### CHAPTER IV

### THE JEWISH POPULATION OF BUFFALO, 1938

By URIAH Z. ENGELMAN

Executive Director, Bureau of Jewish Education, Buffalo

BUFFALO covers an area of 42 square miles and in 1940 ranked fourteenth in size in the United States with a population of 575,901, an increase of about 3,000 since 1930. It has a large industrial and commercial population. The state of the states of the states. Buffalo is the largest inland part in the United States, we consider the states of commerce, and one of the ten largest ports in the world.

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

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

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

merated Jewish population of 15,193. The manufacture of the third total persons or households actually interviewed, i. e., to about 85 percent of the estimated total number of Jewish households.

### Neighborhood Distribution

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

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

#### Nativity

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

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Figures for each tract are available in unpublished tables.

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

TABLE II

JEWISH POPULATION, BUFFALO, 1938, CLASSIFIED BY COUNTRY

OF BIRTH

| Country of birth   | Number                                 | Percent  |
|--|--|--|
| Total  | 14,457                                 | 100.0  |
| Native   | $\dots = \frac{7,264}{}$               | J00,0  |
| Born in Buffalo  |  | 60.6<br>39.4   |
| Foreign born   | 5,193                                  | 100,0  |
| Russja Poland Austria Canada England Germany Rumania Hungary | 795<br>310<br>202<br>171<br>171<br>149 | 60.3<br>15.3<br>6.0<br>3.9<br>3.3<br>3.3<br>2.9<br>1.9 |
| Lithuania Other countries                                    | [ 73 ]                                 | 1.4<br>1.7   |

### Sex Ratio and Age Composition

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

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

| Nativity | Male                  | Female                | Ratio of males<br>to females |
|----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| Total    | 7,472                 | 7,721                 | 96.8                         |
| Native   | 4,493<br>2,583<br>396 | 4,771<br>2,610<br>340 | 94.2<br>99.0                 |

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

TABLE IV

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

|                                     | Total population            | Jewish population, 1938          |                             |  |  |  |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|--|--|
| Age-group                           | in percent <sup>1</sup>     | Number                           | Percent                     |  |  |  |
| All ages                            | 100.0                       | *13,631                          | 100.0                       |  |  |  |
| Under 15<br>Under 5<br>5-9<br>10-14 | 9.1                         | 3,180<br>857<br>1,072<br>1,251   | 23.2<br>6.3<br>7.7<br>9.2   |  |  |  |
| 15-29                               | 25.9<br>8.7<br>8.7<br>8.5   | 4,127<br>1,429<br>1,450<br>1,248 | 30,3<br>10.5<br>10.6<br>9,2 |  |  |  |
| 30-54                               | 35.7<br>8.5<br>16.2<br>11.0 | 4,951<br>1,130<br>2,160<br>1,661 | 36.4<br>8.3<br>15.9<br>12.2 |  |  |  |
| 55 and over                         | 7.0                         | 1,373<br>861<br>422              | 10.1<br>6.3<br>3.1          |  |  |  |
| 75 and over                         | 1.2                         | 90                               | 0.7                         |  |  |  |
| Unknown                             | 0.1                         |                                  |                             |  |  |  |

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> From Fifteenth Census of the U. S., 1930, Population Bulletin, New York.

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Not including 1,561 persons whose ages were not recorded.

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

### Occupations

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

TABLE V

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

| <u>—</u>             |            |              |              |              |             |             |
|----------------------|------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| *Burphyment study,   | Total      |              | M:           | ale          | Female      |             |
|                      | Number     | Percent      | Number       | Percent      | Number      | Percent     |
| All classes          | 6,081      | 100.0        | 4,651        | 100.0        | 1,430       | 100.0       |
| Self-employed        | 5.009      | 10.7<br>82.4 | 626<br>3,819 | 13.5<br>82.1 | 24<br>1,190 | 1,7<br>83.2 |
| Temporarily employed | 103<br>319 | 1.7<br>5.2   | 51<br>155    | 1.1<br>3.3   | 52<br>164   | 3.6<br>11.5 |

