSMEN-MOVING
EXPRESSMEN TRUCKMEN
EXTRACT MFG.
EYE GLASSES SPECTACLES
FANCY GOODS
FARM SUPPLIES
FARMERS
FEED DEALERS
FELDSPAR QUARRIES
FERRO SQUEEGEE PLATE MFG.
FERTILIZER MFG.
FILE,RASP MFG.
FIRE ALARMS
FIRE ARMS MFG.
OCCP
YEAR

435

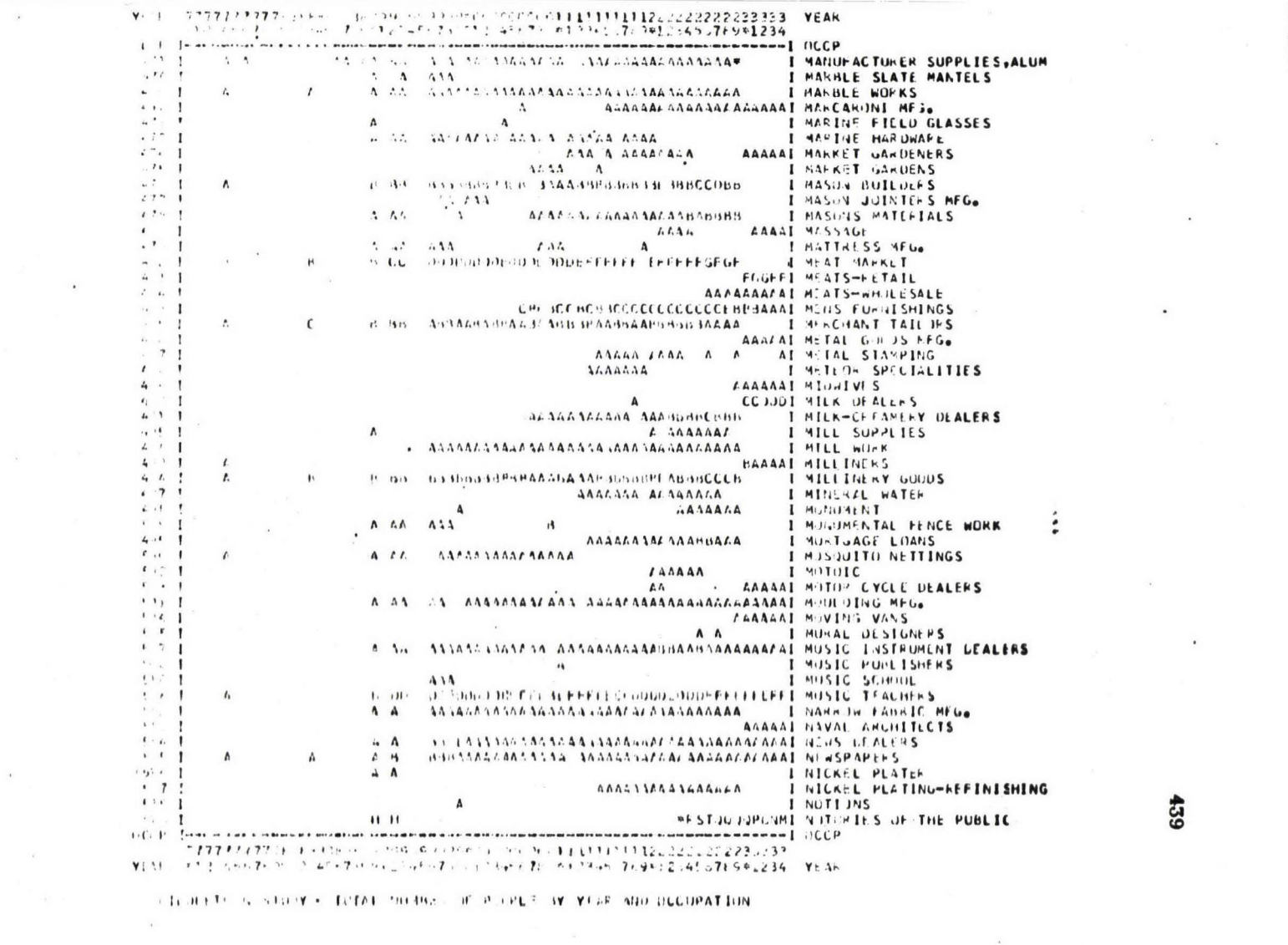

YEAR
OCCP
FIRE INSURANCE
FIRE WORKS
FISH DEALERS-RETAIL
FISH LINE MFGS.
FISH OYSTERS
FLAG STORE DEALERS
FLOOR COVERINGS
FLORIST DEALER-RETAIL
FLORAL DECORATES
FLORISTS-RETAIL
FLOSS+SILK MFGS.
FLOUR DEALERS WHOLESALE
FLOUR,GRAIN,FEED
FOREIGN EXCHANGE
FOUNDARIES
FRUIT DEALERS-RETAIL
FRUIT DEALERS-WHOLESALE
FRUIT GROWERS
FUEL OIL
FUNERAL DIRECTORS
FUR DEALERS
FURNISHED ROOMS
FURNITURE DEALERS 2ND HAND
FURNITURE DEALERS-RETAIL
FURNITURE FINISHERS
FURNITURE MFGS.
FURNITURE MOVERS
FURNITURE PACKERS SHIPPERS
FURNITURE REPAIRER
FURRIERS
FURS
FURS,ROBES,ETC.
GALVANIZING-TINNING
GARDEN ENGINE MFG.
GARMENT CUTTING TEACHERS
GARTER MFG.
GAS DEALERS
GAS EQUIPMENT
GAS MFGS.
GAS STOVES
GAS-STEAM FITTERS
GASOLINE-OIL SERVICE STATI
GENEOLOGISTS
GENERAL MERCHANDISE
GENTS FURNISHING GOODS
GLASS DEALERS
GOLF CLUBS
GRAIN DEALERS
GRAND ARMY SOUVENIR
GRANITE WORKS-MONUMENTAL
OCCP
YEAR



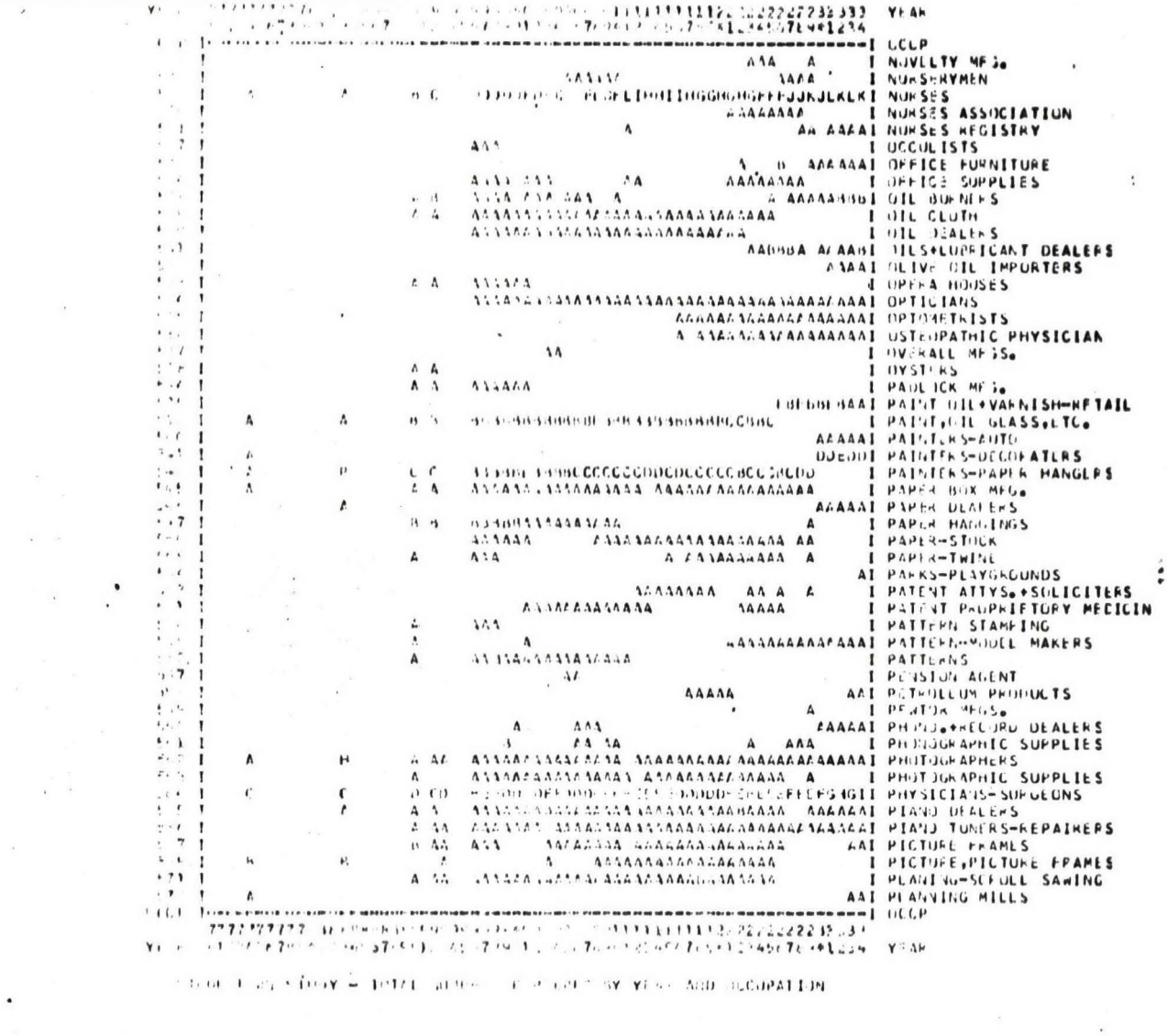
STORY = TOTAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION

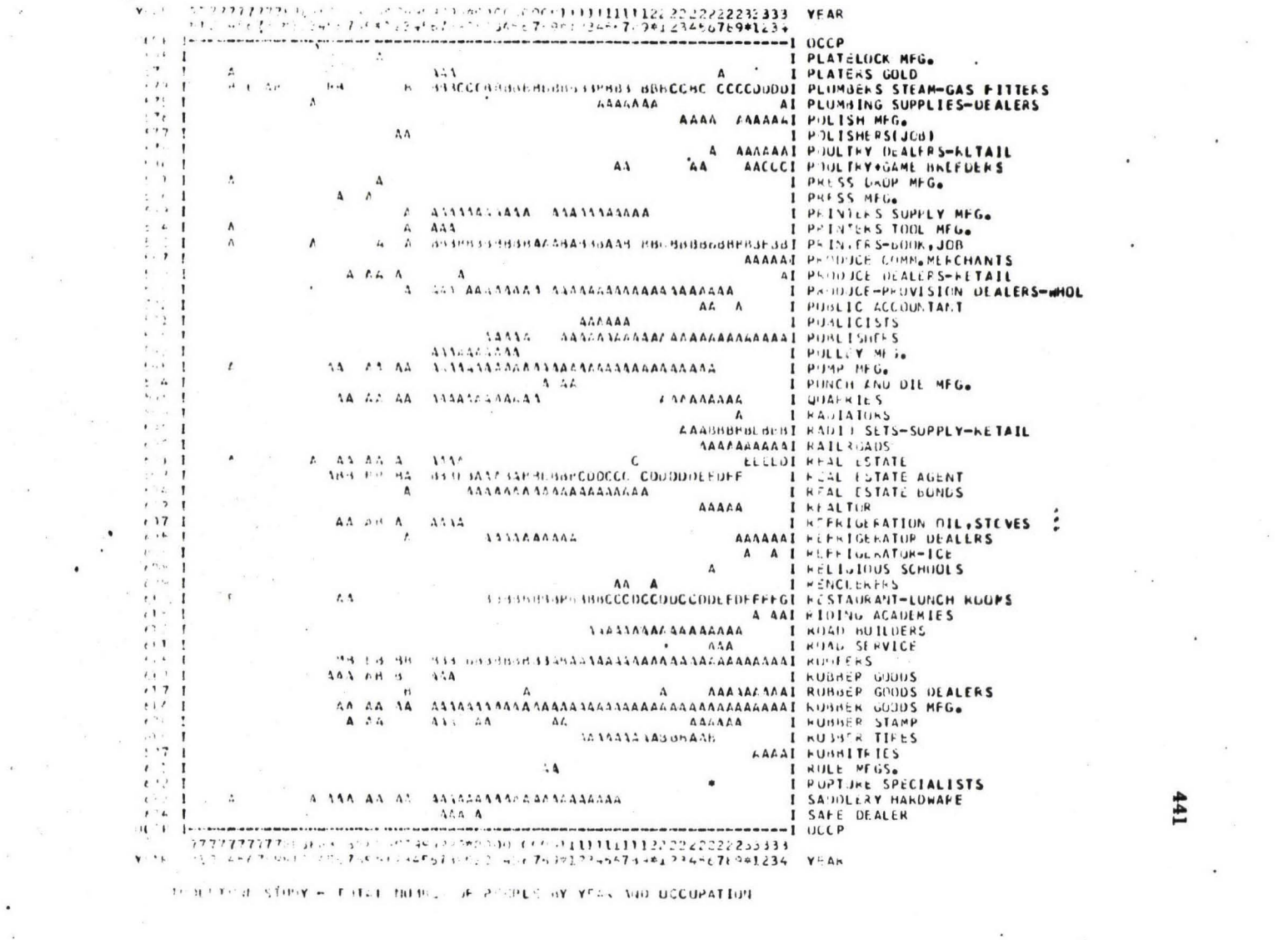


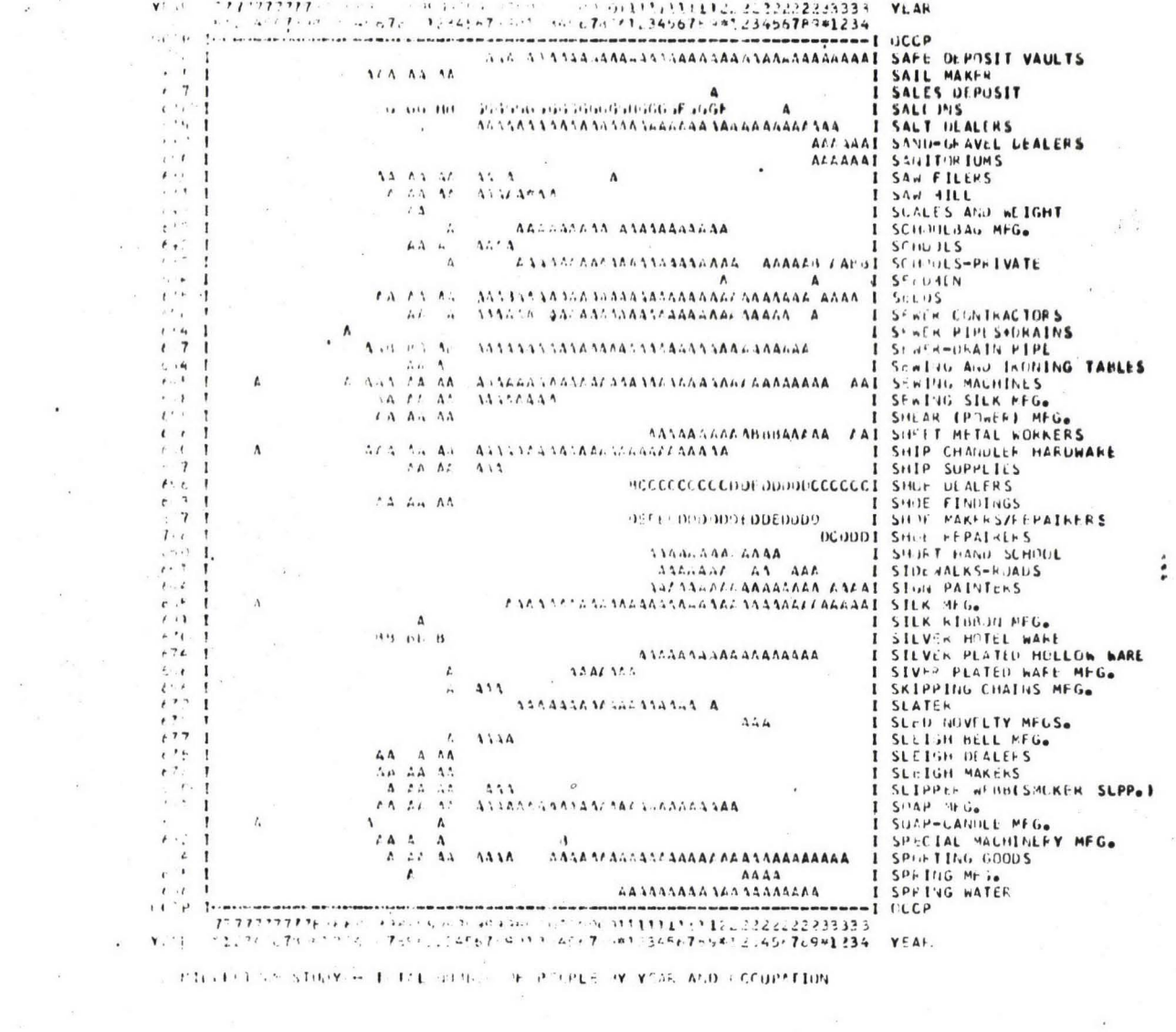
STUDY - TOTAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



