

Lebn Zol Datn (לעבן זאל דאָטן)

A Retrospective Census of Jewish Pottstownians in 1910 and 1930

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Section I: Introduction

The goal of this paper is to explore Pottstown's Jewish community at its height, with a focus on 1910 and 1930. There is also the additional goal of understanding overlapping Jewish and African-American geographies in the "Chicken Hill" neighborhood that is the subject of *The Heaven and Earth Grocery Store*, a bestselling 2023 novel by James McBride. The thrust of this paper attempts to build a "model" methodology for small to medium sized Jewish communities like Pottstown in order to better understand American Jewish history.

Section II: Background

Located in the lower Schuylkill River Valley about an hour's drive from Philadelphia, the borough of Pottstown, PA, is a small city of 23,433 people tucked away in western Montgomery County.¹ It was one of the nation's first planned cities, laid out by John Potts in 1753, and it was incorporated as a borough in 1815.² The arrival of the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad in 1842 heralded the borough's industrial revolution, with capital-intensive iron and steel works being the dominant industries.³ Like many "Rust Belt" cities, Pottstown's population grew rapidly during the late 19th and early 20th Centuries, increasing from 1,664 to 22,589 between 1850 and 1950. The population then peaked at 26,144 in 1960 before falling by 16.49% over the next thirty years as the engines of Pottstown's economy, most notably Bethlehem Steel Co., laid off thousands of employees amidst long-run uncompetitiveness.⁴ Population growth only returned in the 21st Century, with average annual growth of 0.36% between 2000 and 2020.⁵

Pottstown's Jewish community is (somewhat obviously) inseparable from this context. The borough's first Jewish residents established themselves in the 1840s and 50s following the

¹ U.S. Census Bureau, Decennial Census, 2020, Table P1, generated by Jacob Rosewater, using data.census.gov, (13 May, 2024).

² Theodore W Bean, ed., *History of Montgomery County, PA*, (Philadelphia, PA: Everts & Peck, 1884), 115.

³ *Ibid.*, 115, 568-569.

⁴ J.D.B. DeBow, *The Seventh Census of the United States*, U.S. Census Bureau, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853), <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1853/dec/1850a.html>; Howard G Brunsman, *The Seventeenth Census of the United States*, U.S. Census Bureau, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1952), <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1952/dec/population-vol-01.html>; Howard G Brunsman, *The Eighteenth Census of the United States*, U.S. Census Bureau, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1964), <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1961/dec/population-vol-01.html>; Snyder Michael, "When Pottstown Was an Industrial Giant," *The Mercury*, August 31, 2017, <https://www.pottsmmerc.com/2017/08/31/when-pottstown-was-an-industrial-giant/>; Susan M Miskura, *1990 Census of Population: General Population Characteristics*, U.S. Census Bureau, vol. CP-4 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1992), <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1992/dec/cp-1.html>.

⁵ Charles Lewis Kincannon, *2000 Census of Population and Housing: Population and Housing Unit Counts*, U.S. Census Bureau, vol. PHC-3 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, 2003), <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2003/dec/phc-3.html>; U.S. Census Bureau, Decennial Census, 2020, Table P1, generated by Jacob Rosewater, using data.census.gov, (13 May, 2024).

railroad's completion, but true population growth only began after 1880 (table 1). The Hesed Shel Emet (Mercy & Truth) congregation was then created in 1892 alongside a synagogue on Hale St, in the 10th Ward.⁶ Later, in 1925, the congregation moved to the 5th Ward at the corner of High St. & Warren St. before building a new synagogue (now the Bethel AME Community Church of Pottstown) on Keim St. in 1963.⁷ The American Jewish Year Book records a stagnant population thereafter, with a sharp drop in new burials after 2010 suggesting an aging community in the later half of the 20th Century (table 1, fig. 1).

Section III: Methodology

The thrust of this paper's methodology is threefold, with the author [1] using publicly available data from findagrave.com to create a dataset of 471 individuals buried at either of Pottstown's two Jewish cemeteries;⁸ [2] cross-referencing these data with the 1910 and 1930 censuses on ancestry.com to create preliminary datasets made up of all Pottstownians buried at the aforementioned cemeteries and their direct relatives; and [3] creating final population estimates by adding all Yiddish speakers not yet accounted for to the preliminary datasets alongside their direct relatives.⁹ Only people living in Pottstown proper were included in these estimates, with those living in "the Pottsgroves" not counted.

Data on Jewish, Black, and foreign born Pottstownians was then aggregated and mapped at the ward-level in both 1910 and 1930 (fig. 2, fig. 3, fig. 4).¹⁰ The same is true for population density, which was mapped at the ward level for both censuses (fig. 5). Jewish households from the 1930 Census were also cross-referenced with the 1925 Sanborn Fire Maps in order to match each household to an exact address (fig. 6, fig. 7).¹¹ The same methodology was used to map Black, Italian, Greek, and American Indian households in the 5th Ward to exact addresses, thereby enabling the author to identify ethnic enclaves in Chicken Hill, which encompassed both Ward 5 and parts of Wards 7 and 10 (fig. 8).¹² All other data, including birthplace, occupation, and

⁶ "Our History," Congregation Hesed Shel Emet, accessed February 3, 2024, <https://www.hesedshelemet.com/who-we-are>.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ These cemeteries are the Congregation Mercy & Truth Cemetery and the Hanawas Sachem Cemetery, the latter of which is actually located just north of Pottstown, in West Pottsgrove.

⁹ Two other families, the Browns and the Raubfogels, were added to the datasets because the head of household and/or their spouse was buried at a Jewish cemetery in Philadelphia. No other similar cases were identified, albeit not due to lack of effort.

¹⁰ Pottstown's ward boundaries did not change between 1910 and 1930, but the "west ward" had its name changed to the "first ward" at some point during this period (hereinafter "Ward 1" or "the 1st Ward").

¹¹ The Gill household's two individuals were not able to be mapped to an exact address, and another twelve households were matched to an exact address, albeit by looking at modern addresses when nothing in the 1925 maps matched the 1930 Census addresses.

¹² Lawrence E Cohen and Norman B Cohen, *Chicken Hill Chronicle: Memoir of a Jewish Family*, Google Books (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris US, 2011), https://www.google.com/books/edition/Chicken_Hill_Chronicle/XOuM1pA39vsC?hl=en&gbpv=0.

language data, were directly aggregated from the 1910 and 1930 Censuses. All maps were created using ESRI Geographic Information Systems (GIS) software.

Section IV: Findings

This paper's findings are split into three sections: [1] Summary Statistics, [2] Jewish Population Characteristics, and [3] Chicken Hill: A Geodemographic Profile. The first section will review data for Pottstown as a whole in 1910 and 1930. The second section will focus on the borough's Jewish population, with the author presenting data on where Jews immigrated from, what jobs they worked, and why they chose to live where they did. The final section will discuss Chicken Hill, utilizing household level data from the 5th Ward in combination with other data from the surrounding 7th and 10th Wards. The African-American community will be given particular attention since its interaction with the Jewish community is a main focus of *The Heaven and Earth Grocery Store*.