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

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

|                                      | Employed persons |         |        |         |        |         |  |  |  |
|--------------------------------------|------------------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--|--|--|
| Occupation                           | To               | tal     | M      | alę     | Female |         |  |  |  |
|                                      | Number           | Percent | Number | Percent | Number | Percent |  |  |  |
| Total                                | 5,659            | 100.0   | 4,445  | 100.0   | 1,214  | 100.0   |  |  |  |
| Professional persons                 | 809              | 14.3    | 638    | 14.3    | 171    | 14.1    |  |  |  |
| Proprietors, managers and officials. | 1,465            | 25.9    | 1,430  | 32.2    | 35     | 2.9     |  |  |  |
| Clerks and kindred workers           | 2,015            | 35.6    | 1,069  | 24.0    | 946    | 77.9    |  |  |  |
| Skilled workers                      | 919              | 16.3    | 888    | 20.0    | 31     | 2.5     |  |  |  |
| Semiskilled workers                  | [7]              | 3.0     | 163    | 3.7     | 8      | 0.7     |  |  |  |
| Laborers                             | 182              | 3.2     | 171    | 3.8     | 11     | 0.9     |  |  |  |
| Public service                       | 34               | 0.6     | 34     | 0.8     |        |         |  |  |  |
| Unclassified                         | 64               | 1,1     | 52     | 1,2     | 12     | 1.0     |  |  |  |

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

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

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

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

### Household Composition

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

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

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

### TABLE VII

## SPECE SPECIFICATION

| - Company                           | Number of<br>workers |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|
| Total                               |                      |
| Tailors, dressmakers                |                      |
| Jewelry workers                     |                      |
| Mechanics                           |                      |
| Milliners                           |                      |
| Painters and paperhangers           |                      |
| Cleaners and dyers                  | _                    |
| Barbers and beauty parlor operators |                      |
| Carpenters and cabinet makers       |                      |
| Foremen, superintendents, etc       |                      |
| Bakers                              |                      |
| Contractors and builders            |                      |
| Electricians                        | 25                   |
| Printers                            |                      |
| Furriers                            |                      |
| Tinsmiths                           |                      |
| Telegraph and telephone operators   |                      |
| Shoemakers                          |                      |
| Upholsterers                        |                      |
| Watchmakers                         |                      |
| Plumbers                            |                      |
| Railroad workers                    |                      |
| Others and unclassified             |                      |

# TABLE VIII JEWS ENGAGED IN PROFESSION CLASSIFIED BY PROFESSION

| Profession                                    | Num-<br>ber | Per-<br>cent | Profession<br>(continued)  | Num-<br>her | Per-<br>cent |
|---|-------------|--------------|----------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| All professions                               | 1809        | 100.0        |                            | -           |              |
| Lawyers and judges<br>Physicians and surgeons | 173<br>101  | 21.4<br>12.5 | Engineers                  | 23          | 2.8          |
| Dentists                                      | 47          | 5.8          | designers                  | 6           | 0.7          |
| Optometrists and opti-                        | [           |              | Authors and editors        | 6           | 0.7          |
| cians   | 10          |              | Journalists and reporters. | 8 7         | 1.0          |
| Chiropodists                                  | 8           | 1.0          |                            |             | 0.9          |
| Teachers                                      | 167         | 20.7         | Musicians                  | 30          | 3.7          |
| Social workers                                | 30          | 3.7          | Entertainers               | 5           | 0.6          |
| Librarians                                    | 11          | 1.4          | Accountants, auditors and  |             |              |
| Nurses  |             | 1.1          | statisticians              | 23          | 2.8          |
| Chemists                                      | 16          | 2.0          | Miscellaneous              | 29          | 3.6          |
| Pharmacists                                   | 100         | 12.4         |                            | <u>'</u>    |              |

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Includes 171 women, of whom 101 were teachers, 24 social workers, 9 librarians, 9 nurses, 4 lawyers, 3 physicians.

### Size of Family

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

TABLE IX

COMPLETED\* JEWISH FAMILIES, BUFFALO, 1938,

CLASSIFIED BY NATIVITY OF PARENTS AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN

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

<sup>\*</sup> Parents married 19 years or more.

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

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

<sup>\*</sup> Parents married less than 19 years.