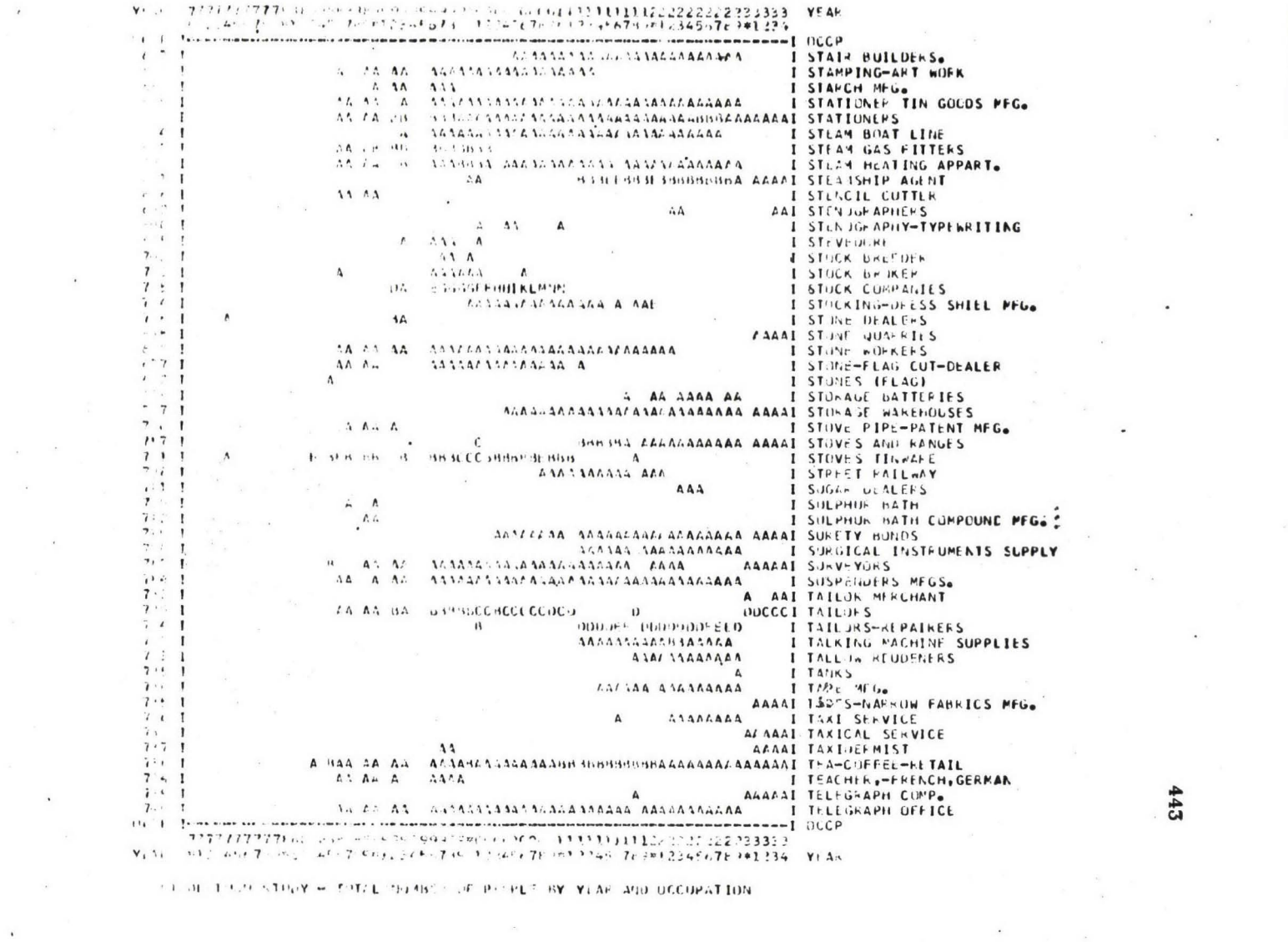
TOTAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION


YEAR
OCCUP
NOVELTY MFG.
NURSERYMEN
NURSES
NURSES ASSOCIATION
NURSES REGISTRY
OCCULISTS
OFFICE FURNITURE
OFFICE SUPPLIES
OIL BURNERS
OIL CLOTH
OIL DEALERS
OILS+LUBRICANT DEALERS
OLIVE OIL IMPORTERS
OPERA HOUSES
OPTICIANS
OPTOMETRISTS
OSTEOPATHIC PHYSICIAN
OVERALL MFG.
OYSTERS
PADLOCK MFG.
PAINT OIL+VARNISH-RETAIL
PAINT,OIL GLASS,ETC.
PAINTERS-AUTO
PAINTERS-DECORATORS
PAINTERS-PAPER HANGERS
PAPER BOX MFG.
PAPER DEALERS
PAPER HANGINGS
PAPER-STOCK
PAPER-TWINE
PARKS-PLAYGROUNDS
PATENT ATTYS.+SOLICITERS
PATENT PROPRIETORY MEDICIN
PATTERN STAMPING
PATTERN-MODEL MAKERS
PATTERNS
PENSION AGENT
PETROLEUM PRODUCTS
PEWTER MFG.
PHOTO.+RECORD DEALERS
PHOTOGRAPHIC SUPPLIES
PHOTOGRAPHERS
PHOTOGRAPHIC SUPPLIES
PHYSICIANS-SURGEONS
PIANO DEALERS
PIANO TUNERS-REPAIRERS
PICTURE FRAMES
PICTURE,PICTURE FRAMES
PLANING-SCROLL SAWING
PLANING MILLS
OCCUP
YEAR


YEAR
OCCP
PLATELOCK MFG.
PLATERS GOLD
PLUMBERS STEAM-GAS FITTERS
PLUMBING SUPPLIES-DEALERS
POLISH MFG.
POLISHERS(JOB)
POULTRY DEALERS-RETAIL
POULTRY+GAME BREEDERS
PRESS DROP MFG.
PRESS MFG.
PRINTERS SUPPLY MFG.
PRINTERS TOOL MFG.
PRINTERS-BOOK,JOB
PRODUCE COMM.MERCHANTS
PRODUCE DEALERS-RETAIL
PRODUCE-PROVISION DEALERS-WHOL
PUBLIC ACCOUNTANT
PUBLICISTS
PULLEY MFG.
PUMP MFG.
PUNCH AND DIE MFG.
QUARRIES
RADIATORS
RADIO SETS-SUPPLY-RETAIL
RAILROADS
REAL ESTATE
REAL ESTATE AGENT
REAL ESTATE BONDS
REALTOR
REFRIGERATION OIL,STOVES
REFRIGERATOR DEALERS
REFRIGERATOR-ICE
RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS
RENDERERS
RESTAURANT-LUNCH ROOMS
RIDING ACADEMIES
ROAD BUILDERS
ROAD SERVICE
ROOFERS
RUBBER GOODS
RUBBER GOODS DEALERS
RUBBER GOODS MFG.
RUBBER STAMP
RUBBER TIRES
RUBBITRIES
RULE MFGS.
RUPTURE SPECIALISTS
SADDLERY HARDWARE
SAFE DEALER
OCCP
YEAR

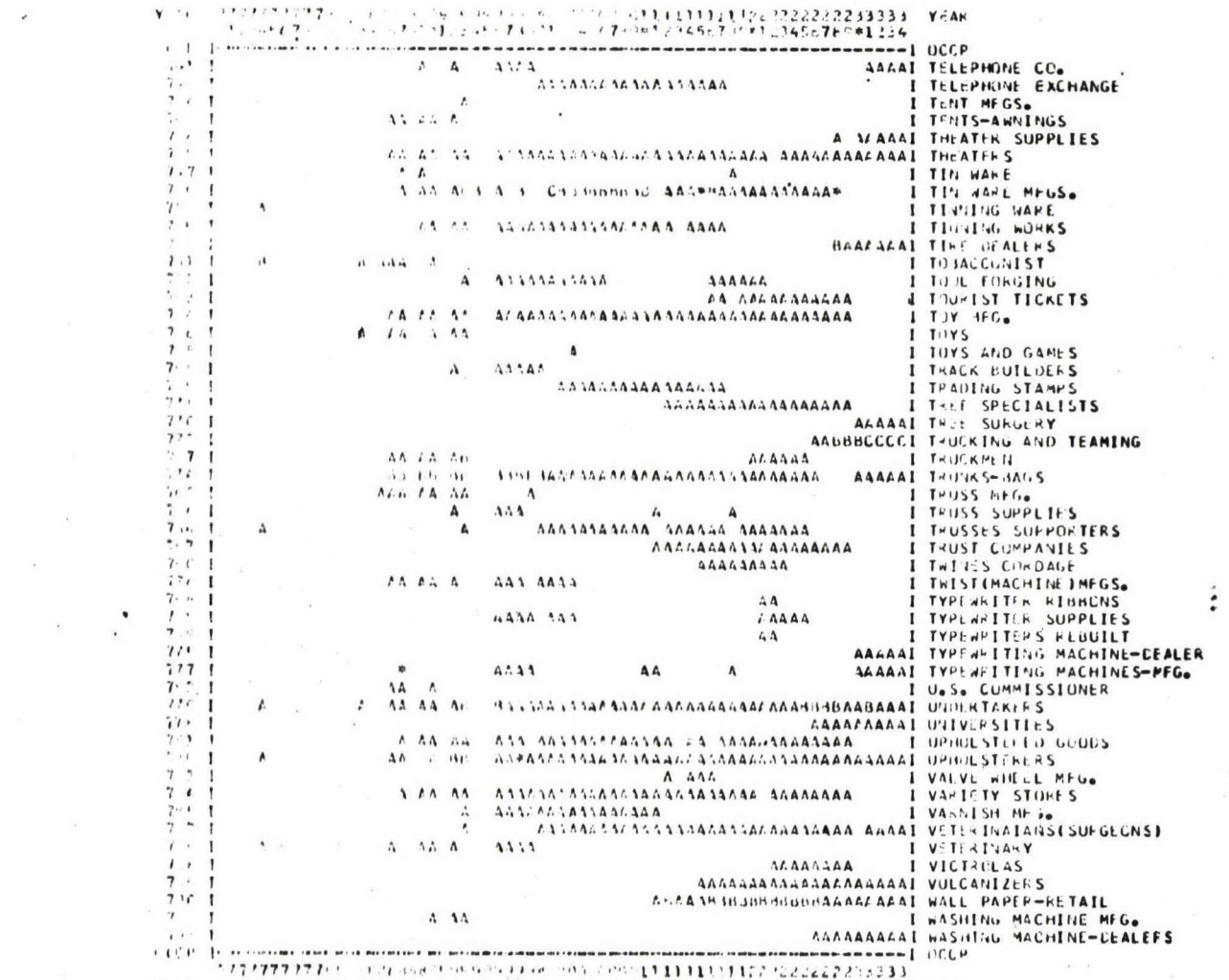

OCCP
SAFE DEPOSIT VAULTS
SAIL MAKER
SALES DEPOSIT
SALE INS
SALT DEALERS
SAND-GRAVEL DEALERS
SANITORIUMS
SAW FILERS
SAW MILL
SCALES AND WEIGHT
SCHOOLBAG MFG.
SCHOOLS
SCHOOLS-PRIVATE
SCREEN
SCREWS
SEWER CONTRACTORS
SEWER PIPES&DRAINS
SEWER-DRAIN PIPE
SEWING AND IRONING TABLES
SEWING MACHINES
SEWING SILK MFG.
SHEAR (POWER) MFG.
SHEET METAL WORKERS
SHIP CHANDLER HARDWARE
SHIP SUPPLIES
SHOE DEALERS
SHOE FINDINGS
SHOE MAKERS/REPAIRERS
SHOE REPAIRERS
SHORT HAND SCHOOL
SIDEWALKS-ROADS
SIGN PAINTERS
SILK MFG.
SILK RIBBON MFG.
SILVER HOTEL WARE
SILVER PLATED HOLLOW WARE
SILVER PLATED WARE MFG.
SKIPPING CHAINS MFG.
SLATER
SLED NOVELTY MFGS.
SLEIGH BELL MFG.
SLEIGH DEALERS
SLEIGH MAKERS
SLIPPER WOOD(SMOKER SLPP.)
SOAP MFG.
SOAP-CANDLE MFG.
SPECIAL MACHINERY MFG.
SPORTING GOODS
SPRING MFG.
SPRING WATER
OCCP
YEAR
YEAR

442

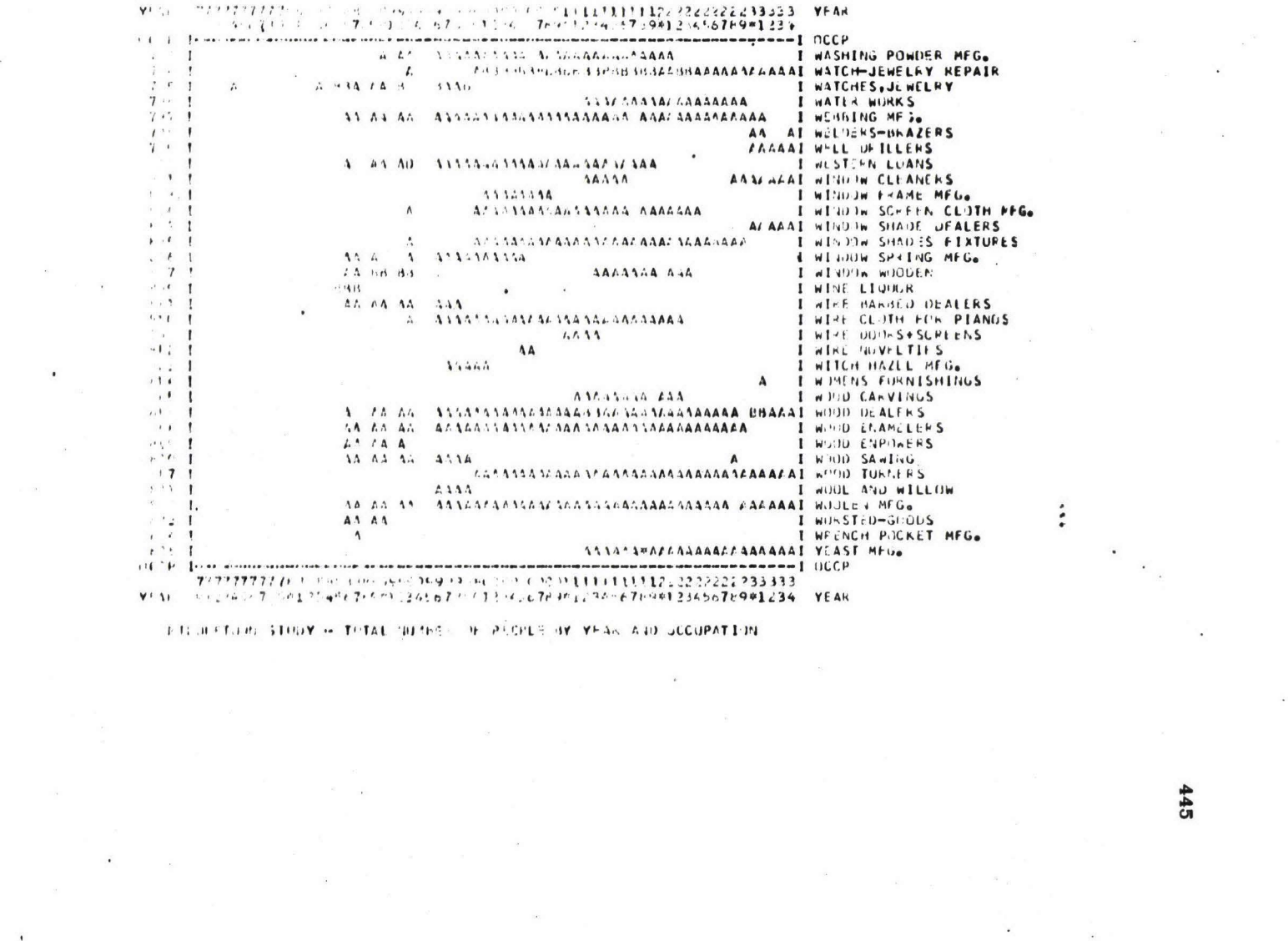


OCCP — STAIR BUILDERS. — STAMPING-ART WORK — STARCH MFG. — STATIONER TIN GOODS MFG. — STATIONERS — STEAM BOAT LINE — STEAM GAS FITTERS — STEAM HEATING APPART. — STEAMSHIP AGENT — STENCIL CUTTER — STENOGRAPHERS — STENOGRAPHY-TYPEWRITING — STEVEDORE — STOCK BREEDER — STOCK BROKER — STOCK COMPANIES — STOCKING-DRESS SHIEL MFG. — STONE DEALERS — STONE QUARRIES — STONE WORKERS — STONE-FLAG CUT-DEALER — STONES (FLAG) — STORAGE BATTERIES — STORAGE WAREHOUSES — STOVE PIPE-PATENT MFG. — STOVES AND RANGES — STOVES TINWARE — STREET RAILWAY — SUGAR DEALERS — SULPHUR BATH — SULPHUR BATH COMPOUND MFG. — SURETY BONDS — SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS SUPPLY — SURVEYORS — SUSPENDERS MFGS. — TAILOR MERCHANT — TAILORS — TAILORS-REPAIRERS — TALKING MACHINE SUPPLIES — TALLOW RENDERERS — TANKS — TAPE MFG. — TARS-NARROW FABRICS MFG. — TAXI SERVICE — TAXICAL SERVICE — TAXIDERMIST — TEA-COFFEE-RETAIL — TEACHER,-FRENCH,GERMAN — TELEGRAPH COMP. — TELEGRAPH OFFICE — OCCP