Section 4.1. Summary Statistics

Section 4.1.1. Immigration Statistics

Tables 2, 3, and 4 contain borough and ward-level immigration statistics for Pottstown. Table 2 aggregates "native tongue" data for all foreign born Pottstownians in 1930 while tables 3 and 4 split 1910 Census data into a "country of birth" table and an "inferred nationality" table. The author chose to do this because [a] the 1910 Census only collected "native tongue" data on foreign born residents who could not speak English, meaning that a direct comparison to 1930 would be misleading, and [b] nationality and statehood did not neatly align with one another, so it would be a mistake to uncritically use "birthplace" data to infer nationality.¹³

At the borough level, these tables reveal sustained immigration from Austria-Hungary and its successor states — especially Slovakia. The evidence is twofold, with [1] the 1910 Census showing that a majority (54.47%) of foreign born Pottstownians were born in Austria-Hungary, of whom 35-44% were Slovak;¹⁴ and [2] a plurality (17.42%) of foreign born Pottstownians recording Slovak as their native language in the 1930 Census (table 2, table 3, table 4). A significant number of Austro-Hungarian immigrants were also German, comprising 16.8% of all German Pottstownians according to the 1910 Census (table 3, table 4). It is unknown whether these

¹³ For example, it would be misleading to categorize all Slovakian, Hungarian, and Transylvania German immigrants as simply "Hungarian." It is nonetheless possible to delineate between these groups in the 1910 Census as birthplace data was often supplemented with information on a person's nationality (e.g. many Slovakian immigrants had their birthplace labeled as "Hungary Slo." or "Hungary Slovak"). The Census taker in the 6th Ward also (annoyingly) used "Slovak" and "Slavish" interchangeably, with the latter being a general term for all Slavic speaking people that often, but not always, referred to Slovakian immigrants in the 1910 Census (Goldenweiser).

¹⁴ If only "Slovak" Pottstownians are counted as such, then Slovaks represent 35% of all Austro-Hungarian immigrants in 1910. If "Slavish" immigrants are also counted as Slovak, then that number rises to 44% (see footnote 13).

immigrants were Transylvania Germans, Austrian Germans, Sudetenland Germans, or from elsewhere in the Empire.

Mediterranean immigration also played a large role during the period of study, with the 1930 Census revealing 211 Italian, 54 Greek, 12 Spanish, and 11 Arabic¹⁵ speaking foreign born Pottstownians (table 2). Twelve Turkish immigrants also appear in the 1910 Census, comprising 34.3% of Ottoman immigrants (table 3, table 4). None of these immigrants appear to have been Jewish, but some may have been Muslim.¹⁶

Section 4.1.2. Racial Minorities

Table 5 shows Pottstown's Black population over time (1850 - 1950) and table 6 lists all Asian and Native American Pottstownians from 1900 through 1950.¹⁷ Ward level data for Black Pottstownians is found in figure 3 and table 7 while figure 9 aggregates Black birthplace data by state, as recorded in the 1930 Census.

Taken together, these tables show that racial minorities, including Black, Asian, and Native Americans, have long called Pottstown home. The borough's role in the 1st Great Migration (1900 - 1940) is also illuminated. While Black Pottstownians from the "Tidewater" states of Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware went from being 83% to 50% of all out-of-state Black migrants between 1910 and 1930, "Deep South" migrants born in Georgia and the Carolinas went from representing 0% to 40% of the same total during the same period. It thus appears that chains of Black emigration to Pottstown expanded southward over time.¹⁸

Section 4.1.3. Jewish Statistics

The methodology in Section 3 of this paper enabled the researcher to estimate Pottstown's Jewish population at 229 in 1910 and 378 in 1930.¹⁹ This means that the borough was 1.47% and 1.95% Jewish in 1910 and 1930, respectively. Table 7 and figure 2 contain ward-level data on Jewish Pottstownians in both 1910 and 1930 while the exact addresses of Jewish households in 1930 are mapped in figures 6 and 7 — which will be discussed in Section 4.2.

Section 4.2. Jewish Population Characteristics

Section 4.2.1. Specific Immigrant Origin


¹⁵ Includes native-born "Syrian" speakers since this is today considered a dialect of Arabic.

¹⁶ I found no evidence one way or the other, although some were buried in a Catholic cemetery and some others were buried at the secular Edgewood cemetery.

¹⁷ Only the 1930 Census lists any Pottstownians as being "American Indian" (table 7).

¹⁸ This makes sense in light of recent research into Italian and Ashkenazi emigration to the U.S., which shows that "migration networks" emanate away from "migration hubs" like ports and shared borders. Such networks provide a "supply of migration" that is a necessary but not sufficient condition for emigration (Spitzer & Zimran, Spitzer).

¹⁹ The author also collected 1870 Census Data on the 21 Jews who lived in Pottstown at that time, representing 0.51% of the total population. These data are of secondary importance to this paper, however.



Like Pottstown's immigrant population in general, most foreign born Jewish Pottstownians were born in Austria-Hungary. Evidence for this is found in both the 1910 and 1930 Censuses, with the former showing that 67.5% of immigrant Jews were born in Austria-Hungary and the latter listing 42.5% of Jewish Pottstownians as having a mother born in either Czechoslovakia, Hungary, or Austria (read: Galicia). This is unlike American Jewry as a whole since only 20% of Jewish immigrants arrived from Austria-Hungary between 1870 and 1914.²⁰

Russian and German Jews were also notable in Pottstown, with the former going from 28% to 37% of the foreign born Jewish population between 1910 and 1930 and the latter representing 88% (8 out of 9) of foreign born Jews in 1870. An additional 18% of Jewish Pottstownians listed a German born mother in the 1910 Census. No Sephardic or Mizrahi Jews appear to have lived in Pottstown during the period of study, although the absence of evidence should not be taken as evidence of absence.

Additional data was collected on twenty-one Jewish immigrants who both arrived at Ellis Island between 1907 and 1940 and listed Pottstown, PA as their final destination. These data, found in table 8, show that while many Jewish immigrants arrived from Hungary and Slovakia, others emigrated directly from the Russian Empire or were second generation migrants moving to the United States from the United Kingdom.²¹ These data should be taken with a grain of salt, however, as many Jewish Pottstownians likely arrived through the Port of Philadelphia, whose immigration records are relatively inaccessible.

Section 4.2.2. Jewish Life in Pottstown

Most Jewish Pottstownians lived in the 4th and 5th Wards, which accounted for 51.5% and 36.7% of the borough's Jewish population in 1910 and 1930, respectively (fig. 2, table 7). Address specific data in figure 6 makes it clear that the highest area of Jewish density was Chicken Hill, which encompassed the 5th Ward and its immediate surroundings (fig. 6). The explanation for this clustering lies in overlapping walksheds, with apparel manufacturers playing a crucial role in combination with religious and secular institutions.²² This is best illustrated in figure 7, which shows that two-thirds of Jewish Pottstownians lived within the ¼-mile walkshed of at least one of the following buildings in 1930: [a] the Old Hale St. Synagogue (1892 - 1925), [b] the New High St.

²⁰ Oscar Handlin and Mary Flug Handlin, "A Century of Jewish Immigration to the United States," *The American Jewish Year Book*, 50 (1948): 12, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23603332>.

²¹ While the specifics are unknown, it is probable that Jewish emigration from the U.K to the U.S. was likely due to the passage of the Aliens Act of 1905 — explicitly intended to curtail Jewish immigration — and the stipulation in the Naturalization Act of 1870 (and the subsequent British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act of 1914) that "the wife of an alien shall be deemed to be an alien" (Pellew, Baldwin).

²² Since the 1880 Census reveals that three of Pottstown's four original Jewish families lived in the 1st Ward (the Weizenkorns, Hessels, and Millers), new Jewish immigrants must not have followed German-Jews. It cannot be known from Census data alone whether Jews directly moved to the 4th and 5th Wards upon arrival (rather than moving from the 1st Ward to the 4th & 5th Wards) as the 1890 Census was destroyed in a fire.