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

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

TABLE XI

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

|   | Me              | an numbe<br>children       | r of                        | Median number of children |                            |                             |
|---|-----------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Nativity of parents   | All<br>families | Com-<br>pleted<br>families | Incom-<br>plete<br>families | Ail<br>families           | Com-<br>pleted<br>families | Incom-<br>plete<br>families |
| All families  | 2.4             | 3.3                        | 1.4                         | 1.9                       | 3.0                        | 1.4                         |
| Both parents native  Both parents foreign-born One native, one foreign-born | 3.1             | 2,2<br>3.7<br>2.3          | 1,1<br>1.8<br>1.4           | 1.3<br>2.8<br>1.6         | 2,0<br>3.4<br>2.2          | l.1<br>1.7<br>1.4           |

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

In comparison with 4.6 as the average number of children in American Jewish families in 1890, found in a study of 10,618 scattered Jewish families,<sup>2</sup> these figures for Buffalo showed an almost 50 percent decrease in the size of the Jewish family in less than five decades. Small as the Buffalo Jewish family was, however, it was probably larger than the average family in bigger industrial centers. A study of Chicago families in 1920, which included "beginnings and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> A study by the Surgeon General of the United States: Vital Statistics of Jews in the United States, Census Bulletin, no. 19, December 30, 1890.

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

### Declining Size of Family

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

TABLE XII

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

| 77 1 6 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 | Paternal gra | ndparents |
|--|--------------|-----------|
| Number of children per family            | Foreign born | Native    |
| Total                                    | 1,386        | 90        |
| 1  | 17           | 4         |
| 2  | 67           | 25        |
| 3  | 134          | 24        |
| 4  | 175          | 9         |
| 5,,,,                                    | 231          | 9         |
| 6  | 226          | 11        |
| 7  | 158          | 4         |
| 8,                                       | 161          | $\bar{2}$ |
| 9  | 78           |           |
| 10                                       | 49           | î         |
| 1  | 20           | - Î       |
| 2 or more                                | 70           |           |
| Median                                   | 5.8          | 3.2       |

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Day, Monroe, Chicago Families, A Study of Unpublished Census Data (1920 Census) (Chicago 1932),

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

### Family Size and Occupation of Father

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

TABLE XIII

JANUARI DE LA COLLEGA DE CHILDREN

ON MEADE AND MIMBER OF CHILDREN

| Number of children<br>per family | Heads of Jewish families |                    |             |                                      |  |  |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|-------------|--------------------------------------|--|--|
|                                  | Professional men         | Skilled workers    | Busincasmen | Semiskilled and<br>unskilled workers |  |  |
| Total                            | 213                      | 542                | 1,809       | 157                                  |  |  |
| None                             | 52                       | 91                 | 192         | 17                                   |  |  |
| 1<br>2                           | 66<br>65                 | 114<br><b>1</b> 49 | 420<br>552  | 24<br>54                             |  |  |
| 3                                | 19                       | 91<br>  45         | 307<br>155  | 30<br>17                             |  |  |
| 5                                |                          | 28                 | 89          | 8                                    |  |  |
| 7                                | 1 2                      | 15 6               | 50<br>25    |                                      |  |  |
| 8<br>9                           | 2                        | 2                  | 13<br>3     |                                      |  |  |
| 10 or more                       | • • •                    |                    | 3           | 2                                    |  |  |
| Median                           | 1.4                      | 1.9                | 2.0         | 2.2                                  |  |  |

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

### Age at Marriage

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

TABLE XIV

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

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

<sup>\*</sup> The socio-economic grouping of the present generation heads of families is the basis for the grouping of the grandparents.

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

TABLE XV

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

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

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

For the completed families the range in median age of husbands at marriage (excluding the retired and unknown) was from 24½ for artisans to 24 for businessmen; and for the wives from approximately 22½ for wives of professional men to 21 for wives of businessmen. For the incomplete families (excluding the retired and unknown) the professional men and their wives had the highest median age at marriage, approximately 27 and 23½, respectively, and the semiskilled and unskilled workers and their wives the lowest, approximately 24½ and 22, respectively.

TABLE XVI

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

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

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

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

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

### Summary

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