YEAR


YEAR
OCCP
TELEPHONE CO.
TELEPHONE EXCHANGE
TENT MFGS.
TENTS-AWNINGS
THEATER SUPPLIES
THEATERS
TIN WARE
TIN WARE MFGS.
TINNING WARE
TINNING WORKS
TIRE DEALERS
TOBACCONIST
TOOL FORGING
TOURIST TICKETS
TOY MFG.
TOYS
TOYS AND GAMES
TRACK BUILDERS
TRADING STAMPS
TREE SPECIALISTS
TREE SURGERY
TRUCKING AND TEAMING
TRUCKMEN
TRUNKS-BAGS
TRUSS MFG.
TRUSS SUPPLIES
TRUSSES SUPPORTERS
TRUST COMPANIES
TWINES CORDAGE
TWIST(MACHINE)MFGS.
TYPEWRITER RIBBONS
TYPEWRITER SUPPLIES
TYPEWRITERS REBUILT
TYPEWRITING MACHINE-DEALER
TYPEWRITING MACHINES-MFG.
U.S. COMMISSIONER
UNDERTAKERS
UNIVERSITIES
UPHOLSTERED GOODS
UPHOLSTERERS
VALVE WHEEL MFG.
VARIETY STORES
VARNISH MFG.
VETERINARIANS(SURGEONS)
VETERINARY
VICTROLAS
VULCANIZERS
WALL PAPER-RETAIL
WASHING MACHINE MFG.
WASHING MACHINE-DEALERS
OCCP
YEAR

444



PROJECTION STUDY -- TOTAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION

Appendix M

Program to Derive Percentage of Jews on an Annual Basis

```
 35 CONTINUE
    GO TO 1030
803 CONTINUE
    MAXCC=MAXOC+1
    DO 827 I=1,7
    KOUNT(MAXCC,I,1)=KOUNTP(I,1)
    KOUNT(MAXCC,I,2)=KOUNTP(I,2)
827 CONTINUE
    KOUNTP(MAXOC,1)=KOUNTP(1)
    KOUNTP(MAXOC,2)=KOUNTP(2)
    WRITE(6,4140) (INDAT(I),I=1,7),(OUTDAT(L),L=1,7)                    135
4140 FORMAT('0',57X,7(' PER[OD'),'  ALL  '/
   1 '0',8X,7I7/'0',8X,7I7)
    DO 800 I=1,MAXOC
    IF(I.LT.MAXOC) GO TO 770
    WRITE(6,4130) (INDAT(L),L=1,7),(OUTDAT(L),L=1,7)                    153
    WRITE(6,4150)                                                       162
4150 FORMAT('1H0,'**********  SUMMARY DATA **********')
 770 II=I-1
    DO 3666 KZ=1,5
3666 KABEL(KZ)=LANK
    DO 3777 LZ=1,300
    IF(II.NE.NUM(LZ)) GO TO 3777
    DO 3333 KZ=1,5
3333 KABEL(KZ)=LABEL(LZ,KZ)
    GO TO 3030
3777 CONTINUE
3030 CONTINUE
    KSUM=0
    DO 836 L=1,7
 836 KSUM=KSUM+KOUNT(I,L,2)
    WRITE(6,3965) II,(KABEL(KZ),KZ=1,5)                                 192
3965 FORMAT('0',I3,1X,5A6)
    IF(KSUM.GT.0) GO TO 787
    WRITE(6,4040)                                                       199
4040 FORMAT('1H ,2X,1X,'NO ENTRIES THIS OCCUPATION')
    GO TO 453
 787 WRITE(6,4000)   (KOUNT(I,L,1),L=1,7),KOUNTP(I,1)                   201
4000 FORMAT('1H ,2X,1X,'JEWS(THIS PER-THIS OCC)
   1     ',917)
    WRITE(6,4002)  (KOUNT(I,L,2),L=1,7),KOUNTP(I,2)                     207
4002 FORMAT(5X,'TOT(THIS PER-THIS OCC)                              ',
   1917)
    DO 27 L=1,7
    NCHAR(L)=LANK
    IF(KOUNT(I,L,2).LE.0) NCHAR(L)=NAST
    PCT(L)=FLOAT(KOUNT(I,L,1))*100./FLOAT(KOUNT(I,L,2))
 27 CONTINUE
    NPRT=LANK
    IF(KOUNTP(I,2).LE.0) NPRT=NAST
    PPT=100.*FLOAT(KOUNTP(I,1))/FLOAT(KOUNTP(I,2))
    WRITE(6,4003) (NCHAR(L),PCT(L),L=1,7),NPRT,PPT                      231
4003 FORMAT(5X,'%OF JEWS(THIS PER-THIS OCC)/TOT(THIS PER-THIS OCC)  ',
   1917,A1,F6.2)
    DO 37 L=1,8
    PCT(L)=100.*FLOAT(KOUNT(I,L,1))/FLOAT(KOUNT(L,1))
```

```
      DIMENSION NCHAR(7),KOUNTF(2),PCT(7)
      DIMENSION KOUNT(1001,7,2),KOUNTP(1001,2),KOUNTO(7,2)
      DIMENSION BLANK(600),LABEL(600,5),KABEL(5)
      DIMENSION NY(5),NOCC(5),NPER(2,5)
      INTEGER INDAT(7),OUTDAT(7)
      DATA LAST,BLANK/1H*,1H /
      DATA INDAT/1870,1880,1890,1900,1910,1920,1930/
      DATA OUTDAT/1879,1889,1899,1909,1919,1929,1934/
      COMMON/FOR/ITEST
      ITEST=0
      MAXOC=0
      LCARD=1
      DO 341 I=1,600
      NLAB(I)=0
      DO 341 K=1,5
      KABEL(K)=BLANK
  341 LABEL(I,K)=BLANK
      DO 30 I=1,1001
      DO 30 J=1,7
      DO 30 K=1,2
      KOUNTF(K)=0
      KOUNT(I,J,K)=0
      KOUNTP(I,K)=0
      KOUNTO(J,K)=0
   30 CONTINUE
      READ(5,7004) (NLAB(I),(LABEL(I,K),K=1,5),I=1,860)                    32
 7004 FORMAT(I3,1X,5A6,5X,I3,1X, 5A6)
 1000 READ(3,2000) (NY(I),NOCC(I),NPER(1,I),NPER(2,I),I=1,5)               43
 2000 FORMAT(5(I4,I2,I2,I2,3X))
      IF(ITEST.NE.0) GO TO 999
      LCARD=LCARD+1
      DO 35 I=1,5
      IF(NY(I).LE.0.OR.NOCC(I).LE.0) GO TO 35
      IPERS=NY(I)/100
      IF(IPERS.EQ. 0.OR.IPERS.EQ.19) GO TO 311
      IP1=IPERS/10
      IPERS=IPERS-10*IP1
      IF(IPERS.NE.1.AND.IPERS.NE.0) GO TO 35
      IF(IPERS.EQ.0) IPERS=18
      IF(IPERS.EQ.1) IPERS=19
      NY(I)=100*IPERS+(NY(I)-100*(NY(I)/100))
  311 DO 47 L=1,7
      IF(NY(I).LT.INDAT(L).OR.NY(I).GT.OUTDAT(L)) GO TO 47
      NY=L
      GO TO 58
   47 CONTINUE
      GO TO 35
   58 NOCC=NOCC(I)+1
      IF(NOCC.GT.MAXOC) MAXOC=NOCC
      DO 401 L=1,2
      KOUNT(NOCC,NY,L)=NPER(L,I)+KOUNT(NOCC,NY,L)
      KOUNT(NY,L)=KOUNT(NY,L)+NPER(L,I)
      KOUNTF(L)=KOUNTF(L)+NPER(L,I)
      KOUNTP(NOCC,L)=NPER(L,I)+KOUNTP(NOCC,L)
  401 CONTINUE
```

```
DOIT    -  GEN   SOURCE STATEMENT  -  IFN(S)  -
  37 CONTINUE                                                          245
     PRT=100.*FLOAT(KOUNTP(I,1))/FLOAT(KOUNTR(1))
     WRITE(6,4003)(PCT(L),L=1,7),PRT
4003 FORMAT(5X,'100*JFWS(THIS PER-THIS OCC)/JFWS(THIS PER-ALL OCC)    ',
    1F7.2)
     DO 47 L=1,7
     PCT(L)=100.*FLOAT(KOUNT(I,L,1))/FLOAT(KOUNTR(1))
  47 CONTINUE
     PRT=100.*FLOAT(KOUNTP(I,2))/FLOAT(KOUNTR(1))                      257
     WRITE(6,4004)(PCT(L),L=1,7),PRT
4004 FORMAT(5X,'100*JFWS(THIS PER-THIS OCC)/JFWS(ALL PER-ALL OCC)     ',
    1F7.2)
     DO 57 L=1,7
     PCT(L)=100.*FLOAT(KOUNT(I,L,2))/FLOAT(KOUNTO(L,2))
  57 CONTINUE
     PRT=100.*FLOAT(KOUNTP(I,2))/FLOAT(KOUNTR(2))                      270
     WRITE(6,4005)(PCT(L),L=1,7),PRT
4005 FORMAT(5X,'100*TOT(THIS PER-THIS OCC)/TOT(THIS PER-ALL OCC)      ',
    1F7.2)
     DO 67 L=1,7
     PCT(L)=100.*FLOAT(KOUNT(I,L,2))/FLOAT(KOUNTR(2))
  67 CONTINUE
     PRT=100.*FLOAT(KOUNTP(I,2))/FLOAT(KOUNTR(2))                      282
     WRITE(6,4006)(PCT(L),L=1,7),PRT
4006 FORMAT(5X,'100*TOT(THIS PER-THIS OCC)/TOT(ALL PER-ALL OCC)       ',
    1F7.2)
     DO 77 L=1,7
     PCT(L)=100.*FLOAT(KOUNT(I,L,1))/FLOAT(KOUNTO(L,2))
  77 CONTINUE
     PRT=100.*FLOAT(KOUNTP(I,1))/FLOAT(KOUNTR(2))                      295
     WRITE(6,4007)(PCT(L),L=1,7),PRT
4007 FORMAT(5X,'100*JFWS(THIS PER-THIS OCC)/TOT(THIS PER-ALL OCC)     ',
    1F7.2)
     DO 87 L=1,7
     PCT(L)=100.*FLOAT(KOUNT(I,L,1))/FLOAT(KOUNTR(2))
  87 CONTINUE
     PRT=FLOAT(KOUNTP(I,L,1))*100./FLOAT(KOUNTR(2))
     WRITE(6,4008)(PCT(L),L=1,7),PRT                                   308
4008 FORMAT(5X,'100*JFWS(THIS PER-THIS OCC)/TOT(ALL PER-ALL OCC)      ',
    1F7.2)
 453 IF(NO(I,5).LE.0)
     WRITE(6,4142) (INDAT(L),L=1,7),(OUTDAT(L),L=1,7)                  314
 800 CONTINUE
     STOP
     END
```

```
      DATA NAST,LANK/1H*,1H /
      DIMENSION LABEL(5),LAB(5)
      DIMENSION NSYIN(20),NSYOT(20),KOCC(65),KSYMB(20)
      DIMENSION KYR1(65),KYR2(65)
      DIMENSION TITLE(20)
      COMMON/EOF/ITEST
      DATA KSYMB/1HA,1HB,1HC,1HD,1HE,1HF,1HG,1HH,1HI,1HJ,1HK,1HL,1HM,1HN
     1,1HO,1HP,1HQ,1HR,1HS,1HT/
      READ(1,4156) TITLE                                              1
 4156 FORMAT(20A4)
      NSYMB=20
C     DATA NSYIN/1,3,5,7,9,11,13,15,17,19,21,23,25,27,29,31,33,35,37,39/
      DO 56 L=1,20
      NSYIN(L)=5*L-4
      NSYOT(L)=5*L
   56 CONTINUE
      WRITE(6,4241)                                                  11
 4241 FORMAT(1H1,'SYMBOL VALUES')
      DO 549 L=1,20
      WRITE(6,2325) NSYIN(L),NSYOT(L),KSYMB(L)                       14
 2325 FORMAT(10X,2I9,10X,A1)
  549 CONTINUE
      ITEST=0
      DO 25 I=1870,1934
      L=I-100*(I/100)
      LL=L/10
      LLL=L-10*LL
      KYR1(I-1869)=LL
      KYR2(I-1869)=LLL
   25 CONTINUE
      DO 39 L=1,65
   39 KOCC(L)=LANK
      WRITE(6,2009)(KYR1(L),L=1,65),(KYR2(L),L=1,65)                 39
 2009 FORMAT(1H1,9X,4HYEAR,2X,6511,2X,4HYEAR/
     1 16X,65(1H1,9X)/10X,4HOCCP,1X,1HI,65(1H ),1HI,1X,4HOCCP)
      LINE=0
      KOPP=1
 1000 READ(8,2100) NYR,NOCC,JEW,NTOT,(LABEL(K),K=1,5)                53
 2100 FORMAT(I4,I3,I2,I3,5A6)
      IZIP=0
      IF(ITEST NE 0) GO TO 999
      IF(NOCC EQ KOPP) GO TO 179
  132 WRITE(6,2400) KOPP,KOCC,(LAB(K),K=1,5)                         71
 2400 FORMAT(10X,I4,1X,1HI,65A1,1HI,1X,5A6)
      KOPP=NOCC
      DO 399 L=1,65
  399 KOCC(L)=LANK
      LINE=LINE+1
      IF(LINE LT 50) GO TO 179
      WRITE(6,2401)(KYR1(L),L=1,65),(KYR2(L),L=1,65)                 90
 2401 FORMAT(10X,4HOCCP,1X,1HI,65(1H ),1HI,1X,4HOCCP/
     1 16X,65(1H1,9X)/10X,4HYEAR,2X,6511,2X,4HYEAR)
      WRITE(6,4723) TITLE                                           103
 4723 FORMAT(1H0,9X,20A4)
      IF(IZIP GT 0) GO TO 1899
```

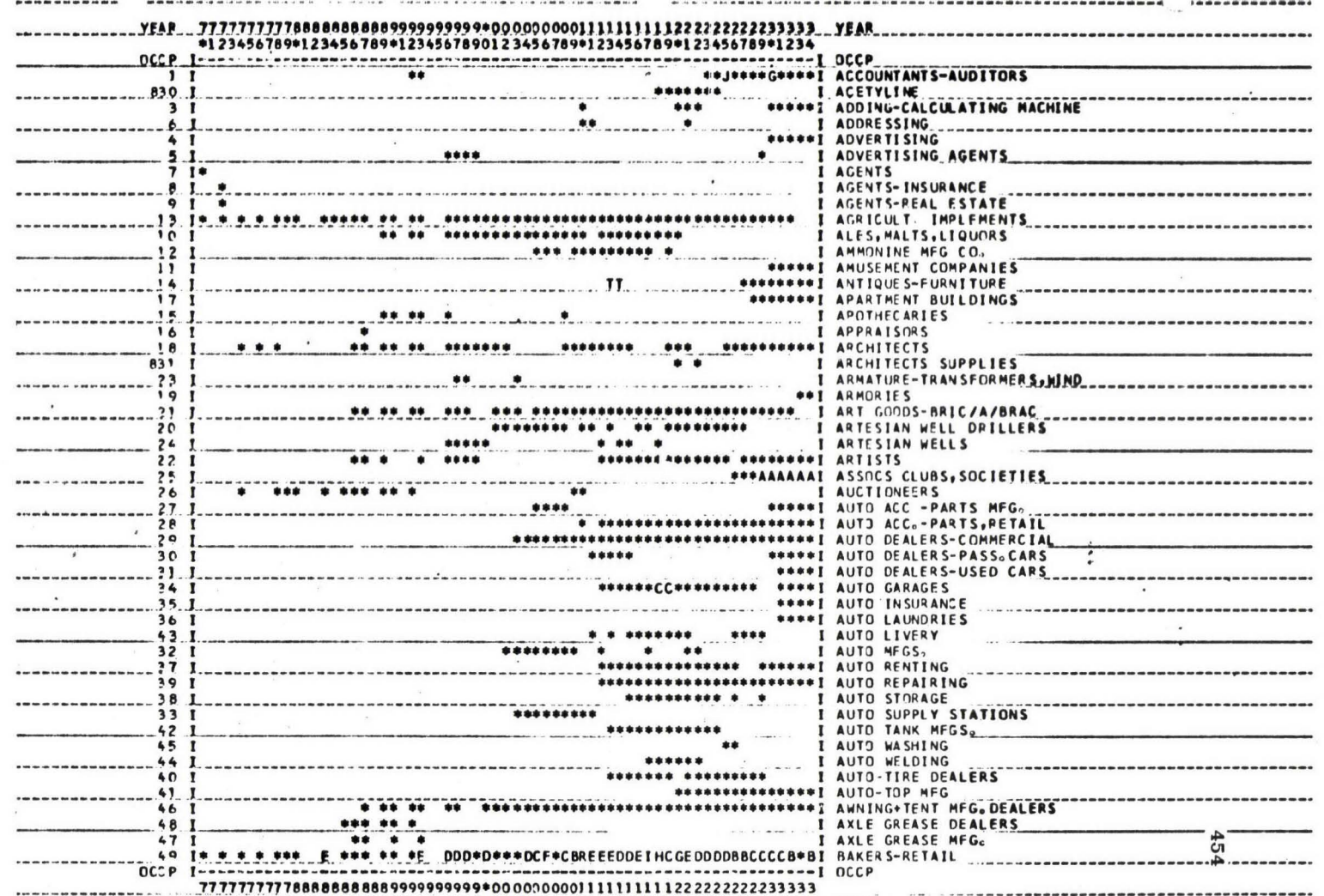
```
      DO 38 L=1,65
   38 KOCC(L)=LANK
      WRITE(6,2009)(KYR1(L),L=1,65),(KYR2(L),L=1,65)                    114
      LINE=0
  179 DO 79 K=1,5
   79 LAB(K)=LABEL(K)
      IYR=NYR-1869
      IF(IYR.LT.1.OR.IYR.GT.65) GO TO 1000
      NPER=(100.*FLOAT(JEW)/FLOAT(NTOT))+.5
      DO 255 L=1,NSYMB
C     IF(NTOT.LT.NSYIN(L).OR.NTOT.GT.NSYOT(L)) GO TO 255
C     IF(JEW.LT.NSYIN(L).OR.JEW.GT.NSYOT(L)) GO TO 255
      IF(NPER.LT.NSYIN(L).OR.NPER.GT.NSYOT(L)) GO TO 255
      NSYMA=KSYMB(L)
      GO TO 256
  255 CONTINUE
      NSYMA=NAST
  256 KOCC(IYR)=NSYMA
      GO TO 1000
  999 IZIP=1
      LINE=50
      GO TO 132
 1899 STOP
      END
```