Synagogue (1925 - 1963),²³ [c] the Hebrew School at 451 High St., [d] the S. Liebowitz & Sons Shirt Factory,²⁴ and [e] Jefferson Elementary School (fig. 7).²⁵

In terms of employment, the overwhelming majority of Jews worked jobs in the service sector. Retail alone accounted for 40.5% and 60.6% of Jewish employment in 1910 and 1930, respectively, with about two-thirds of retail employment being in the clothing and food (groceries, confectionaries, etc.) sectors in both years. As mentioned in footnote twenty-four, the apparel industry dominated manufacturing employment among Jews, accounting for 21.6% and 64.0% of total and factory employment among Jews in 1910, respectively. This is unlike Pottstown as a whole, wherein the dominant industries were related to iron and steel production.²⁶

One result of service sector dominance appears to have been social mobility, with Jewish families moving to larger houses in proto-streetcar suburbs along High Street in the 6th and 7th Wards by 1930 (fig. 6). Jews who lived in these wards (97.4% of whom lived within a ¼-mile of the High St. trolley line) were significantly more likely to work in the service sector than Jews in other wards, and they were also more likely to have access to a radio, own their own home, and be native-born U.S. citizens (table 9).^{27, 28} This suggests that store owners and their families had more consistent incomes and were able to enjoy a higher material standard of living as a result. Since walking to work would not have been feasible (assuming that most stores were located in downtown Pottstown), it is probable that many of these Jews were making daily commutes into town by the aforementioned High St. trolley.

Section 4.3. Chicken Hill: A Geodemographic Profile

Most of Chicken Hill was located in Pottstown's 5th Ward, which was 4.44% Jewish, 3.96% Black, and 5.96% foreign born in 1930 (table 7). As mentioned in Section 3, the exact addresses

²³ Both the old and new synagogues were included in this analysis since Pottstown's congregation moved to the High St. location only five years prior to the 1930 Census (i.e. the author is accounting for potential lag).

²⁴ Census data shows that 21.6% and 10.3% of the Jewish labor force worked for clothing manufacturers in 1910 and 1930, respectively, with 55.0% of Jewish industrial workers at the S. Liebowitz & Sons Shirt Factory in 1930. This is revealed by the 1925 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, which show the Liebowitz factory as the only shirt/skirt factory in Pottstown. The same is not true in 1910, with four different shirt/skirt manufacturers listed in the 1909 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps.

²⁵ *May 1925, Pottstown, Pa., map, Pottstown, Including South Pottstown, Pottstown Landing, Stowe, Sanatoga, Sanatoga Park, Ringing Rocks Park, Pine Forge and Colebrookdale, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, May 1925*, Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps (New York, NY: Sanborn Map Company, 1925), <https://digital.libraries.psu.edu/digital/collection/maps1/id/28419/rec/7>; Lawrence E Cohen and Norman B Cohen, *Chicken Hill Chronicle: Memoir of a Jewish Family*, Google Books (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris US, 2011), lxi, https://www.google.com/books/edition/Chicken_Hill_Chronicle/XOuM1pA39vsC?hl=en&gbpv=0; 1930 U.S. Census, Pottstown, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, *Ancestry.com*.

²⁶ Snyder Michael, "When Pottstown Was an Industrial Giant."

²⁷ This is one difference with the narrative presented in *The Heaven and Earth Grocery Store*, which suggests that Jews were moving "off the Hill" and into downtown (McBride 17). In truth, it appears that Jews were probably moving further "up" the hill into proto-suburbia around this time. The benefit of this was that Jews did not have to live in neighborhoods dominated by "WASPs" while still enjoying more space and a higher quality of life.

²⁸ Nathaniel C Guest, *Trolleys of Pottstown*, April 16, 2024.

of all Jewish, Black, Greek, Italian, and American Indian households were mapped for Ward 5 using 1930 Census data, underscoring local concentrations (fig. 8). Of particular note is the concentration of Black Pottstownians, 76.7% of whom lived in row houses between 526 and 572 Walnut St. The 1910 Census lists the residents of these houses as being 28.9% Black, 26.9% Mixed Race, and 46.2% White, making it one of the most diverse blocks in the borough. Since nearly all households living at 526-572 Walnut St. were recorded as Black in the 1930 Census, it is probable that more Black Pottstownians moved to the development over time. Some interesting residents in 1930 include [a] Carrie (Evans) deLeon (1880-1936), a Black woman born in Virginia who married a Spanish-speaking Cuban immigrant named Alphonzo deLeon (1880-1933) before moving to Pottstown in 1910,^{29, 30} and [b] Susan A. Bull (1867-1947), a member of one of Pottstown's oldest Black families. Her father in law, Richard Bull Sr. (1835-1913), opened a barbershop in Pottstown in the 1870s and was elected 2nd Vice President of the Old Reliable Club of Pennsylvania — an organization which “actively promoted Black baseball.”^{31, 32}

The residence at 614 Walnut Street, a block over from the predominantly African-American development at 526-572 Walnut St., also stands out as it was home to eight unrelated Greek Pottstownians, seven of whom were lodgers. We also find the Wilkinson household next door at 623 Walnut St., which was listed as White in the 1920 Census, Native American in the 1930 Census, and Black in the 1940 Census (fig. 8). The 1930 Census also records that Lavington Wilkinson, the head of household, had parents born in Germany. This is somewhat confusing, but it could suggest that the Wilkinsons were a mixed-race household.

Lastly, with respect to the 5th Ward's Italian and Jewish communities, we find concentrations on King St. and Beech St., respectively. The latter may not be entirely obvious based on figure 8, but we find in figure 6 that a significant number of Jewish households in the 10th Ward were located on the border with the 5th Ward on Beech St. It nonetheless appears that Jewish households within Chicken Hill were dispersed relatively evenly, which might explain why the neighborhood is remembered as Jewish despite less than 5% of residents actually being Jews themselves. The Southern European residents of Chicken Hill are also notable, with their

²⁹ For unknown reasons, Alphonzo deLeon is not listed as living with Carrie deLeon in either the 1920 or 1930 Censuses. The Mercury's obituary for Carrie does say that she was his widow, however. More research is needed.

³⁰ “Mrs. Carrie deLeon [Obituary],” *The Mercury*, June 1, 1936, <https://www.newspapers.com/>; 1910 United States Census, Pottstown, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, digital image s.v. “Carrie deLeon,” Ancestry.com.

³¹ 1930 United States Census, Pottstown, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, digital image s.v. “Susan A. Bull,” Ancestry.com; “Announcements (Deaths), Bull,” *The Mercury*, May 10, 1947, <https://www.newspapers.com/>; 1880 United States Census, Pottstown, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, digital image s.v. “Richard J. Bull,” Ancestry.com; “The Old Reliable Club of Pennsylvania,” *The State Journal*, October 1884, <https://www.ancestry.com>; James E Brunson III, *Black Baseball: 1858 - 1900*, Google Books (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company Inc., 2019), 217, <https://books.google.com/books?id=NjOODwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

³² Richard Bull Sr. may or may not have served in the 42nd Regiment Missouri Infantry during the Civil War. The reason I did not say this explicitly is because the records are somewhat contradictory and I could not find anything about the 42nd Regiment being a Black regiment or having Black soldiers. The person listed in the 42nd Regiment is named Richard T. Bull and no race is specified. Pottstown's Richard Bull Sr. is listed as Richard T. Bull in the 1880 Census but Richard Y. Bull on his death certificate. It is thus unclear what exactly happened.

presence in combination with the arrival of Jewish and Black residents painting a picture of Pottstown as being at the center of simultaneous waves of in-migration from the American South, Eastern Europe, and Mediterranean Europe.

Section V: Conclusion

This paper represents the culmination of four months of research utilizing primary sources almost exclusively. Despite the extra work, it is hoped that the reader will come away from this paper with an appreciation for Pottstown's social dynamism in the early 20th Century. The narrative presented herein is nonetheless a general one, which means that it is insufficient to capture the nuances of Pottstown's history. Future researchers are therefore encouraged to use the tables, figures, and appendices attached to this paper as a resource for more and better work. Crafting history is necessarily an iterative process, after all.

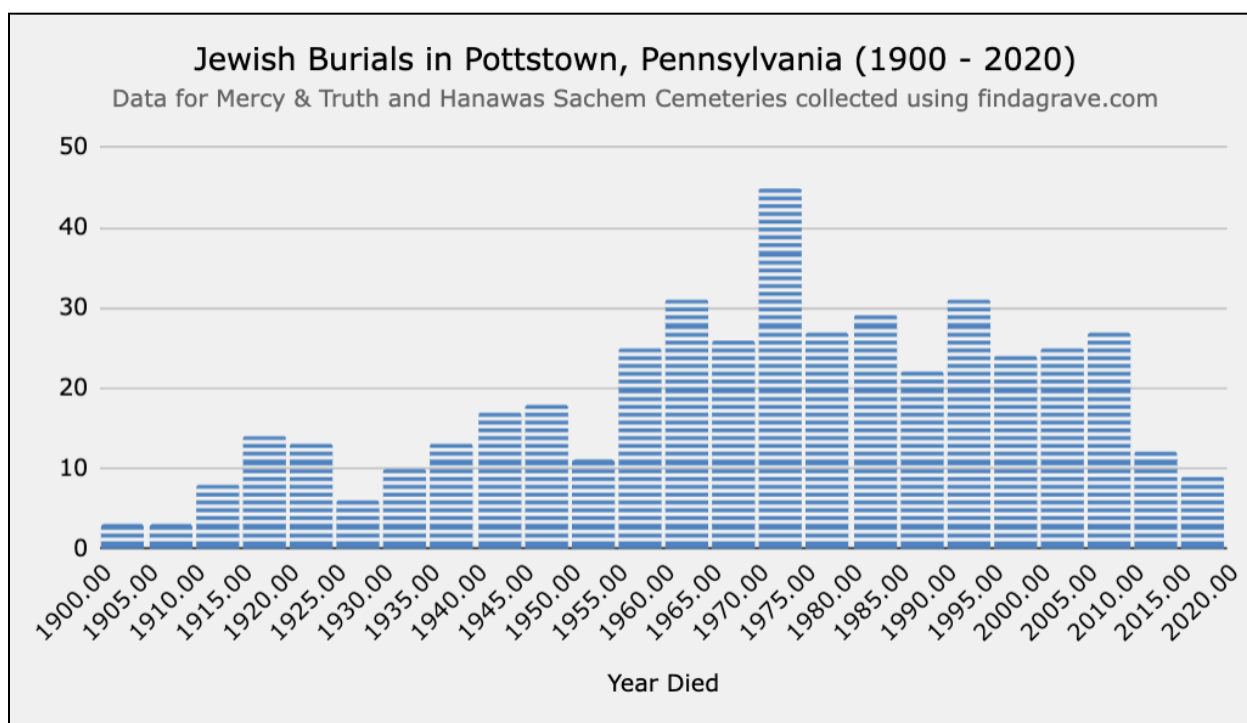


Fig. 1. Histogram of Jewish Burials in Pottstown, PA, as Measured by Year of Death on Grave. Data collected from the Mercy & Truth and Hanawas Sachem Cemeteries using findagrave.com. Figure created by the author, using Google Sheets.

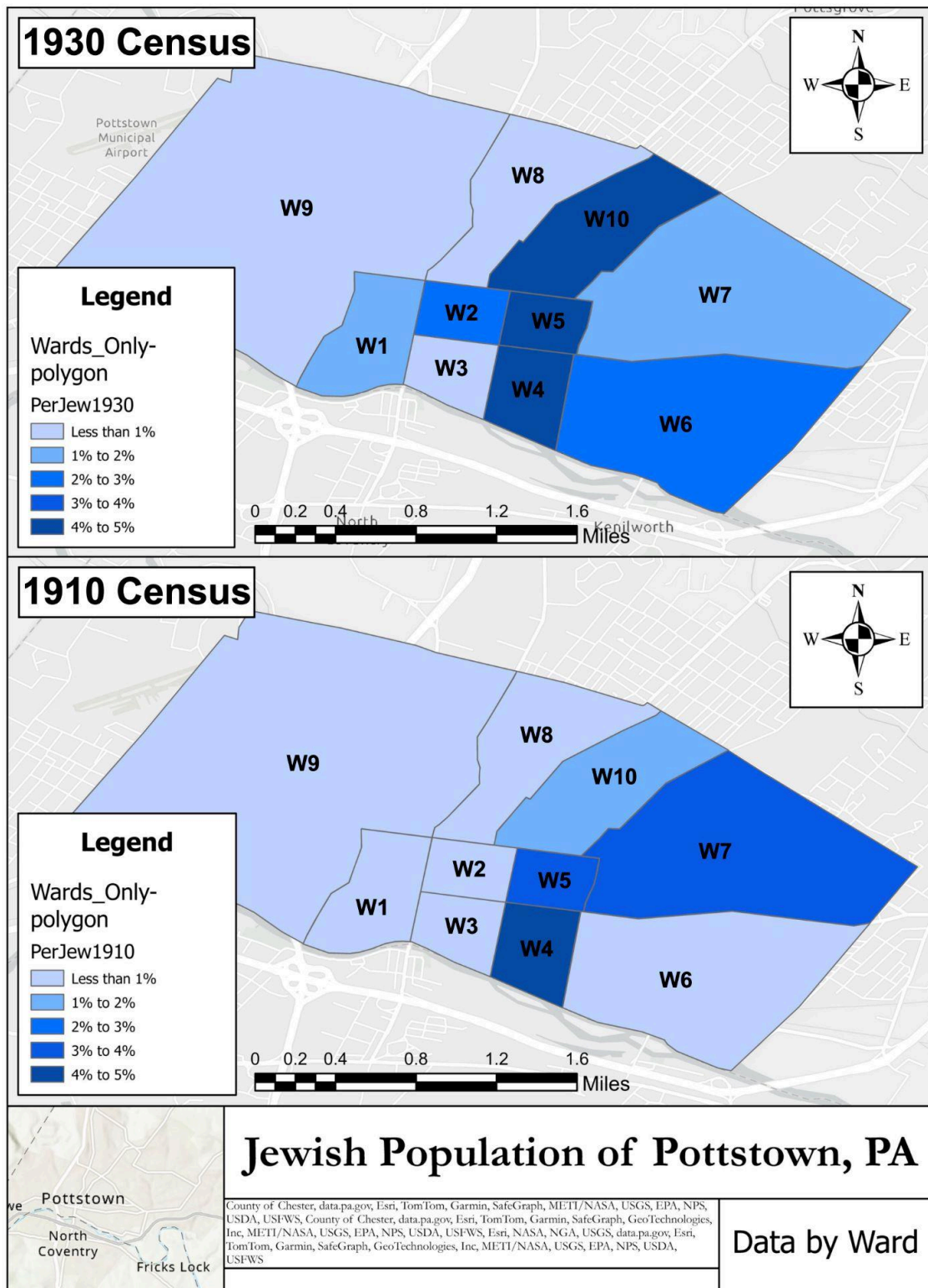


Fig. 2. Jewish Population in 1910 and 1930 by Ward (Percent of Total Population), for the borough of Pottstown, Pennsylvania. Figure created by the author, using ArcGIS Pro.