Appendix N

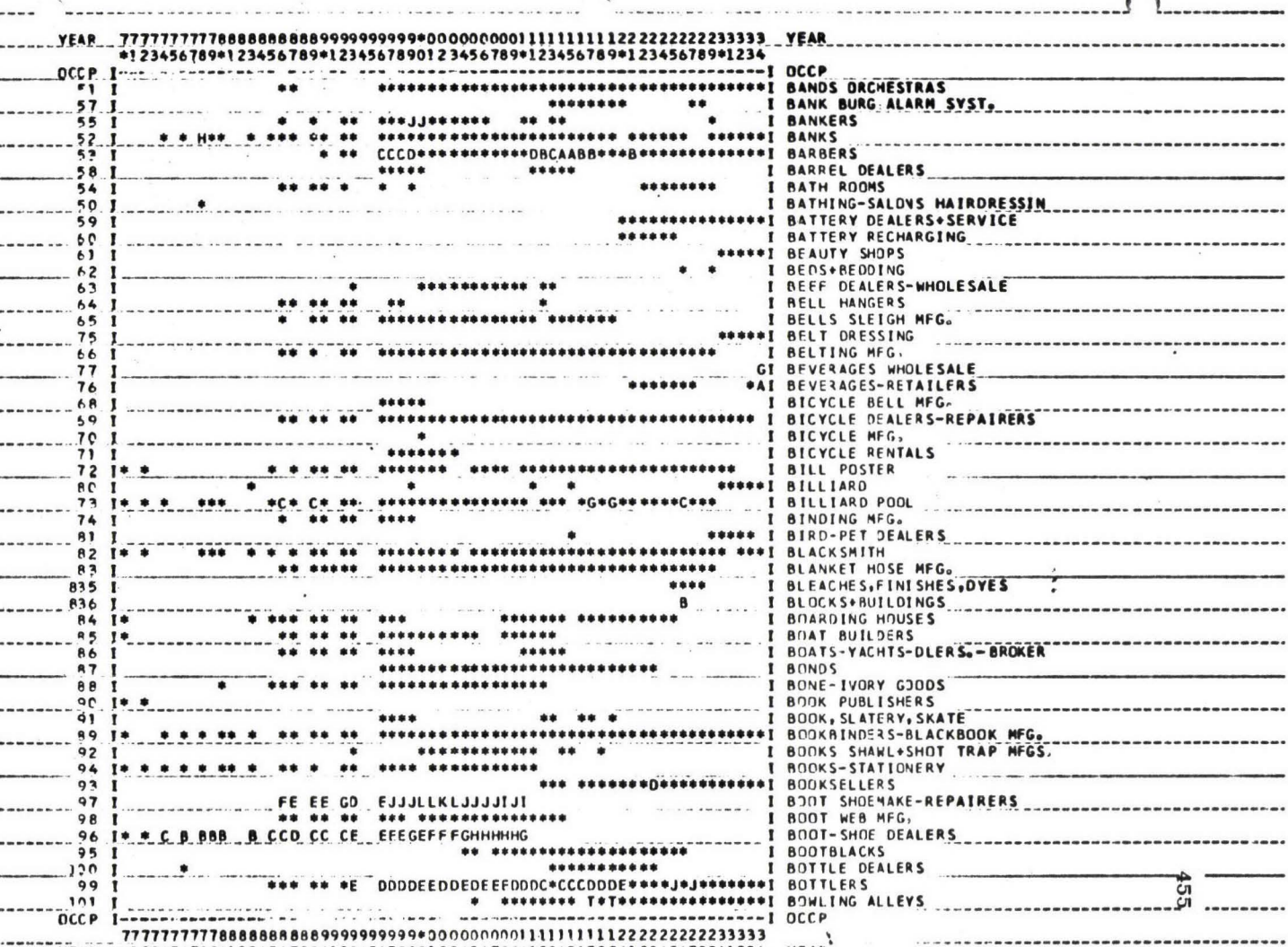
Percentage of Jews on an Annual Basis

KEY

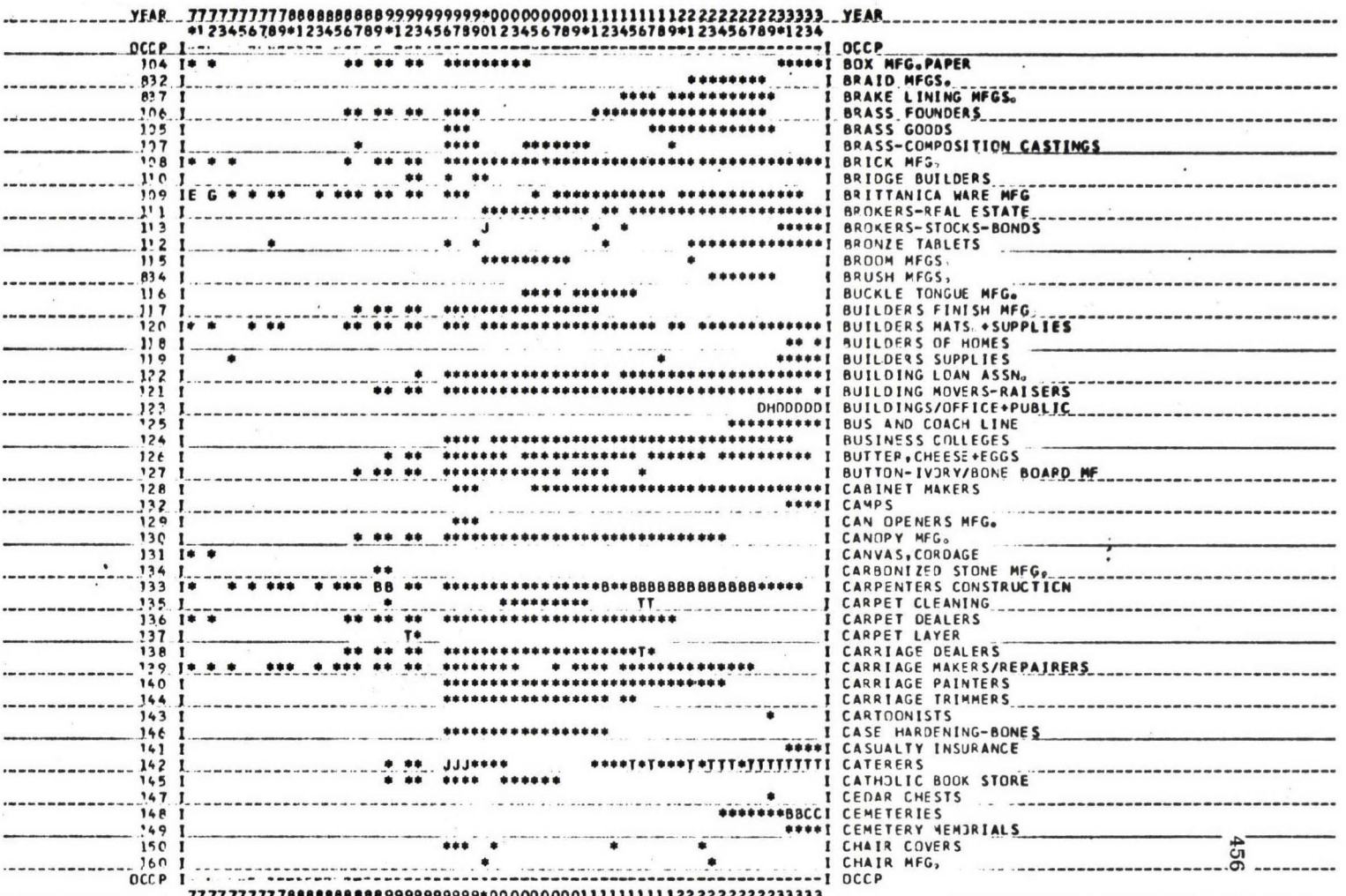
1- 5%	A
6-10	B
11-15	C
16-20	D
21-25	E
26-30	F
31-35	G
36-40	H
41-45	I
46-50	J
51-55	K
56-60	L
61-65	M
66-70	N
71-75	O
76-80	P
81-85	Q
86-90	R
91-95	S
96-100	T



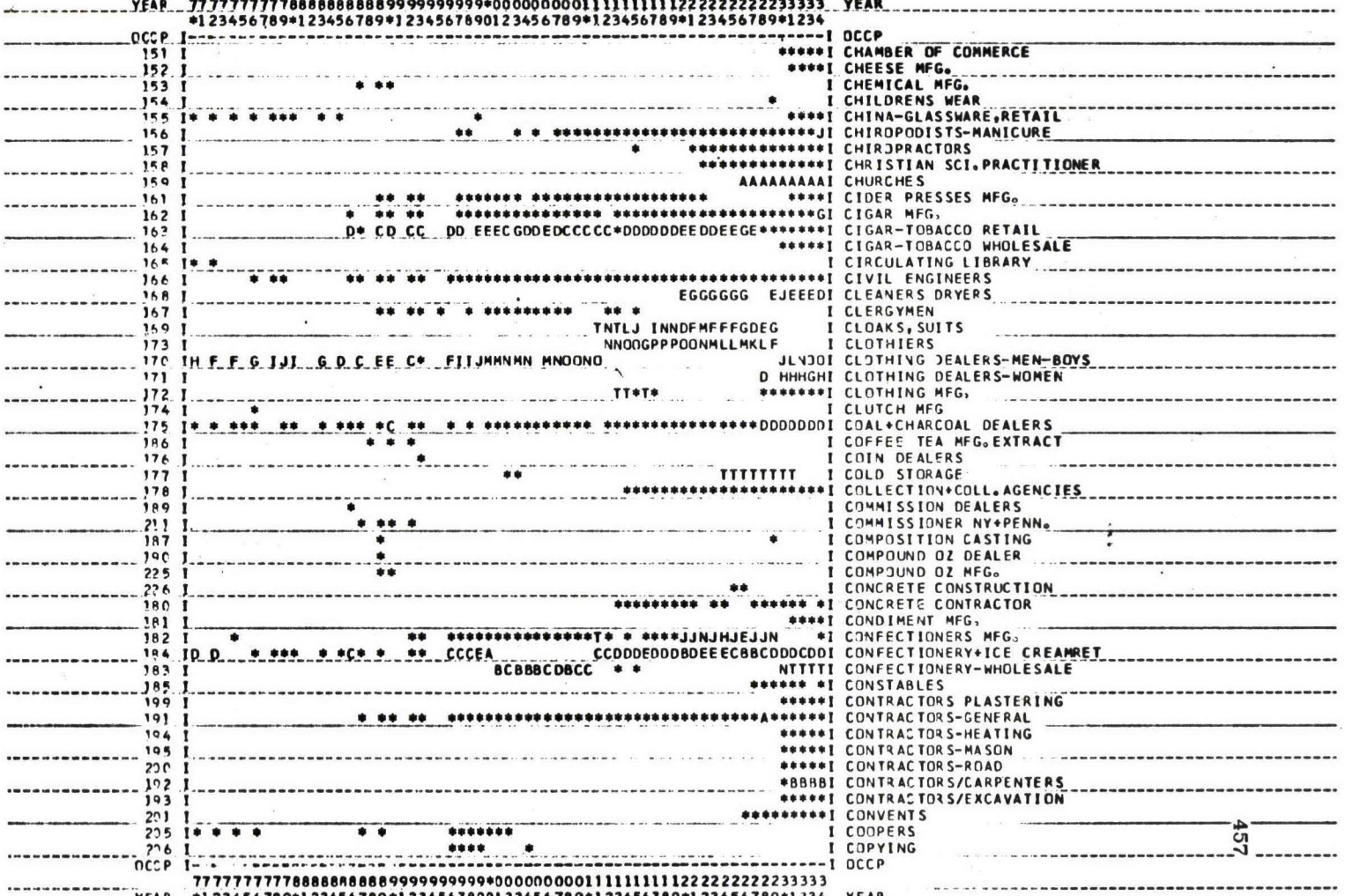
MIDDLETOWN STUDY - PERCENT OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



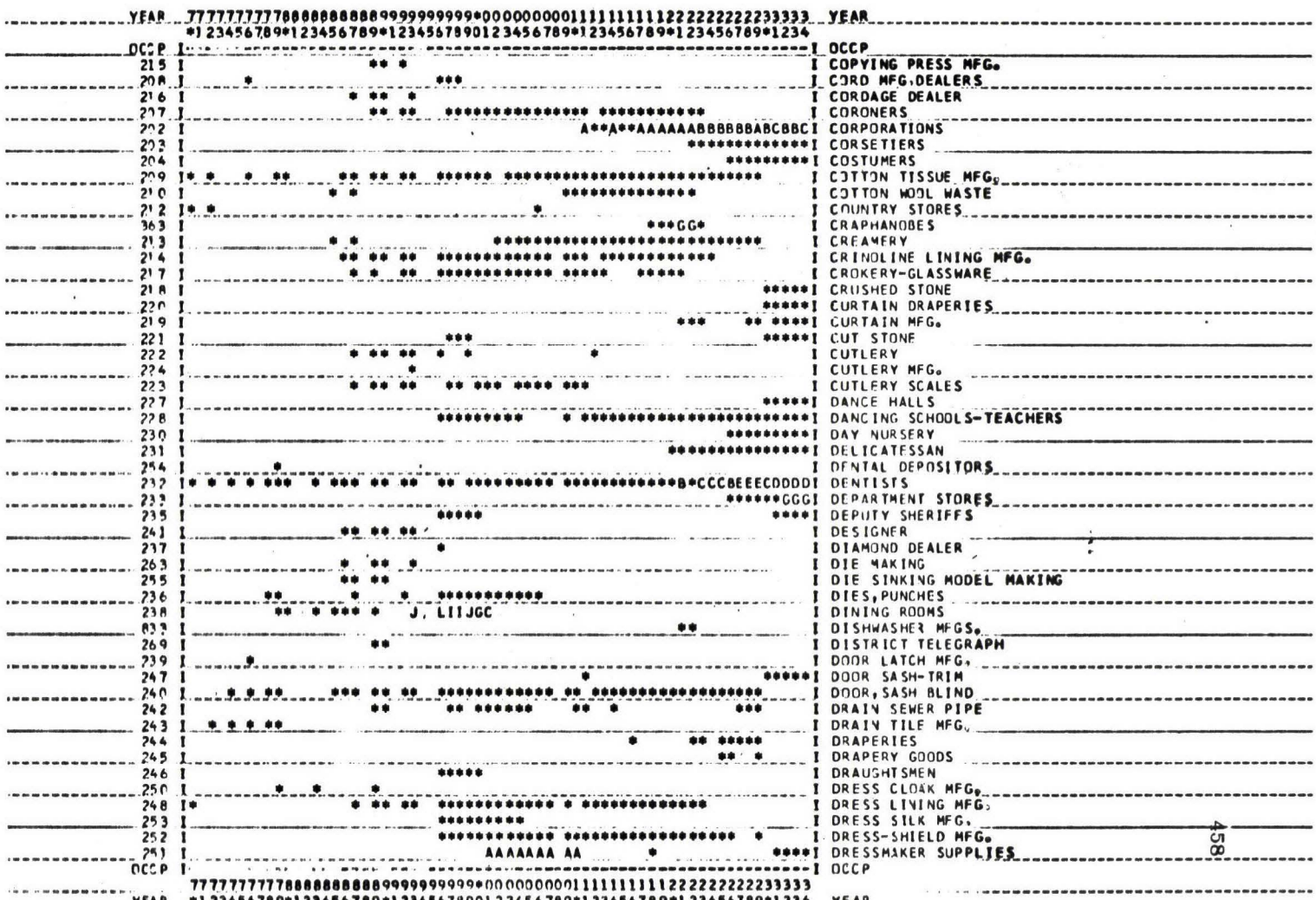
MIDDLETOWN STUDY - PERCENT OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



MIDDLETOWN STUDY - PERCENT OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