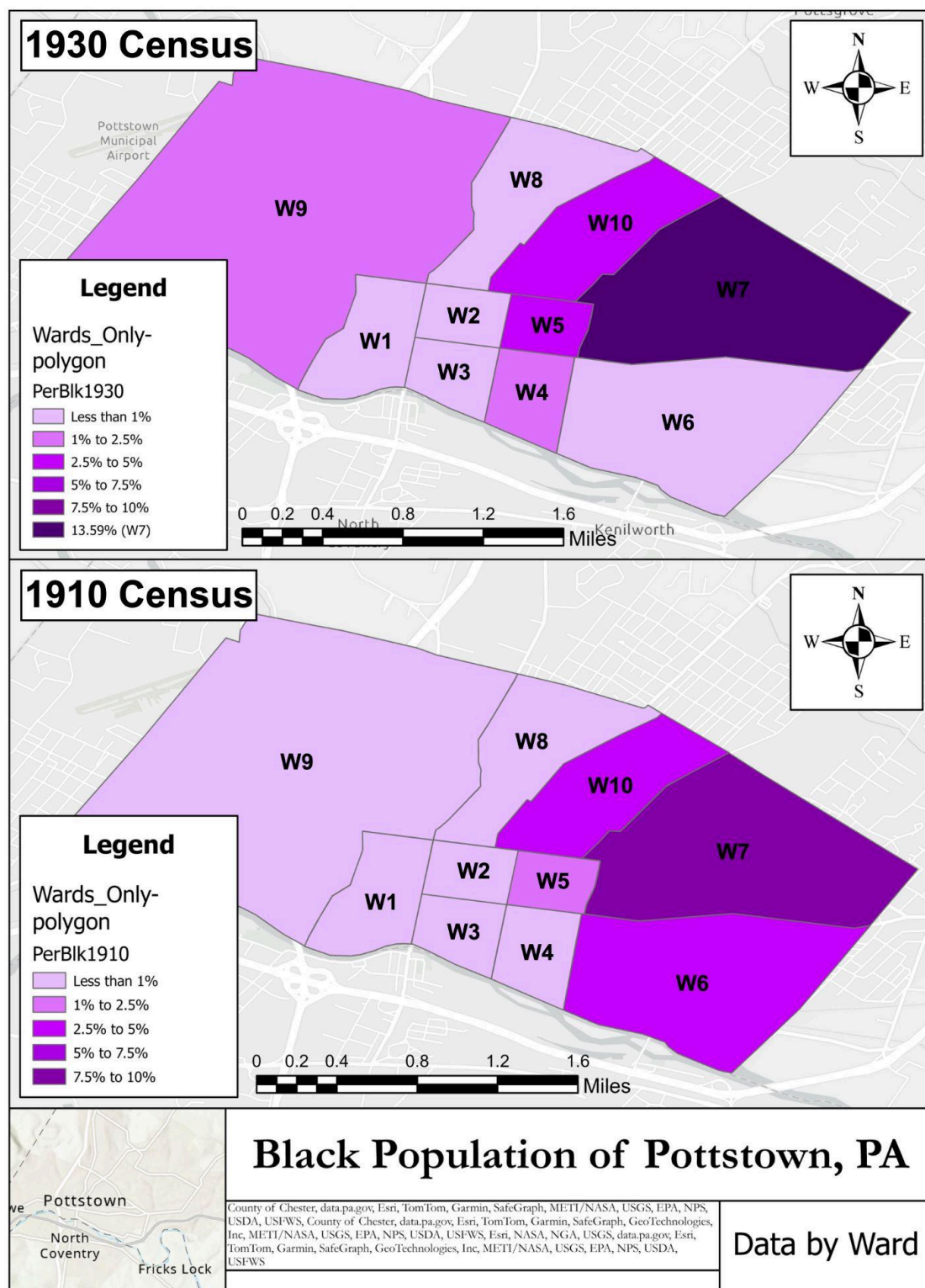


Fig. 3. Black Population in 1910 and 1930 by Ward (Percent of Total Population), for the borough of Pottstown, Pennsylvania. Figure created by the author, using ArcGIS Pro.

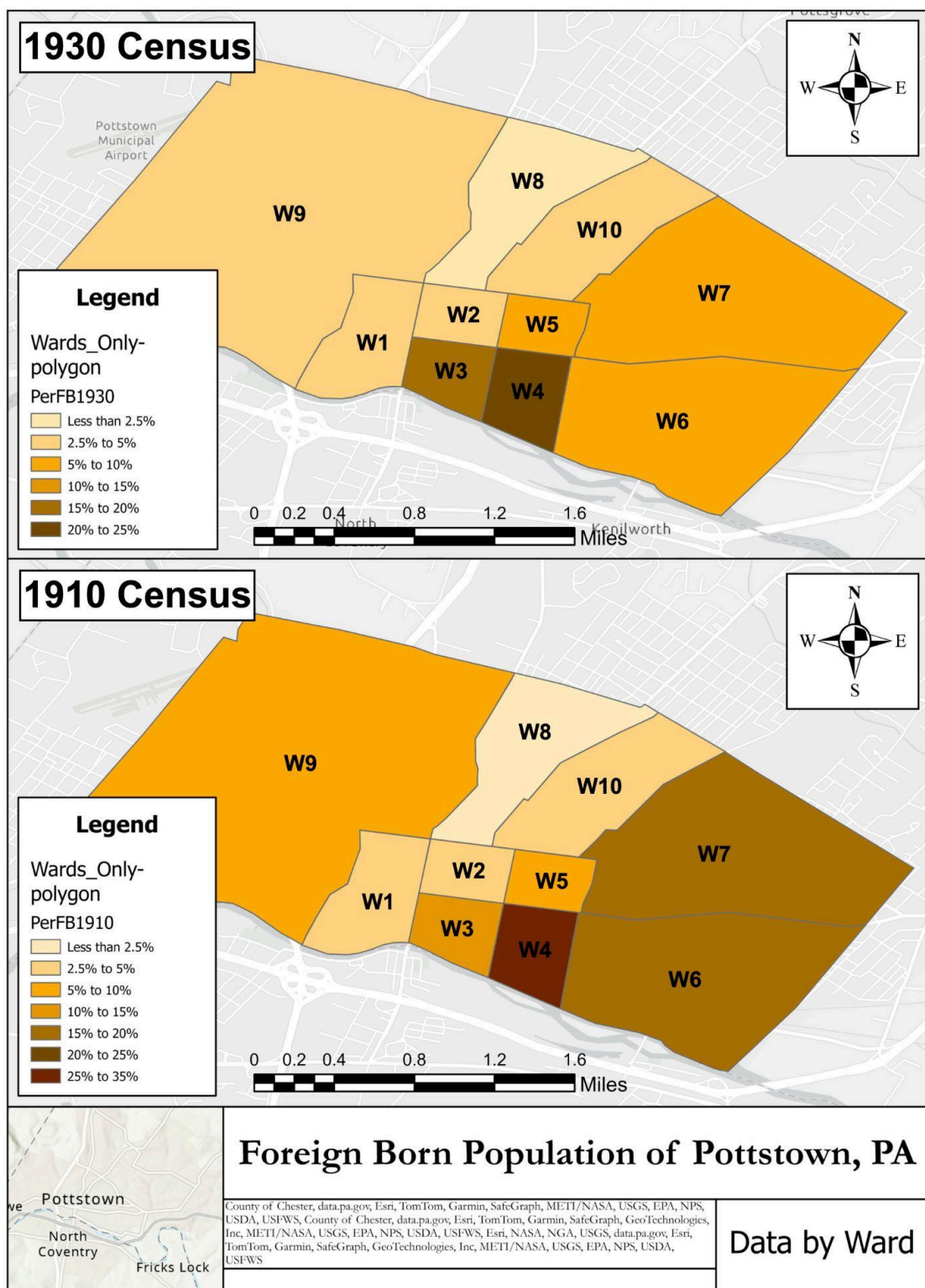


Fig. 4. Foreign Born Population in 1910 and 1930 by Ward (Percent of Total Population), for the borough of Pottstown, Pennsylvania. Figure created by the author, using ArcGIS Pro.

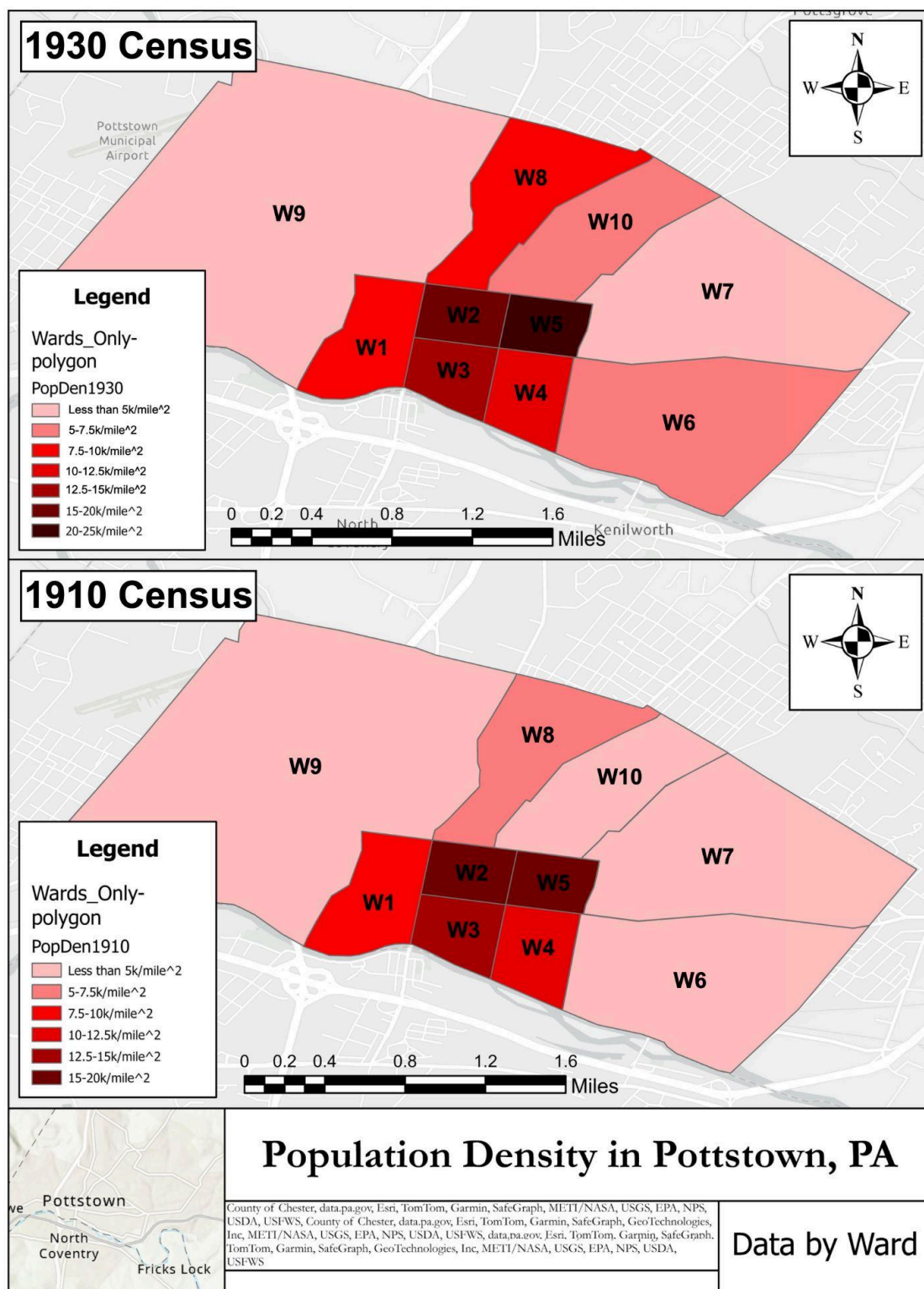


Fig. 5. Population Density in 1910 and 1930 by Ward, for the borough of Pottstown, Pennsylvania. Figure created by the author, using ArcGIS Pro.

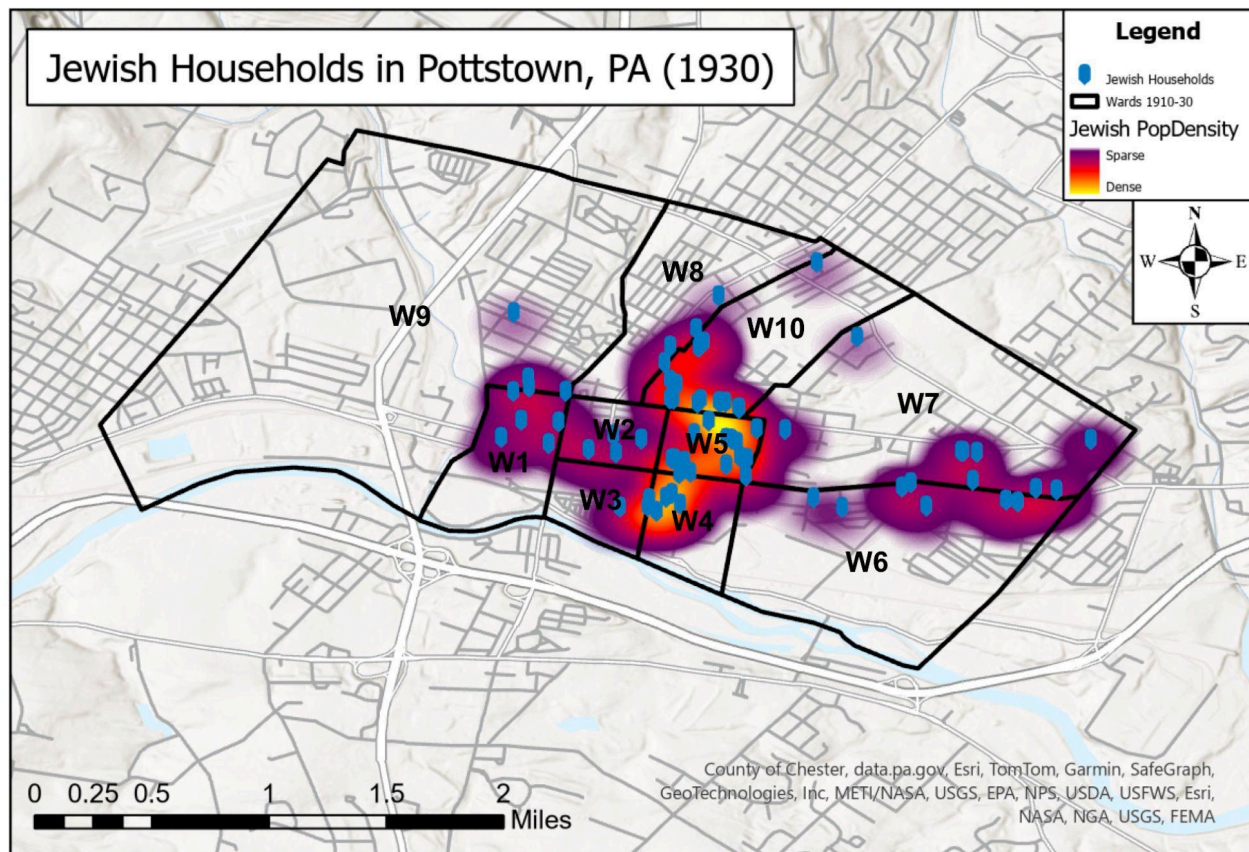


Fig. 6. Exact Addresses of Jewish Households in 1930 in the borough of Pottstown, Pennsylvania. Data collected from the 1930 Census and 1925 Sanborn Fire Maps. Figure created by the author, using ArcGIS Pro.