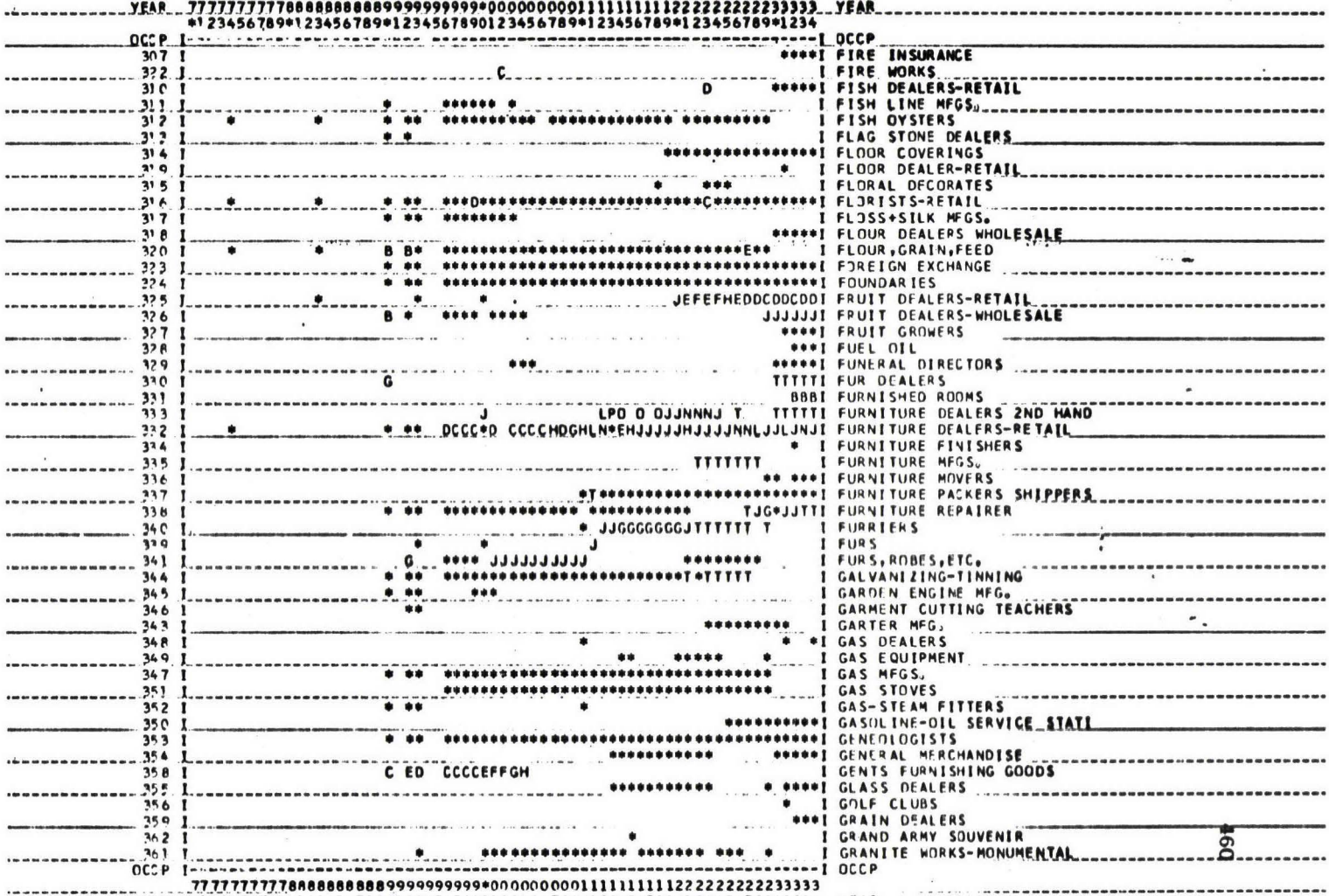
MIDDLETOWN STUDY - PERCENT OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



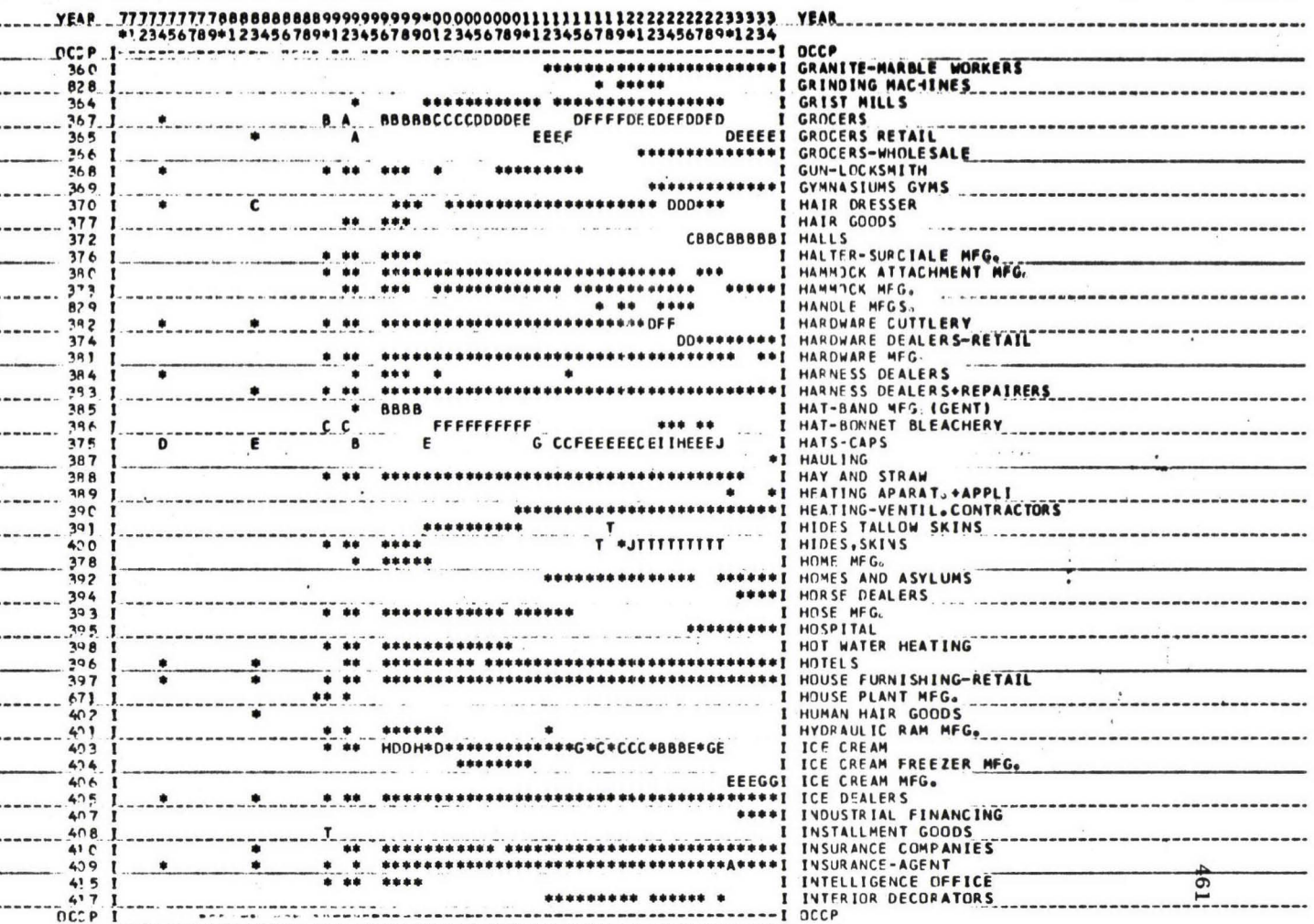
MIDDLETOWN STUDY PERCENT OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



MIDDLETOWN STUDY - PERCENT OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



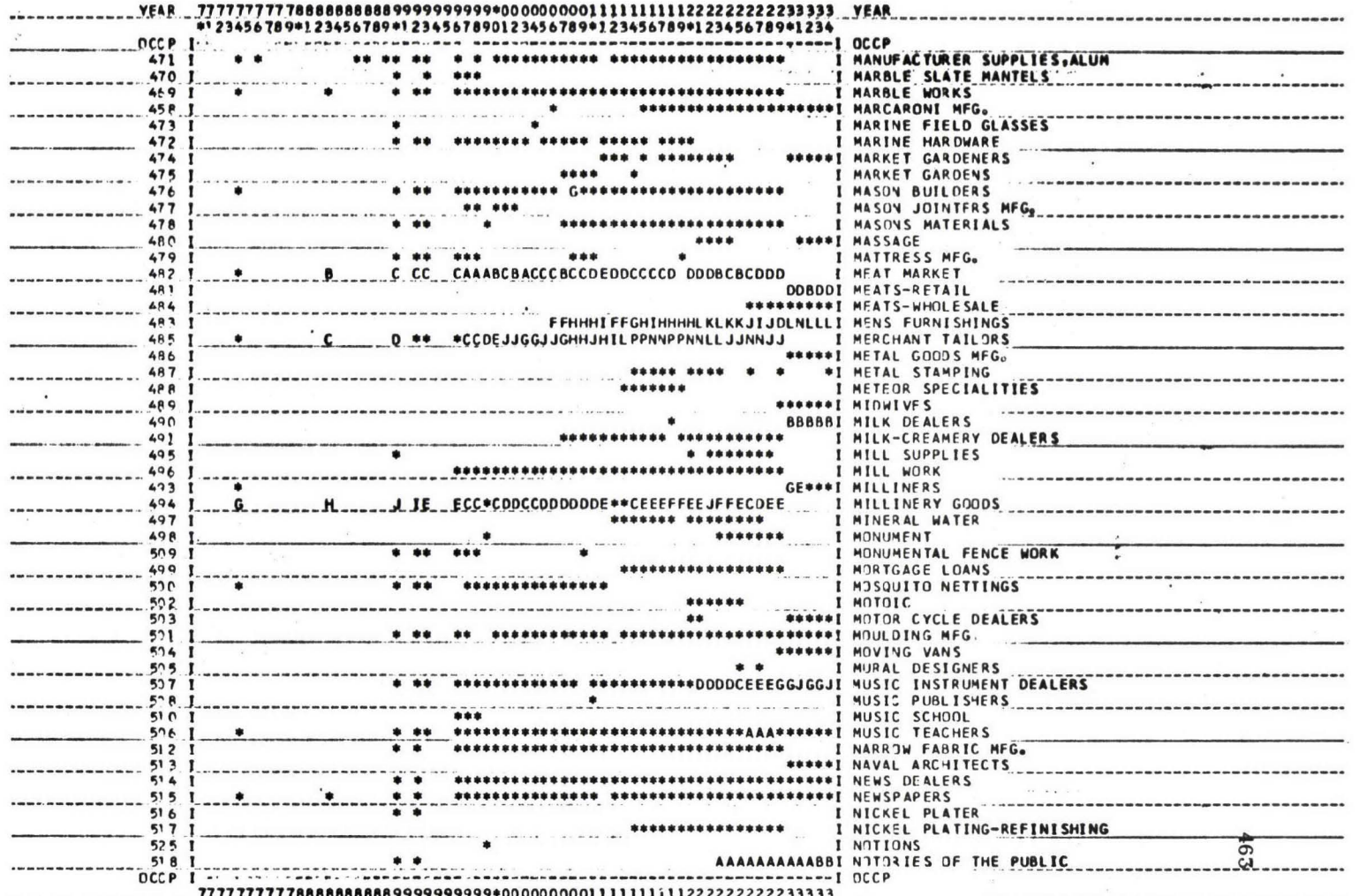
MIDDLETOWN STUDY - PERCENT OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



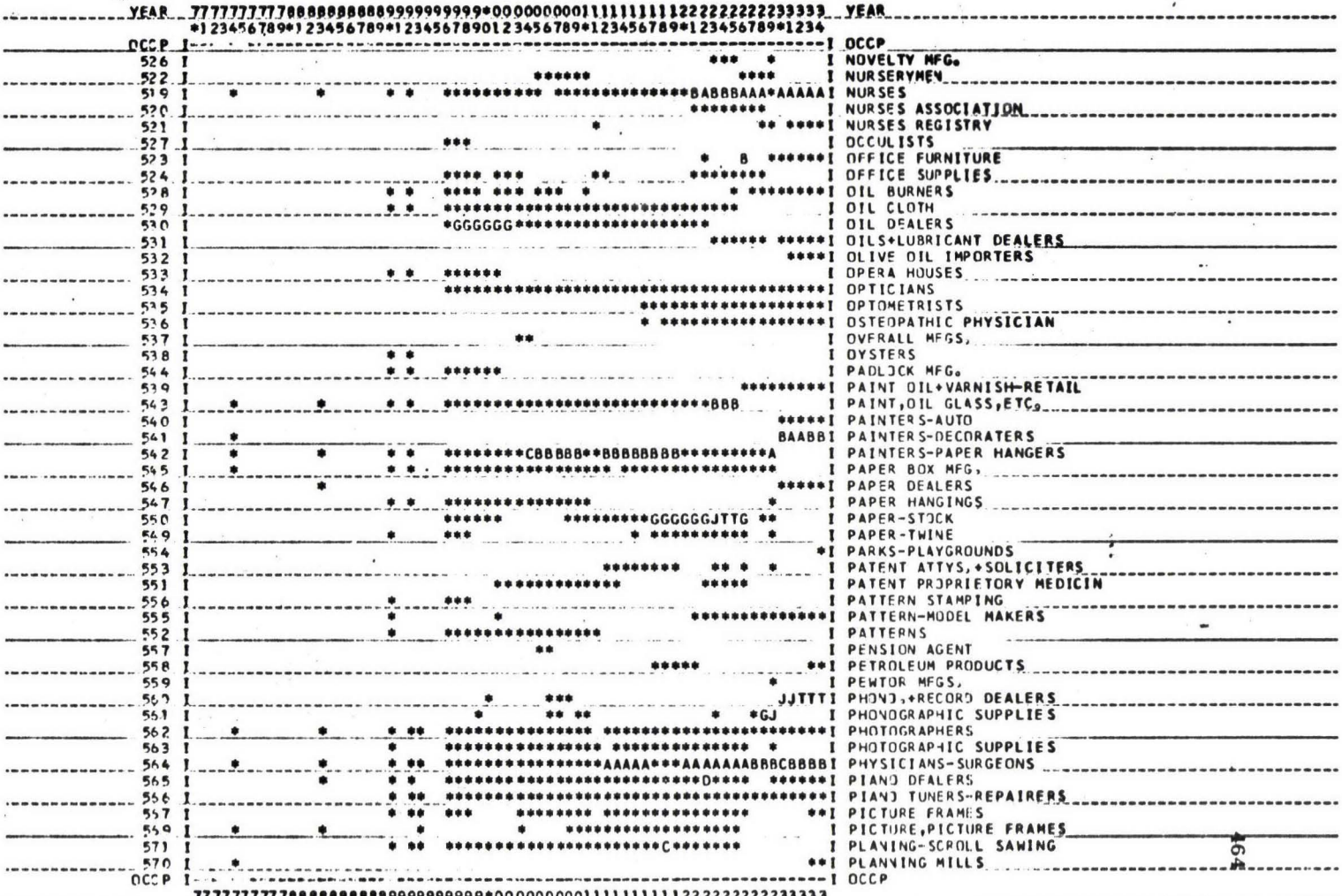
MIDDLETOWN STUDY – PERCENT OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION

462

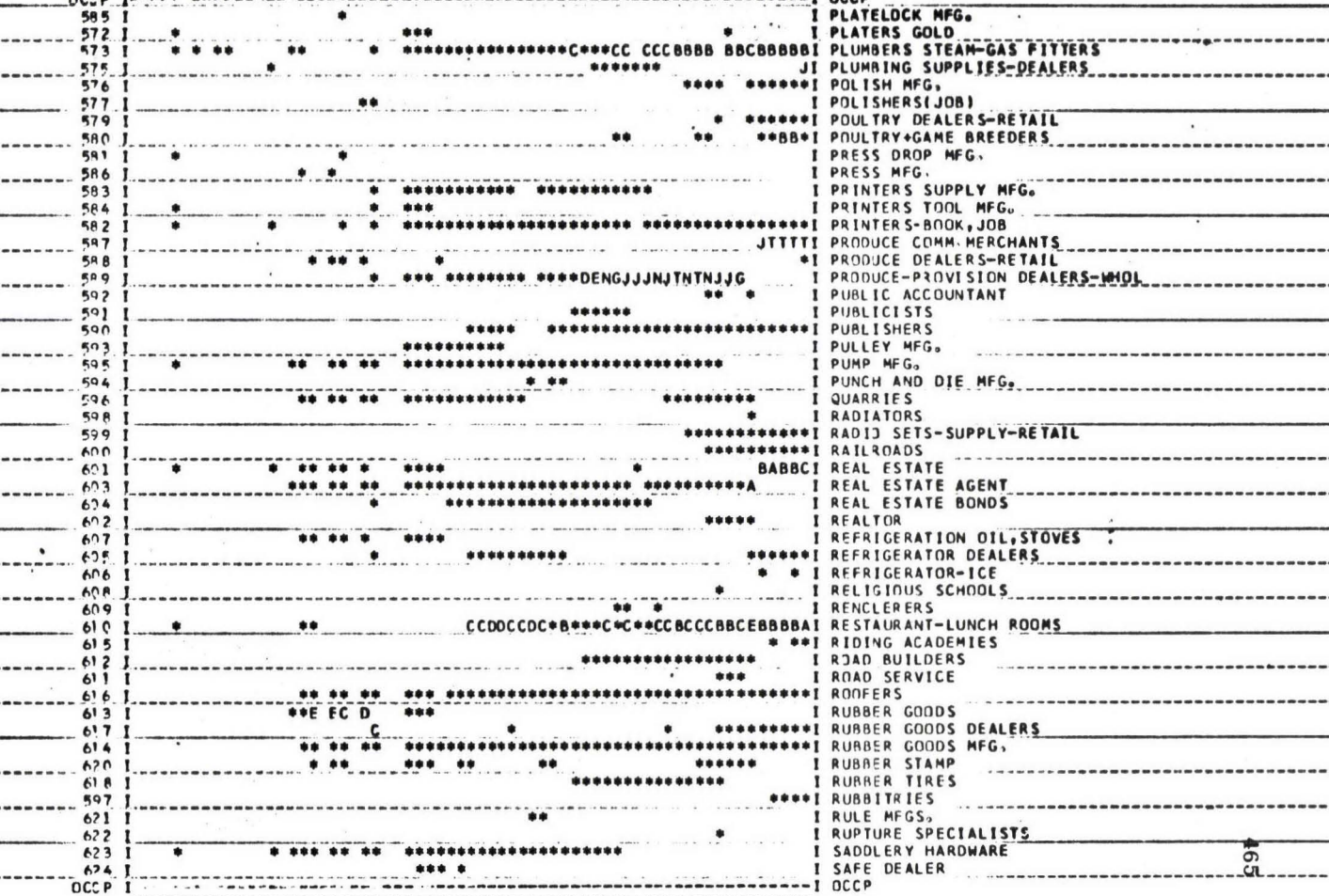
MIDDLETOWN STUDY -- PERCENT OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