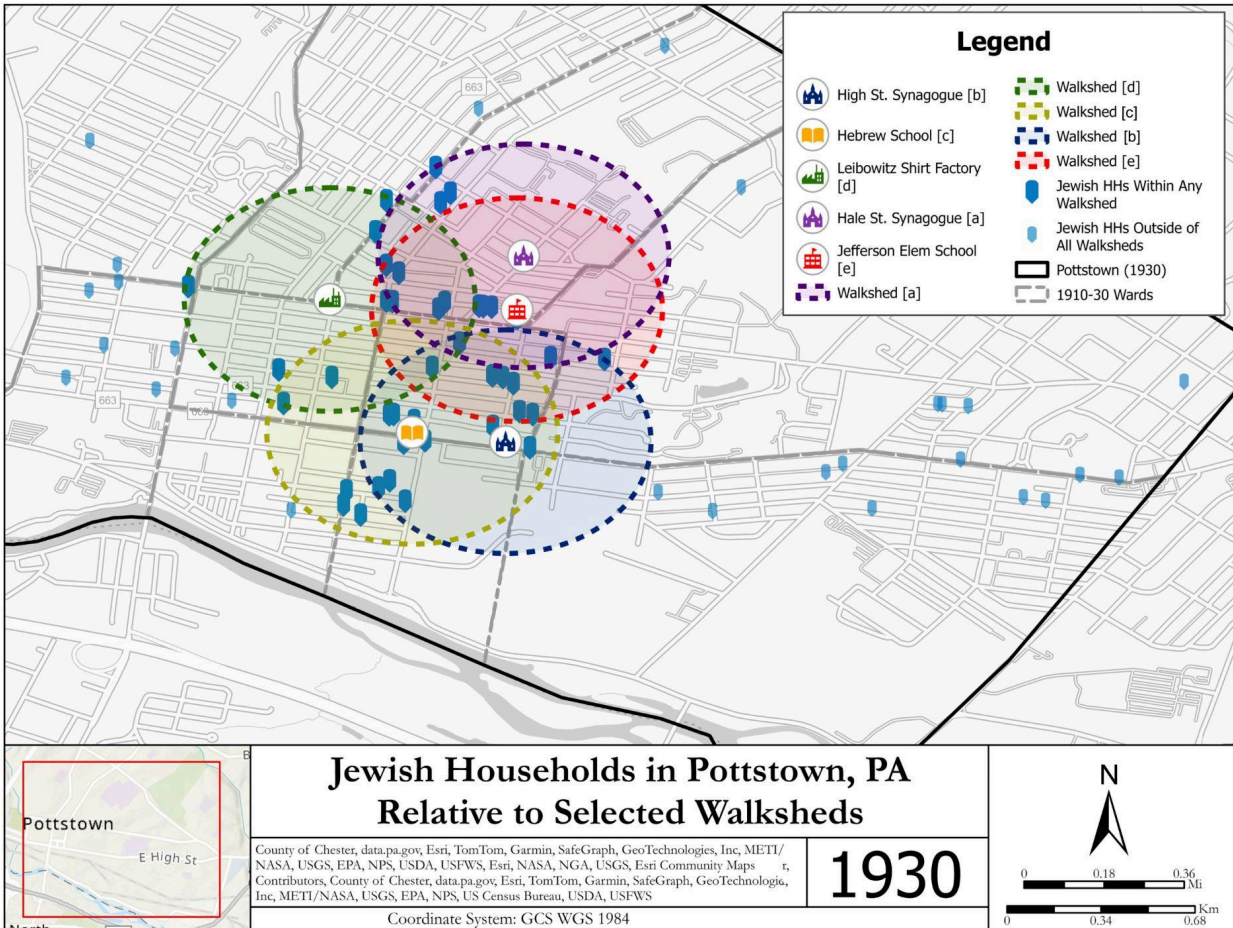


Fig. 7. Exact Addresses of Jewish Households in 1930 in the borough of Pottstown, Pennsylvania, in relation to selected walksheds. Data collected from the 1930 Census and 1925 Sanborn Fire Maps. Figure created by the author, using ArcGIS Pro.

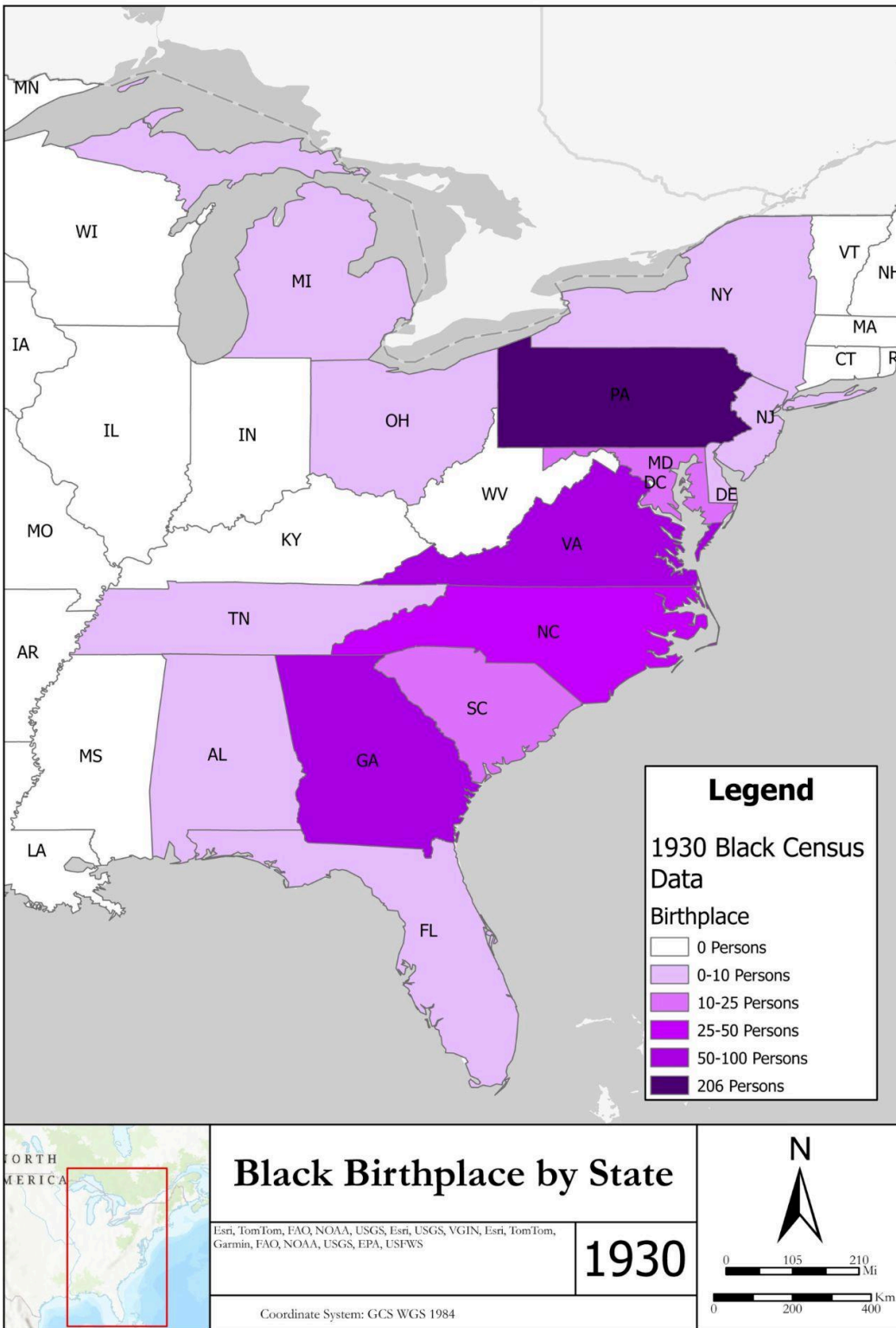


Fig. 9. Birthplace Data for Black Pottstownians in the 1930 Census (one person from Texas excluded). Figure created by the author, using ArcGIS Pro.

Table 1: Jewish population estimates for the Borough of Pottstown, Pennsylvania from 1844 to 2001. Data collected from the Jewish American Year Book, Congregation Shel Emet, and the Statistics of the Jews of the United States (1880).