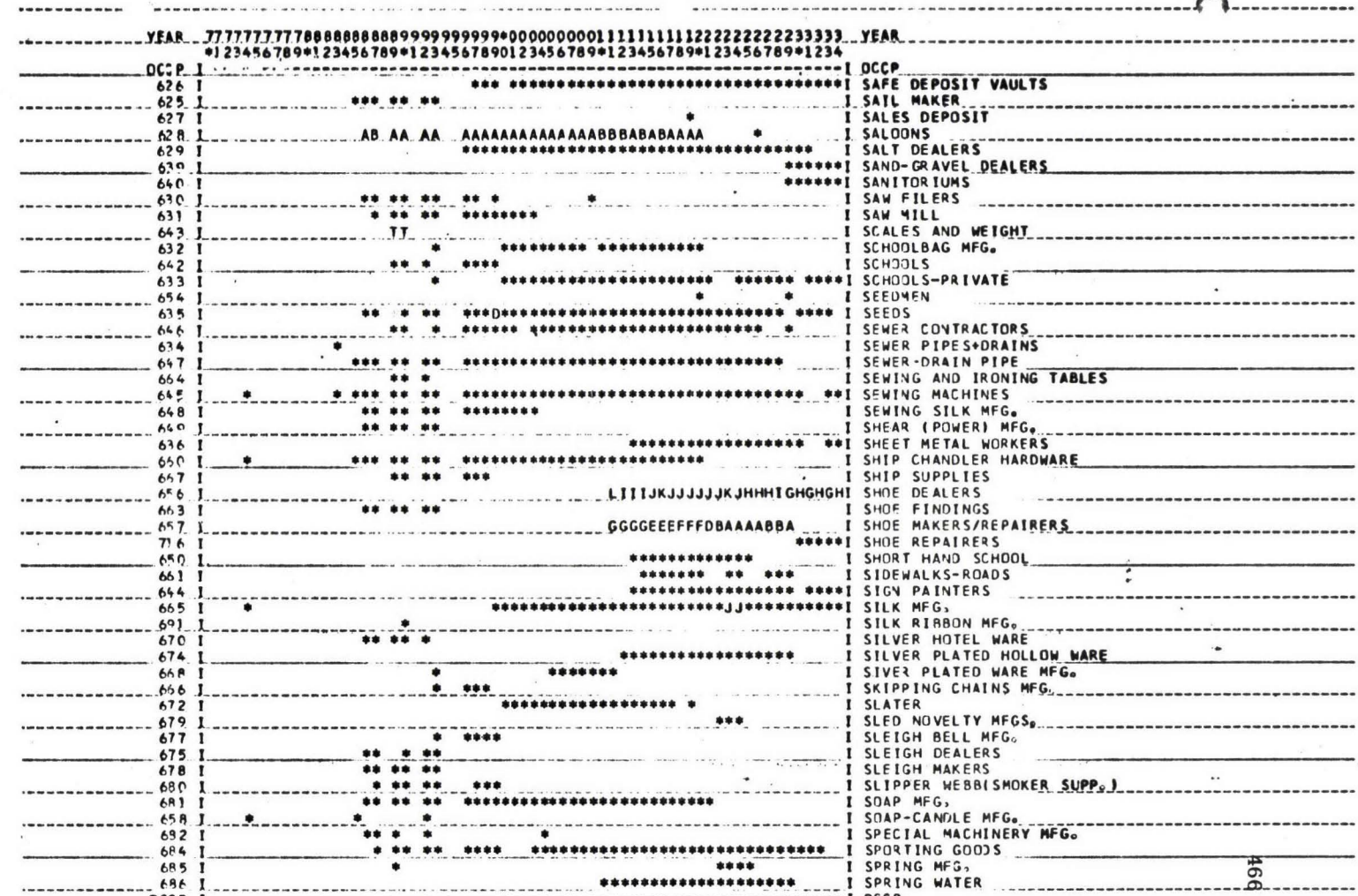
MIDDLETOWN STUDY - PERCENT OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



MIDDLETOWN STUDY - PERCENT OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



MIDDLETOWN STUDY -- PERCENT OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



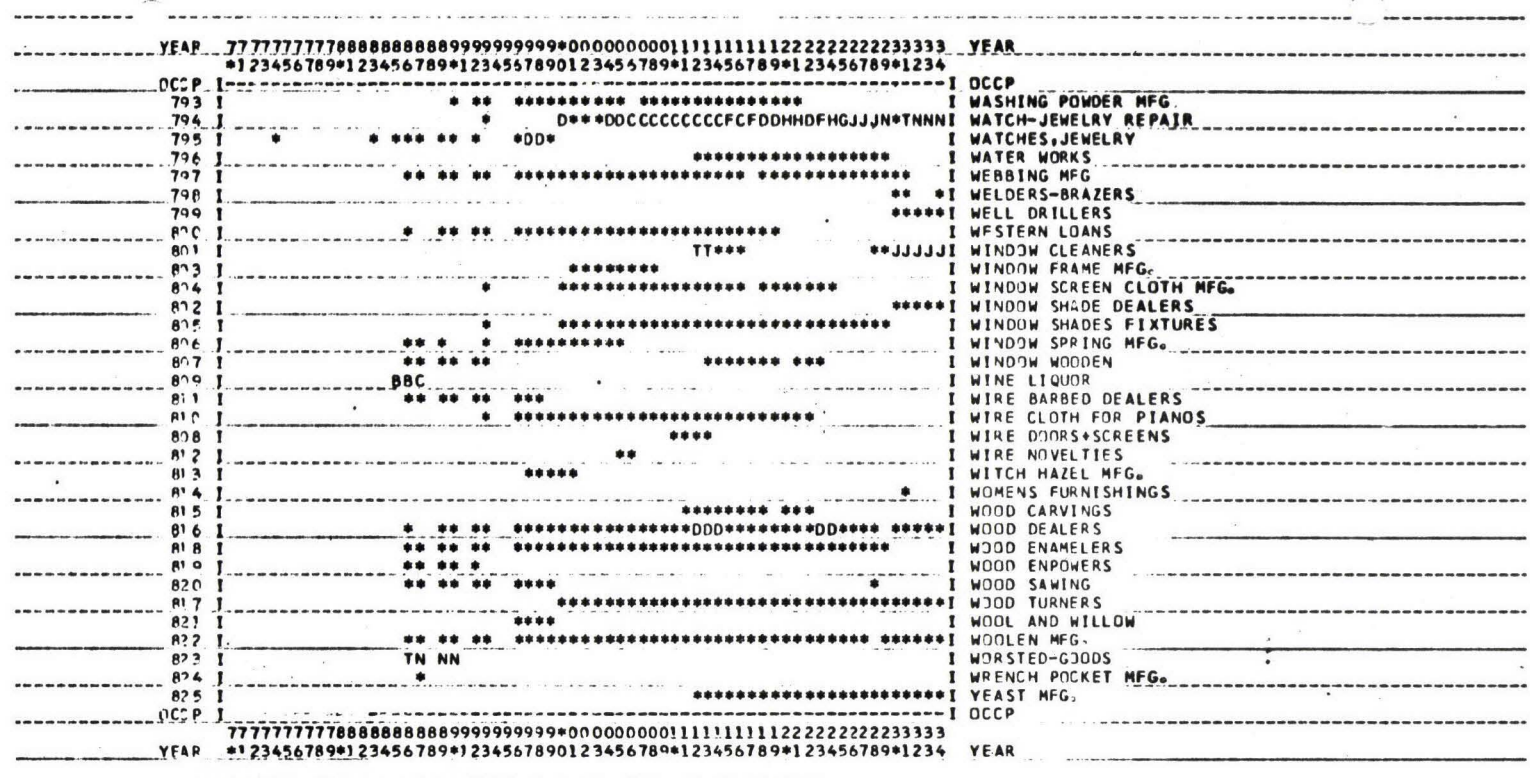
MIDDLETOWN STUDY - PERCENT OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



MIDDLETOWN STUDY - PERCENT OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



MIDDLETOWN STUDY -- PERCENT OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION



MIDDLETOWN STUDY - PERCENT OF JEWS BY YEAR AND OCCUPATION

Appendix O

Sample Marriage Certificate

TYPE OR PRINT PLAINLY WITH BLACK, UNFADING INK. THIS IS A PERMANENT RECORD.
EVERY ITEM SHOULD BE CAREFULLY SUPPLIED.

CONNECTICUT STATE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

Public Health Statistics Section — Hartford, Connecticut 06115, U. S. A.

MARRIAGE LICENSE: TOWN OF _____

1. GROOM'S NAME	11. BRIDE'S NAME
2 (a) DATE OF BIRTH (b) AGE 3. RACE	12 (a) DATE OF BIRTH (b) AGE 13. RACE
4. OCCUPATION	14. OCCUPATION
5. BIRTHPLACE: (TOWN) (STATE OR COUNTRY)	15. BIRTHPLACE: (TOWN) (STATE OR COUNTRY)
6. RESIDENCE	16. RESIDENCE
7. (a) PREVIOUS MARITAL STATUS Never Married ☐ Last Marriage Ended By: Death ☐ Divorce ☐ Annulment ☐ (b) NUMBER OF THIS MARRIAGE	17. (a) PREVIOUS MARITAL STATUS Never Married ☐ Last Marriage Ended By: Death ☐ Divorce ☐ Annulment ☐ (b) NUMBER OF THIS MARRIAGE
8. FATHER'S NAME	18. FATHER'S NAME
9. MOTHER'S MAIDEN NAME	19. MOTHER'S MAIDEN NAME
10. SUPERVISION OR CONTROL OF GUARDIAN OR CONSERVATOR	20. SUPERVISION OR CONTROL OF GUARDIAN OR CONSERVATOR

WE _____ AND _____ THE PERSONS NAMED IN THIS MARRIAGE LICENSE, DO SOLEMNLY SWEAR THAT THE STATEMENTS THEREIN MADE ARE TRUE.

SWORN TO BEFORE ME THIS _____ DAY OF _____ 19____ SIGNED _____ REGISTRAR

SWORN TO BEFORE ME THIS _____ DAY OF _____ 19____ SIGNED _____ REGISTRAR

THIS CERTIFIES THAT THE ABOVE-NAMED PARTIES HAVE COMPLIED WITH THE LAWS OF CONNECTICUT RELATING TO A MARRIAGE LICENSE, AND ANY PERSON AUTHORIZED TO CELEBRATE MARRIAGE MAY JOIN THE ABOVE-NAMED IN MARRIAGE WITHIN THE TOWN OF _____

THIS LICENSE MUST BE USED ON OR BEFORE _____ 19____ NOT GOOD AFTER THAT DATE.

DATE ISSUED _____ 19____ ATTEST _____ REGISTRAR

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE

I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT MR. _____ AND

M _____ THE ABOVE NAMED PARTIES, WERE LEGALLY JOINED IN MARRIAGE BY ME AT _____ TOWN THIS _____

DAY OF _____ 19____ SIGNED _____

ADDRESS _____ OFFICAL CAPACITY _____

THIS CERTIFICATE RECEIVED FOR RECORD ON _____ REGISTRAR _____

CONSENT OF PARENT OR GUARDIAN

To be filled in when either party is a minor*

State of Connecticut, Town of .....

Personally appeared ..... **who,**

being duly sworn, declares that ..... **is the** ..... **of**

(he, she) (father, mother, guardian)

..... **and gives consent to the marriage of this**

minor to .....

Sworn to before me this .....

Signature of parent or guardian

..... **day of** ....., **19**.....

.....

Notary Public, Registrar of Vital Statistics Signature of witness

State of Connecticut, Town of .....

Personally appeared ..... **who,**

being duly sworn, declares that ..... **is the**..... **of**

(he, she) (father, mother, guardian)

..... **and gives consent to the marriage of this**

minor to .....

Sworn to before me this .....

Signature of parent or guardian

..... **day of** ....., **19**.....

.....

Notary Public, Registrar of Vital Statistics Signature of witness

CONSENT OF JUDGE OF PROBATE

To be filled in when either party is less than sixteen years of age*

....., *Conn., this* ..... *day of* .....*19*.....

I do hereby give my consent for the marriage of.....

to .....

*Pasters may be attached. ..... *Judge of Probate*

for .....

TO CLERGYMEN AND MAGISTRATES

Any person solemnizing a marriage under this license *in any other town than that in which it was issued, or joining any persons in marriage* without first having received a certificate of license, is liable to a fine not exceeding **Five Hundred Dollars**, or imprisonment in a common jail not exceeding one year, or both fine and imprisonment.

This certificate, duly signed must be returned to the registrar, *by the person who joins the parties in marriage*, within the first week of the month next succeeding such marriage, under penalty of Ten Dollars for neglect.

Appendix P

Coding of Marriage Certificates

APPENDIX P

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATES

Code

Column Number	Identification
1, 2, 3	Page Number
4	Religion of Marriage: 1 = Jew, 2 = Non-Jew
5	Title: 1 = Marriages
6, 7	Volume Number
8, 9, 10	Page Number
11-18	Date of Marriage
19	Religion of Groom: 1 = Jew, 2 = Non-Jew
20	Religion of Bride: 1 = Jew, 2 = Non-Jew
21, 22	Birthplace of Groom:
	1 = Middletown
	2 = United States
	3 = Germany, Austria, Bohemia
	4 = England
	5 = Russia, Poland, Roumania
	6 = Ireland
	7 = Italy
	8 = Scotland

9 = France

10 = Canada

11 = Sweden

12 = Hungary

13 = Lithuania

14 = Bavaria

15 = Syria

16 = Holland

17 = Greece

23, 24 Birthplace of Bride—Same as above

25, 26 Age of Groom (years)

27, 28 Age of Bride (years)

29 Occupation of Groom—Refer to the Hollingshead Index of Social Position

30 Residence of Groom:

1 = Middletown

2 = Connecticut

3 = Other United States

31 Residence of Bride:

1 = Middletown

2 = Connecticut

3 = Other United States

32 Race of Groom: 1 = White, 2 = Black

33 Race of Bride: 1 = White, 2 = Black

34 Marital Status of Groom:

1 = Single

2 = Widowed

3 = Divorced

35 Marital Status of Bride:

1 = Single

2 = Widowed

3 = Divorced

Appendix Q

Number of Marriages on an Annual Basis

APPENDIX Q

MARRIAGES

Year	Jews	Total	Per cent
1855	0.	104.	0.00000
1856	0.	83.	0.00000
1857	0.	101.	0.00000
1858	1.	85.	1.17647
1859	0.	97.	0.00000
1860	0.	124.	0.00000
1861	0.	97.	0.00000
1862	0.	95.	0.00000
1863	0.	77.	0.00000
1864	0.	89.	0.00000
1865	0.	121.	0.00000
1866	0.	115.	0.00000
1867	0.	112.	0.00000
1868	0.	126.	0.00000
1869	0.	102.	0.00000
1855-1869	1.00000	1528.00000	0.06545
1870	0.	105.	0.00000
1871	0.	138.	0.00000

Year	Jews	Total	Per cent
1872	0.	135.	0.00000
1873	1.	126.	0.79365
1874	0.	106.	0.00000
1875	0.	90.	0.00000
1876	0.	111.	0.00000
1877	0.	84.	0.00000
1878	2.	112.	1.78571
1879	1.	92.	1.08696
1870-1879	4.0000	1099.0000	0.36397
1880	0.	91.	0.00000
1881	0.	86.	0.00000
1882	1.	83.	1.20482
1883	1.	100.	1.00000
1884	1.	87.	1.14943
1885	1.	67.	1.49254
1886	0.	100.	0.00000
1887	0.	105.	0.00000
1888	0.	98.	0.00000
1889	0.	100.	0.00000
1880-1889	4.0000	917.0000	0.43621
1890	0.	100.	0.00000
1891	0.	100.	0.00000
1892	1.	118.	0.84746

Year	Jews	Total	Per cent
1893	1.	130.	0.76923
1894	0.	100.	0.00000
1895	0.	125.	0.00000
1896	0.	135.	0.00000
1897	1.	106.	0.94340
1898	0.	109.	0.00000
1899	1.	92.	1.08696
1890-1899	4.0000	1115.0000	0.35874
1900	2.	102.	1.96078
1901	0.	110.	0.00000
1902	0.	120.	0.00000
1903	1.	147.	0.68027
1904	0.	138.	0.00000
1905	2.	162.	1.23457
1906	3.	222.	1.35135
1907	1.	246.	0.40650
1908	0.	210.	0.00000
1909	2.	231.	0.86580
1900-1909	11.0000	1688.0000	0.65166
1910	1.	256.	0.39063
1911	3.	242.	1.23967
1912	1.	252.	0.39683
1913	1.	187.	0.53476

Year	Jews	Total	Per cent
1914	5.	218.	2.29358
1915	3.	242.	1.23967
1916	1.	233.	0.42918
1917	4.	253.	1.58103
1918	3.	160.	1.87500
1919	8.	218.	3.66972
1910-1919	30.0000	2261.0000	1.32685
1920	4.	226.	1.76991
1921	5.	210.	2.38095
1922	7.	232.	3.01724
1923	3.	134.	2.23881
1924	3.	218.	1.37615
1925	1.	204.	0.49020
1926	2.	226.	0.88496
1927	4.	216.	1.85185
1928	5.	205.	2.43902
1929	2.	209.	0.95694
1920-1929	36.0000	2080.0000	1.73077
1930	6.	178.	3.37079
1931	5.	189.	2.64550
1932	3.	156.	1.92308
1933	0.	195.	0.00000
1934	2.	252.	0.79365
1930-1934	16.0000	970.0000	1.64948
All Years	106.0000	11658.0000	0.90925

Appendix R

Sample Death Certificate

VS-4 3-72 40M.

CERTIFICATE OF DEATH
CONN. STATE DEPT. OF HEALTH

DECEASED — NAME (FIRST, MIDDLE, LAST) 1. | SEX 2. | STATE FILE NUMBER

DATE OF BIRTH (MONTH, DAY, YEAR) 3. | RACE — (WHITE, NEGRO, AMERICAN INDIAN, ETC. (SPECIFY)) 4. | AGE — LAST BIRTHDAY (YEARS) 5a. | UNDER 1 YEAR — MOS. (DAYS) 5b. | UNDER 1 DAY — HRS. (MIN.) 5c. | DATE OF DEATH (MONTH, DAY, YEAR) 6.

COUNTY OF DEATH 7a. | TOWN OF DEATH 7b. | HOSPITAL OR OTHER INSTITUTION — (NAME (IF NOT IN EITHER, GIVE STREET AND NUMBER) 7c.

CITY & STATE OF BIRTH (Country, if not U.S.) 8a. | CITIZEN OF (Country) 8b. | MARRIED, NEVER MARRIED, WIDOWED, DIVORCED, LEGALLY SEPARATED 9. | LAST SPOUSE (If wife, give maiden name) 10.

USUAL RESIDENCE (Where deceased lived. If death occurred in institution, give residence before admission.)

SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER 11. | USUAL OCCUPATION (GIVE KIND OF WORK DONE DURING MOST OF WORKING LIFE, EVEN IF RETIRED) 12a. | KIND OF BUSINESS OR INDUSTRY 12b.

RESIDENCE — STATE 13a. | COUNTY 13b. | TOWN 13c. | STREET AND NUMBER 13d.

WAS DECEASED A VETERAN? (SPECIFY YES OR NO) 14a. | IF YES, GIVE WAR 14b. | UNIT OR SHIP 14c.

FATHER — NAME (FIRST, MIDDLE, LAST) 15 | MOTHER — MAIDEN NAME (FIRST, MIDDLE, LAST) 16

INFORMANT — NAME 17a. | MAILING ADDRESS (STREET OR R.F.D. NO., CITY OR TOWN, STATE, ZIP) 17b.

PART I. DEATH WAS CAUSED BY: (ENTER ONLY ONE CAUSE PER LINE FOR (a), (b), AND (c)) | APPROXIMATE INTERVAL BETWEEN ONSET AND DEATH

18 IMMEDIATE CAUSE 18a.

CONDITIONS, IF ANY WHICH GAVE RISE TO IMMEDIATE CAUSE (a), STATING THE UNDERLYING CAUSE LAST

DUE TO, OR AS A CONSEQUENCE OF 18b.

DUE TO, OR AS A CONSEQUENCE OF: 18c.

PART II. OTHER SIGNIFICANT CONDITIONS: CONDITIONS CONTRIBUTING TO DEATH BUT NOT RELATED TO CAUSE GIVEN IN PART I (a) | AUTOPSY (YES OR NO) 19a. | IF YES WERE FINDINGS CONSIDERED IN DETERMINING CAUSE OF DEATH 19b.

ACCIDENT, SUICIDE, HOMICIDE, OR UNDETERMINED (SPECIFY) 20a. | DATE OF INJURY (MONTH, DAY, YEAR) 20b. | HOUR 20c. M | HOW INJURY OCCURRED (ENTER NATURE OF INJURY PART I OR PART II, ITEM 18) 20d. | INJURY AT WORK (SPECIFY YES OR NO) 20e.

PLACE OF INJURY AT HOME, FARM, STREET, FACTORY, OFFICE BLDG., ETC. (SPECIFY) 20f. | LOCATION (STREET OR R.F.D. NO., CITY OR TOWN, STATE) 20g. | SURGERY RELEVANT TO CONDITION REPORTED IN ITEM 18 (Date performed) 20h. | 21.

CERTIFICATION — PHYSICIAN: I ATTENDED THE DECEASED FROM (MONTH DAY YEAR) 21a. TO (MONTH DAY YEAR) 21b. | AND LAST SAW HIM/HER ALIVE ON (MONTH DAY YEAR) 21c. | DEATH OCCURRED (HOUR) 21d. M | ON THE DATE AND TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE DUE TO THE CAUSE(S) STATED.

CERTIFICATION — MEDICAL EXAMINER: IN MY OPINION, ON THE DATE AND HOUR OF DEATH DUE TO THE CAUSE(S) STATED, DEATH RESULTED ON OR ABOUT (MONTH DAY YEAR HOUR) 22a. M | THE DECEDENT WAS PRONOUNCED DEAD (MONTH DAY YEAR HOUR) 22b. M

CERTIFIER — NAME (TYPE OR PRINT) 23a. | SIGNATURE DEGREE OR TITLE 23b.

MAILING ADDRESS — CERTIFIER STREET OR R.F.D. NO. CITY OR TOWN STATE ZIP 23c. | DATE SIGNED (MONTH, DAY, YEAR) 23d.

BURIAL, CREMATION, REMOVAL (SPECIFY) 24a. | CEMETERY OR CREMATORY — NAME 24b. | LOCATION CITY OR TOWN STATE 24c.

DATE (MONTH, DAY, YEAR) 24d. | FUNERAL HOME — NAME AND ADDRESS (STREET OR R.F.D. NO., CITY OR TOWN, STATE, ZIP) 25a.

FUNERAL DIRECTOR OR EMBALMER — SIGNATURE 26. | NAME OF EMBALMER IF BODY WAS EMBALMED 27. | LICENSE NUMBER

IMPORTANT INSTRUCTIONS

READ CAREFULLY

1. **PRINT LEGIBLY** with a Permanent Black Record Ink.
2. **WHEN COMPLETED,** this form should be sent to the registrar of vital statistics in the town where death occurred.

IMPORTANT

Abstract of Section 7-62 of the General Statutes, Supplement of 1967

THE LAW CONCERNING DEATH CERTIFICATES

1. **Shall be made within twenty-four hours by physician last in attendance or Medical Examiner in cases of which he has cognizance.**
2. **Disease or cause of death must be so defined as to permit of classification under International List of Causes of Death.**
3. **Certificate obtained at physician's office upon application therefor.**
4. **Certificate incompletely or inaccurately made will be returned to physician or informant for completion or correction before burial or removal permit will be issued, unless it is specifically stated that information is unobtainable.**

This affidavit required before burial or removal permits can be issued for bodies dead of communicable diseases. Section 7-62 of the General Statutes, Supplement 1967

STATE OF CONNECTICUT
COUNTY

Personally appeared _____ before me and made oath that the foregoing statements are true.

Date _____ Registrar

AFFIDAVIT OF LICENSED EMBALMER

RE: PREPARATION OF BODY DEAD OF A COMMUNICABLE DISEASE

I hereby certify that I have prepared for burial the body of ....., named on this certificate, and that proper measures have been taken to render the body harmless in accordance with the Sanitary Code of the State of Connecticut relative to the preparation and burial of dead human bodies.

Embalmer _____ License No. _____ Address _____

Body to be transported to ..... by .....
(Rail, Auto)

in care of ....
Escort

Permit issued for burial ..... **Cemetery** .....
(Town) (State)

Attest: ..... **Sub Registrar**

ADDITIONAL SPACE FOR FURTHER STATEMENTS BY PHYSICIAN

.....

.....

.....

.....

Appendix S

Coding of Death Certificates

APPENDIX S

DEATH CERTIFICATES

Code

Column Number	Identification
1, 2, 3	Page Number
4	Religion of Deceased: 1 = Jew, 2 = Non-Jew
5	Title: 3 = Deaths
6	Sex of Deceased: 1 = Male, 2 = Female
7, 8, 9	Page No.
10	Place of Death: 1 = Middletown 2 = Connecticut 3 = Other United States
11	Number of Families in Home
12	Residence of Deceased: 1 = Middletown 2 = Connecticut 3 = Other United States
13	Occupation of Deceased—Refer to the Hollingshead Index of Social Position; 8 = None (infant or child)

14	Condition:
	1 = Single
	2 = Widowed
	3 = Divorced
	4 = Married
	5 = Infant
	6 = Youngster
15-22	Date of Death
23-30	Date of Birth
31-36	Age in Years—Years, months, days
37	Race of Deceased: 1 = White, 2 = Black
38-39	Birthplace of Deceased:
	1 = Middletown
	2 = United States
	3 = Germany, Austria, Bohemia
	4 = England
	5 = Russia, Poland, Roumania
	6 = Ireland
	7 = Italy
	8 = Scotland
	9 = France
	10 = Canada
	11 = Sweden
	12 = Hungary
	13 = Lithuania

14 = Bavaria

15 = Syria

16 = Holland

17 = Greece

18 = Prussia

19 = Africa

20 = Cuba

21 = Australia

22 = Czechoslovakia

40, 41 Father's Birthplace—Same as above

42, 43 Mother's Birthplace—Same as above

44, 45 Place of Burial:

1 = Farm Hill

2 = St. John's

3 = Indian Hill

4 = Washington St.

5 = Pine Grove

6 = Mortimer

7 = Cypress Hills

8 = New Bedford

9 = Meriden

10 = Hartford

11 = Minor

12 = Moodus

13 = Middletown

14 = Brooklyn

15 = Cromwell

16 = Waterbury

17 = Haddam

18 = Portland

19 = Adath Israel

20 = Danbury

21 = East Hampton

22 = Springfield

23 = East Haven

24 = Jewish Burial Association

25 = Montville, Massachusetts

26 = Pine St. Jew

27 = Wakefield, Rhode Island

28 = St. Joseph's, Willimantic

46-50 Primary Cause of Death—Refer to the International Classification of Diseases

51-55 Secondary Cause of Death—Refer to the International Classification of Diseases

56-61 Duration (Years, months, days)

62-64 Name of Attending Physician:

1 = G. W. Burke

2 = E. B. Nye

3 = C. Woodward

4 = Eliz. Balier

5 = W. E. Carey

6 = E. Burr

7 = C. Andrews

8 = R. Balier

9 = W. C. Bell

10 = M. C. Hazen

11 = Catherine Shea

12 = M. D. Murphy

13 = F. D. Edgerton

14 = Mary Farinir

15 = C. C. Clark

16 = L. Bailey

17 = B. D. Maguire

18 = A. P. Osborne

19 = John Morgan

20 = A. L. Osborn

21 = D. R. Cleveland

22 = F. L. Burr

23 = P. V. Burnett

24 = F. H. Sage

25 = J. E. Bailey

26 = A. J. Campbell

27 = E. M. Farnham

28 = J. Brownhill

29 = F. B. Cook

30 = A. H. Denning

31 = C. Muller

32 = D. L. Maitland

33 = D. A. Nolan

34 = F. P. Griswald

65-66 Volume Number

Appendix T

Number of Deaths on an Annual Basis

APPENDIX T

DEATHS

Year	Jews	Total	Per cent
1855	0.	173.	0.00000
1856	0.	179.	0.00000
1857	0.	192.	0.00000
1858	1.	148.	0.67568
1859	0.	141.	0.00000
1860	0.	174.	0.00000
1861	1.	183.	0.54645
1862	3.	216.	1.38889
1863	2.	234.	0.85470
1864	5.	171.	2.92398
1865	4.	175.	2.28571
1866	1.	160.	0.62500
1867	0.	176.	0.00000
1868	2.	184.	1.08696
1869	1.	186.	0.53763
1855-1869	20.0000	2692.0000	0.74294
1870	2.	236.	0.84746
1871	0.	203.	0.00000

Year	Jews	Total	Per cent
1872	2.	270.	0.74074
1873	0.	274.	0.00000
1874	1.	243.	0.41152
1875	0.	209.	0.00000
1876	2.	206.	0.97087
1877	2.	217.	0.92166
1878	3.	208.	1.44231
1879	4.	191.	2.09424
1870-1879	16.0000	2257.0000	0.70891
1880	2.	205.	0.97561
1881	2.	263.	0.76046
1882	3.	264.	1.13636
1883	1.	329.	0.30395
1884	2.	245.	0.81633
1885	2.	292.	0.68493
1886	1.	289.	0.34602
1887	2.	293.	0.68259
1888	2.	317.	0.63091
1889	2.	319.	0.62696
1880-1889	19.0000	2816.0000	0.67472
1890	5.	331.	1.51057
1891	1.	361.	0.27701
1892	2.	455.	0.43956

Year	Jews	Total	Per cent
1893	0.	349.	0.00000
1894	2.	364.	0.54945
1895	2.	388.	0.51546
1896	4.	301.	1.32890
1897	1.	286.	0.34965
1898	445.	1.	0.22472
1899	0.	334.	0.00000
1890-1899	18.0000	3614.0000	0.49806
1900	0.	674.	0.00000
1901	1.	435.	0.22989
1902	1.	447.	0.22371
1903	5.	550.	0.90909
1904	6.	486.	1.23457
1905	2.	653.	0.30628
1906	2.	548	0.36496
1907	0.	582.	0.00000
1908	0.	544.	0.00000
1909	1.	585.	0.17094
1900-1909	18.0000	5504.0000	0.32703
1910	5.	773.	0.64683
1911	4.	588.	0.68027
1912	3.	739.	0.40595
1913	4.	621.	0.64412

Year	Jews	Total	Per cent
1914	2.	659.	0.30349
1915	6.	602.	0.99668
1916	5.	693.	0.72150
1917	10.	768.	1.30208
1918	8.	918.	0.87146
1919	4.	602.	0.66445
1910-1919	51.0000	6963.0000	0.73244
1920	5.	652.	0.76687
1921	10.	581.	1.72117
1922	2.	659.	0.43573
1923	6.	516.	1.16279
1924	5.	507.	0.98619
1925	4.	568.	0.70423
1926	0.	550.	0.00000
1927	5.	458.	1.03093
1928	6.	516.	1.16279
1929	10.	561.	1.78253
1920-1929	53.0000	5395.0000	0.98239
1930	5.	570.	0.87719
1931	5.	532.	0.93985
1932	4.	629.	0.63593
1933	5.	633.	0.78989
1934	565.	1.	0.17699
1930-1934	20.0000	2929.0000	0.68283
All Years	215.0000	32170.0000	0.66832

Appendix U

Names of People Who Participated in This Study

APPENDIX

The following consists of the names of Jews or those married to Jews who participated in this study with the exception of those born in Middletown.

A

Abel, Frank
Abraham, Alex
Abraham, Hulda
Abromson, Anna
Ackermann, Minnie
Adelberg, Avida
Adler, Augusta
Adolswoofer, Caroline
Albert, Lilly
Alexander, Anne
Alexander, David C.
Altman, Shirle
Annenberg, Anna
Annenberg, Isaac E.
Annenberg, Kitty
Annenberg, Millie
Annenberg, Rebecca
Annenberg, Tobias
Aptel, Aaron
Aptel, Frances
Aptel, Harris
Aptel, Nathan
Aptel, Walter
Arnold, Aaron C.
Arnold, James H.
Aronowitz
Aronson, Rose
Arotsky, Jennie
Auerbach, Samuel

B

Bachman, Samuel
Backer, Fannie
Baco, Lillian J.
Bader, Jacob
Ballanstein, Sarah
Baltimore, Jacob
Baraban, Howard
Barton, Herbert R.
Batalin, Henry
Batalin, Louis
Batchur, Sophie
Battelin, Henry
Battalini, Maurice
Baum, Etta
Baum, Ida
Baum, Max
Beanstak, Harris
Berkowitz, Pauline
Beakcolf, Essie
Bernshop, Rebecca
Berstein, Celia
Becher, Fannie
Becker, Fannie R.
Beizer, Jacob
Belaustein, Sarah
Belhap, Elizabeth
Benowitz, Lena
Berger, Dora
Berkowitz, Pauline
Berman, Rose
Bernhard, Clarence
Bernhard, Henry
Bernowitz, Lena
Bernstein, Celia
Bernstein, Harry
Bernstein, Morris
Bertel, Dora
Bertelstein, Lesser
Bieber, Edward
Bickanstein, Maurice
Bienstien, Celia
Bienstock, Anna
Bienstock, Bessie
Bienstock, Rebecca
Bittman, Morris
Birnstein, Henry

Block, Peter
Blogh, Barbara
Blumberg, Eva M.
Blumberg, Lew
Blumen, Maurice
Blumer, Ida
Blumer, Sarah
Blumir, Samuel
Blumstein, Joseph
Blums, Esthie
Bolina, Dora
Boofer, Freda R.
Botchier, Sophie
Boylin, M.
Brandt, Dora
Breadslovsky, Rose
Brayer, Anna
Brenner, Dora
Brink, Annie
Brody, Samuel
Bronowitz, Catherine
Brown, Annie
Brown, Joseph
Brown, Sarah
Buig, Willie
Burenstuim, Joseph
Burstein, Eliz.
Burstein, Matilda
Burstein, Morris
Burstein, Tillie
Butweing, Estella
Carcinorwike, Fannie
Cedek, Rose
Chatzionoff, Harry
Cherbsky, Rebecca
Chernak, Bela
Chernoff, Phillip
Chester, Ann
Citron, Benjamin
Citron, Jacob
Clemens, Lillie
Cohen, Bertha
Cohen, Dora
Cohen, Esther
Cohen, Fannie
Cohen, Helen
Cohen, Ida
Cohen, Joseph
Cohen, Philip
Cohen, Rachel

Cohen, Rubin
Cohen, Samuel
Cohen, Susie
Cohen, William
Cohn, Hyman
Cone, Charles W.
Cone, Eliza
Cone, Noah
Cone, Thankful Bailey
Cooper, Arthur
Cooper, Charles
Coopewasser, Frieda
Cramer, Betsy
Cuzner, Henry
Curkin, Abraham
Curkin, David S.
Curkin, Eva
Curkin, Herman
Curkin, Pauline
Cutler, Sarah

D

Dantiz, Bessie
Dantiz, Rebecca
Dantzig, Bessie
Dassin, Samuel
Davidson, Joseph
Davis, Samuel
Davis, Sarah R.
Deitch, Anna
Deitch, Sylvia
Deitch, William
Denert, Natalie
Dick, Harry
Dietch, Abraham
Donsick, Bessie
Dorkin, Joseph
Douvelstein, Pauline
Dreager, Bessie P.
Drotte, Anna
Dubinsky, Annie
Dubinsky, Wolf
Dvorkin, Aaron

E

Edelberg, Anna
Edelberg, Hessie
Edelberg, Simon

Eidenberg, Annie
Eidenberg, Henry
Eionowitch, Ben
Eionowitz, Julia
Eis, Ella
Eisenstein, Bessie
Eisenstein, Fannie
Eisenstein, Joseph
Eisenstein, Meyer
Eisenstein, Morris
Eisenstein, Sarah
Eisenstein, Sima
Eisner, Sarah
Ellis, Abraham
Ellis, Elizabeth
Ellis, Fannie
Ellis, Jennie
Ellis, Morris
Elson, Sam
Enowitch, Annie G.
Enowitch, Esther
Enowitch, Saul
Enowitch, Elliot
Epstein, David
Epstein, Ralph
Ewenowitch, Benjamin
Ewenowitch, Sophie

F

Fabian, Bernard
Fabian, Bernard M.
Fabian, Ida
Fabian, Isaac
Fabian, Lillian
Farber, George
Feau, Sophia
Feingold, Annie
Feitel, Margaret M.
Felderbaum, Louis
Fexlir, Helen
Field, Abraham
Field, Alice
Field, Frank
Field, Harry
Field, Jacob
Field, Louis
Field, Morris
Field, Rebeka
Field, Rose

Field, Sarah

Field, Sylvia

Field, William

Filderbaum, Louis

Finkelbrand, Abraham

Finkelbrand, Jacob

Fisher, Jacob G.

Fisher, Marion E.

Fixler, Helen

Flashman, Irving

Foster, Ella

Foster, Johanna

Fox, Ruth

Frank, Julius M.

Frank, Max

Frank, Rosina

Frankhold, Annie

Friedman, Arthur

Friedman, Bella

Friedman, David

Friedman, Ethel

Friedman, Frieda

Friedman, Herman

Friedman, Hyman

Friedman, Jack

G

Gaffney, Leo

Gansberg, Samuel

Gatub, Elyenna H.

Gatzen, Abraham

Gatzen, Maurice

Gatzen, Morris

Geer, Fannie

Gerstein, Louis

Gersten, Rosie

Gettgen, Morris

Ginsler, Maurice

Glasschief, Regina

Glick, Wolf

Gold, Adolf

Goldberg, Adolf

Goldberg, Esther

Goldberg, Goldie

Goldenberg, Pauline

Goldfluss, Ruth

Goldhard, Annie

Goldsmith, Harriot

Goldstein, Abraham

Goldstein, Annie

Goldstein, Bernard
Goldstein, Edward
Goldstein, Hattie
Goldstein, Ida
Goldstein, Isaac
Goldstein, Jennie A.
Goldstein, Maurice
Goldstein, Meyer
Goldstein, Miriam
Goldstein, Moly
Goldstein, Morris
Goldstein, Morris P.
Goldstein, Pauline
Goldstein, Sally
Goldstein, Theresa
Golub, Elyenna H.
Gordon, Alexander
Gordon, Annie
Gordon, Bertha
Gordon, David
Gordon, David K.
Gordon, Ethel
Gordon, Grace G.
Gordon, Jenny
Gordon, Matilda
Gordon, Yale
Grant, Norma
Greenberg, Victor
Greenberg, Harry
Gresling, J.
Groser, Maria
Grossman, Harry
Grower, Benjamin
Grower, Berne
Grower, Julius
Grower, Louis
Grower, Mary
Grower, Max
Grower, Nathan
Gurewitz, Anna
Gurewitz, Celia
Gurland, Anna
Gurland, Edna
Gurland, Harold
Gurland, Irving
Gutside, Ida

H

Halpern, Albert

Halpern, Alfred
Halpern, Augusta
Halpern, Sadie
Harris, Jacob
Harris, Mary E.
Harris, Max
Harris, Samuel
Hendrel, Sadie
Herzberg, Edward
Hidea, Clara
Hedin, Clara E.
Hoberman, Harry
Hoberman, Ruth
Hohn, Benjamin
Holmes, Josephine
Holtzman, Rebecca
Honig, Joseph
Horenstein, Joseph
Horuvitz, Anna
Human, Samuel
Hurmann, Bessie
Hyman, Sophie
Hyms, Abraham

I

Itkin, Joseph

J

Jackson, Tillie
Jacobs, Daniel
Jacobs, Joseph
Jacobson, Abraham
Jacobson, Tillie
Jaffe, Abraham S.
Jankelevege, Sarah
Javiatz, Samuel
Johanna, Eva D.
Josephson, Annie
Junowitch, Sophie

K

Kabatznick, Bertha
Kabatznick, Ida
Kabatznick, Jacob
Kabatznick, Lewis
Kabatznick, Marjie

Kabatznick, Saul
Kaften, Sophia
Kamins, Lillian
Kaminsky, Annie
Kaplan, Abraham
Kaplan, Estelle E.
Kaplan, Michael
Kaplan, Sarah
Kaplan, Abraham
Karshew, Annie
Katusal, Lizzie
Katz, Laura
Katz, Max
Kaufman, Bernat
Kaufman, Louis
Kamins, Lillian
Kelter, Abraham
Keingsberg, Morris
King, Ethel
Kistner, Bertrand
Kistner, Emily J.
Kistner, Esther B.
Kitchner, Elizabeth
Klas, Marie
Klein, Albert H.
Klein, George H.
Kloppstein, William
Knopp, Marjorie
Koberman, Jacob
Koch, Gertrude
Kochter, Kalman F.
Komis, Rosa
Konigsberg, Abraham
Kopman, Martha
Kopperman, Dora
Kopperman, Matilda
Kopperman, William
Kovsky, Annie
Krabowski, Clara
Kramer, Bessie
Kramer, Louis
Kubel, Cecelia
Kuhnis, Lena
Kuhrman, Theresa
Kulin, Mae
Kurzberg, Lena
Kurbtzberg, Clara
Kurtzberg, Louis
Kurtzberg, Philip
Kusslewitz, Jennie

Kutner, Julius
Kutner, Max
Kutsburg, Rosie
Kutsner, Charles

L

Lamden, Bessie
Lanz, Louisa
Langer, Benjamin
Langer, William
Lavine, Jennie
Lavine, Harry
Lavine, Louis
Lavine, Rose
Lebovitz, Mary
Leiteg, Marion
Leduc, Lillian
Lehur, Kalem
Leitzes, David
Leitzes, Harold
Leitzer, Israel
Leonard, Gertrude
Lerner, David
Lesser, Esther
Lesser, Eva R.
Lesser, Ida
Lesser, Joseph
Lesser, Miril
Lesser, Molly
Lesser, Sara
Levett, Sarah
Levi, Abraham
Levin, Beatrice
Levin, Max
Levin, Rebecca
Levine, Henry H.
Levine, Louis
Levine, Max
Levine, Rebecca
Levine, Sadie
Levitsky, Ida
Levitt, Sarah
Levkowitz, Corinne
Levy, Aaron E.
Levy, Abraham
Levy, Annie
Levy, Bella S.
Levy, Benjamin N.
Levy, Elias

Levy, Joseph
Levy, Morris
Levy, Sarah
Lewis, Abraham
Lieberman, Belle
Lieberman, Jacob
Lieberman, Joseph
Lieberman, Yale
Limon, Carl K.
Lippman, Irvin
London, Benjamin
London, Ethel
London, Jean
London, Michael
Low, William

M

Machaby, Frieda
Malinski, Rosie
Manasewich, Louisa
Manevitz, Annie
Manevitz, Harry
Manevitz, Ida
Maraznik, Selda
Marcowitz, Karl
Marcowitz, Samuel R.
Margulas, Julius
Margulas, Rachel
Margulas, Louis
Markowitz, Celia
Markowitz, Ester
Markowitz, Harry
Markowitz, Margaret
Marotznick, Lily
Mattes, Annie
Mattes, Jacob
Mazzochi, Teresa
Merrman, Celia
Mencan, Jennie
Mendelson, Abraham
Menge, Anna M.
Merican, Jennie
Meridy, Michael
Meridy, Morris
Meropolski, Ethel
Mirotznick, Elizabeth
Mettelman, Jacob
Meshelevitz, Noah
Meyer, Albert

Mayer, Max
Miller, Asher
Miller, Benjamin
Miller, Isaac R.
Miller, Jacob
Miller, Raymond H.
Mittelman, Lea
Mittelman, Lena
Mittelman, Rosie
Mittleman, Ben
Mittleman, David
Mittleman, Hattie
Mittleman, Ida
Mittleman, Israel
Mittleman, Joseph
Mittleman, Louis
Mittleman, Moses
Mittleman, Rose
Mittleman, Yuda
Morotzknis, Elizabeth
Mozzochi, Teresa M.
Muckler, Rosie
Murkin, Jennie
Myckuny, Dora

N

Naphtalin, Abraham
Naphtalin, Charlotte
Newberg, Ivan
Newberg, Max
Niederman, Harry J.
Norger, Abraham
North, Sarah

O

Okovofsky, Samuel
Oseransky, Henry
Oslieb, Anna
Ostrowitz, Saul
Ostrovitz

P

Pachtor, Sara A.
Packer, Max
Paley, Sol
Palmer, Abraham
Palmer, David

Palmer, Gertrude
Palmer, Isadore
Palmer, Morris
Palmer, Muriel
Palmer, Sadie
Palmer, Samuel
Palmer, Samuel H.
Palmer, William B.
Palownick, Annie
Pashalinsky, Gertrude
Pashensky, Rachel
Paulman, Alex
Pear, Maurice
Peiler, Hyman
Pelonik, Anna
Perlin, Zadoeck
Perlroth, Jacob
Pfeffer, Morris
Pfeffer, Nathan
Phillip, Isaac
Pickus, Augusta
Pinsker, Joseph
Pishen, Dara
Pitman, Caroline
Pinsker, Joseph
Pivnick, Hyman
Plotkin, Annie
Polinar, Anna
Polinar, Jacob
Polinaz, Hiriam
Poliner, Augusta
Poliner, Ellen
Poliner, Ester
Poliner, Goldie
Poliner, Harry
Poliner, Israel
Poliner, Jacob
Poliner, Joseph
Poliner, Levi
Poliner, Max
Poliner, Sadie J.
Poliner, Samuel
Poliner, Sophia
Polloch, Pauline
Pollis, Anna
Pollock, Pauline
Press Antonette
Press, Cairy
Press, Ester
Press, Harry

Press, Max
Press, Rosa
Pressman, Arthur

R

Radack, Ada
Rafkin, Isaac
Rasnick, Simon
Reiman, Ester
Remin, Albert G.
Risen, Joseph
Rieser, Jacob
Robinowitch, Louis
Robinowitch, Ruth
Rodensky, Ruth
Rose, Samuel
Roseman, Samuel
Rosen, Annie
Rosen, William
Rosenberg, Herman
Rosenblath, Louis
Rosenfelt, Sadie
Rosenhaus, Rebecca
Rosentale, Rachel
Rosenthal, Benjamin
Rosenthal, Harris
Rosenthal, Henry
Rosenthal, Isadore
Rosenthal, Max
Rosenthal, Rachel
Rosenthal, Sadie
Rosenthal, Samuel
Rosenthal, Sara
Rosenthal, Sarah
Rosenwasser, Bertha
Rosenwater, Minnie
Rosenzwiag, Leo
Rointar, Sara
Ross, Harold L.
Rubenstein, Eva
Rubin, Julius
Ruderman, Goldie
Ruderman, Harris
Ruderman, Isaac
Ruderman, Jacob
Ruderman, Max
Ruderman, Meyer
Ruderman, Sarah
Rudinsky, Janet

Russman, Charles
Rutok, Amelia
Sabal, Dorothy
Sack, Beatrice
Sapiro, Arthur
Sapper, Herbert
Saronski, Lizzie
Savage, Abraham
Saverman, Louisa
Schector, Bella
Scherick, Mildred H.
Schlein, Abe
Schlein, Becky
Schlein, Hyman
Schlein, Louis
Schlein, Max
Schlein, Morris
Schlein, Rebecca
Schlein, Shirley
Schneir, Evelyn
Schneir, Pauline
Schneck, Minnie H.
Schnurmacher, Ada
Schondorf, Eurgenek
Schor, Paul
Schor, Sophie Leak
Schuman, Aida
Schwartz, Charles
Schwartz, Eva
Schwartz, Jacob
Schwartz, Jacob
Schwartz, Rose
Schwartz, Rosie
Scoville, Celia
Sear, Fannie
Sebor, Henry
Sedek, Rose
Segal, Abraham
Segal, Bessie
Segal, Julia
Segal, Louis
Segal, Maggie
Sehneg, Minnie
Seidelski, Celia
Sesser, Esther
Shafner, Bessie
Shapiro, Harry L.
Shapiro, Herman
Shapiro, Jacob
Shapiro, Joseph

Shapiro, Mary
Shapiro, Minnie
Shapiro, Rose
Shapiro, Sadie
Shapiro, Samuel J.
Shapiro, William
Shapner, Bessie
Shaster, Gilda
Sheftel, Sara
Sidelsky, Celia S.
Siegle, Louisa
Siegel, Maggie
Sigal, Abraham
Silberg, Rebecca
Silver, Eliza
Simons, Frank A.
Simons, Jennie S.
Simonson, Abe
Simonson, Bessie
Simonson, Edward
Simonson, Fanny
Simonson, Joseph
Simpson, Joseph
Simpson, Mary N.
Sitzkin, Lee
Skovel, Celia
Slutsky, Harry
Slutzsky, Myer
Slutsky, Rose I.
Slutsky, Sarah
Smerhoff, Pauline N.
Smolansky, Flora
Smolansky, Harvy
Smolansky, Hayman
Smolansky, Moses
Smolansky, Rosa
Snew, Anna
Sobolevsky, Dorothy
Somerflieck, Rose
Solomon, Benjamin
Solomon, Nathan
Solomon, Rose
Sopper, Fanny
Spear, Carolini E.
Spear, Charles
Spear, Cora
Spear, Gertrude
Spear, Grace E.
Spear, Herbert
Spear, Hiram A.

Spear, Isaac
Spear, Robert
Spear, Simeon
Spear, Theresa K.
Spear, William P.
Spiar, Robert
Sprinzen, Max
Star, Viola G.
Starr, Samuel
Stearn, Harriet
Stearn, Harry
Stearns, Augustus
Stearns, Edwin
Stearns, Henry O.
Stearns, Henry O.
Stearns, Henry O.
Stearns, Leopold
Stearns, Samuel
Stearns, Samuel
Stearns, Samuel
Stein, Jessie
Stein, Joseph
Steinberg, Jane
Stirn, Joseph
Straus, Leopold
Straus, Maximillian
Strauss, Benjamin
Strauss, Elizabeth
Strauss, Frederick
Strauss, Leopold
Strauss, Louis
Strauss, Max
Strauss, Morris
Strauss, Rosa M.
Strauss, Sarah
Streem, Yetta
Sukoff, Eva
Sukoff, Max
Sukoff, Ruth
Sullivan, Sarah A.
Suipror, Mary
Suisman, Minnie K.
Supove, Jacob L.
Surasky, Benjamin
Surasky, Golda
Swartz, Morris

T

Tannebum, Ida

Tannenbaum, Ester
Tavel, Joseph
Tobacco, Eva
Tobey
Tobey, Eliza
Tobey, Eva
Tobey, Jennie
Tobey, Saul Z.
Tobocco, Eva
Toby, Lea
Traher, Rose
Treager, Bessie

V

Vogel, Bertha

W

Wallace, Minnie
Wein, Rose
Weinhoff, Esther
Weinman, Charles
Weinstein, Yetta
Weisblatt, Rose
Weiss, Sadie
Weitzman
Weitzman, Charles
Weitzman, Harry
Weller, Tamarha
Wember, Ruth
Weriukoff, Ben
Sieserman, Annie
Wiesner, Henry
Wildeman, Annie
Willer, Jacob, Jr.
Willer, T.
Willinski, Lottie
Winbel, Samuel
Witenberg, Nathan
Woldman, Jacob
Wolf (infant)
Wolf, Rachel
Wolf, Sara
Wolfe, Lewis
Wolfe, Louis
Wolfe, Moses L.
Wolfe, Moses
Wolfe, Nathan
Wolfe, William

Wolff, Lena
Wolff, Rosa
Wolff, Sarah
Wolfish, Edward
Wolfson, Bessie
Wolfson, Jacob
Wallof
Wolpert, David
Wolput, David H.
Wrube, Ida
Wrubel, Arthur
Wrubel, Benjamin
Wrubel, Bernard
Wrubel, Bertha
Wrubel, Celia
Wrubel, David
Wrubel, Isaac
Wrubel, Minnie
Wrubel, Myer
Wrubel, Rachel E.
Wrubel, Samuel L.

Y

Yacowich, Louis
Yost, Jacob

Z

Zack, Harry J.
Zagorin, Lewis
Zapp, Carrie
Zavodnik, David
Zilburg, Rebecca
Zimmerman, Ida
Zimmerman, Max
Zlokower, Rose
Zommerwitzer, Frieda
Zumowitzer, Fannie