Year	Jewish Population Estimate	Source
1844	1	"Our History," Congregation Hased Shel Emet.
1878	26	Hackenburg, The Statistics of the Jews of the United States (1880)
1910	229	Jacob Rosewater
1912	200	Jacobs, "Statistics of Jews," (1914)
1917	328	Oppenheim, "The Jewish Population of the United States" (1918)
1927	700	Linfield, "Jewish Population in the United States" (1928)
1930 ³³	379	Jacob Rosewater
1937	635	Linfield, "Jewish Communities of the United States" (1940)
1947	450	Seligman & Swados, "Jewish Population Studies in the United States" (1948)
1954	680	Chenkin, "Communities with Jewish Populations of 100 or More" (1955)
1964	680	Chenkin, "Jewish Population in the United States, 1964" (1965)
1973	680	Massarik, "National Jewish Population Study: A New United States Estimate" (1974)
1983	700	Chenkin, "Jewish Population in the United States, 1983" (1984)
1993	650	Kosmin, "Jewish Population in the United States, 1993" (1994)
2001	650	Scheckner & Schwartz, "Jewish Population in the United States, 2001" (2002)

³³ While some undercount is likely in 1930, the author's estimate should be preferred to Linfield's estimate in 1927. This is because the Linfield estimate [a] likely includes Pottstown's surrounding area in addition to Pottstown itself; and [b] is based on "local estimates and counts" whereby community leaders would make an educated guess about the size of the Jewish population (Linfield 1939, 80). It should also be noted that if you take the estimates from 1844 through 1954 and run an exponential regression ($R^2 = 0.701$, Adj. $R^2 = 0.664$), you find that my estimate is much closer to the line of best fit than the 1927 Linfield estimate, which appears to be an outlier. The reason for using 1954 as the cutoff in this analysis is that exponential growth in the Jewish population is not expected after 1950, so it does not make sense to conduct an exponential regression on all data through 2001.

Table 2: The “Native Tongue” of all Foreign Born Pottstownians in 1930 by Ward. Data collected and aggregated from the 1930 Census, using ancestry.com. Created by the author.

“Native Tongue”	1st Ward	2nd Ward	3rd Ward	4th Ward	5th Ward	6th Ward	7th Ward	8th Ward	9th Ward	10th Ward	Total	%Immig. ³⁴
Slovak	3	0	110	52	1	64	1	0	6	1	238	17.42%
Italian	8	6	66	54	28	11	2	1	33	2	211	15.45%
German	16	15	3	15	17	31	51	9	24	21	202	14.79%
Polish	1	0	14	36	6	65	2	1	12	9	146	10.69%
Unknown	1	1	6	69	3	8	5	0	4	27	124	9.08%
English	11	21	9	1	9	22	11	14	7	13	118	8.64%
Hungarian	2	2	0	16	2	40	4	0	9	2	77	5.64%
Yiddish ³⁵	1	8	1	14	24	0	3	0	2	6	59	4.32%
Greek	1	9	19	7	17	0	1	0	0	0	54	3.95%
Russian	1	2	4	18	1	13	1	5	3	0	48	3.51%
Spanish	0	0	4	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	0.88%
Czech	0	2	0	0	1	0	7	2	0	0	12	0.88%
Arabic/Syrian	0	0	10	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	11	0.81%
Swedish	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	1	2	4	11	0.81%
Ukrainian	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	6	0.44%
Romanian	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	0.37%
Norwegian	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	5	0.37%
Armenian	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	0.29%
Lithuanian	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	0.29%
French	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	3	0.22%
Welsh	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	3	0.22%
Irish	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0.15%
Croatian	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.15%
Dutch	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0.15%
Chinese	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.07%
Slovenian	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.07%
Danish	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.07%
Scotch	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.07%
Turkish	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.07%
Ruthenian	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.07%
Flemish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0.07%

³⁴ Percent of all immigrants (hereinafter %Immig.).

³⁵ While almost all Yiddish speakers were Jewish, not all Jews were Yiddish. A significant portion of the Jewish population spoke Hungarian, for example. I did not mention this in the paper because I could not find a good place to do so.

Table 3: “Country of Birth” for all Foreign Born Pottstownians in 1910 by Ward. Data collected and aggregated from the 1910 Census, using ancestry.com. Created by the author.

“Country of Birth”	1st Ward	2nd Ward	3rd Ward	4th Ward	5th Ward	6th Ward	7th Ward	8th Ward	9th Ward	10th Ward	Total	%Immig.
Austria-Hungary	6	6	52	340	31	128	132	1	118	26	840	54.47%
German Empire	15	8	18	48	23	36	52	4	20	18	242	15.69%
British Empire	25	17	21	8	23	17	31	7	6	3	158	10.25%
Italy	0	0	21	48	6	0	0	0	4	0	79	5.12%
Russian Empire	1	0	9	4	22	24	8	0	1	9	78	5.06%
Unknown	1	0	0	0	0	61	0	0	0	0	62	4.02%
Greece	0	6	17	0	0	4	0	4	4	0	35	2.27%
Ottoman Empire	0	10	11	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	25	1.62%
Sweden	2	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	3	0	9	0.58%
Switzerland	0	0	1	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	6	0.39%
France	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	3	0.19%
Norway	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0.13%
Cuba	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.06%
Holland	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.06%
Mexico	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.06%

Table 4: “Inferred Nationality” of all Foreign Born Pottstownians in 1910. Data collected and aggregated from the 1910 Census, using ancestry.com. Created by the author.

“Inferred Nationality”	1st Ward	2nd Ward	3rd Ward	4th Ward	5th Ward	6th Ward	7th Ward	8th Ward	9th Ward	10th Ward	Total	%Immig.
Slovak	0	0	3	174	2	18	20	0	77	0	294	19.07%
German	13	14	18	41	29	28	94	4	23	27	291	18.87%
Polish	1	0	3	76	6	99	2	1	17	2	207	13.42%
Magyar (Hungarian)	1	0	47	75	15	9	25	0	22	9	203	13.16%
Unknown	7	1	0	26	2	20	33	0	0	2	91	5.90%
Italian	0	0	21	48	6	0	0	0	4	0	79	5.12%
"Slavish"	0	0	0	0	0	75	1	0	0	0	76	4.93%
English	9	9	6	0	9	11	5	2	3	0	54	3.50%
Irish	7	0	11	5	8	3	9	4	2	3	52	3.37%
Greek	0	16	17	0	0	4	0	4	4	0	45	2.92%
“Yiddish”³⁶	0	0	0	0	17	0	17	0	0	10	44	2.85%
Scottish	3	0	2	2	3	1	9	1	0	0	21	1.36%
Anglo-Canadian	5	8	1	0	0	1	3	0	1	0	19	1.23%
Russian	0	0	6	0	4	0	0	0	0	3	13	0.84%
Turkish	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	12	0.78%
Swedish	2	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	3	0	9	0.58%
Welsh	1	0	1	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	7	0.45%
Swiss	0	0	1	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	6	0.39%
Syrian	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	0.19%
Quebecois	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	3	0.19%
French	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	3	0.19%
Czech	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.13%
Slovenian	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.13%
Norwegian	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0.13%
Jamaican	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.06%
Cuban	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.06%
Finnish	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.06%
Dutch	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.06%

³⁶ See footnote 35.

Table 5: The Black or African-American Population of the borough of Pottstown, Pennsylvania, from 1850 to 1950. All data collected from the U.S. Census Bureau. Created by the author.

Year	Black Population
1850	26
1860	30
1870	29
1880 ³⁷	34
1890 ³⁸	225

Year	Black Population
1900	202
1910	341
1920	450
1930	454
1940	326
1950 ³⁹	845

³⁷ Data not found in the Pennsylvania Supplement to Vol. 1 of the 1880 Census, so the author had to manually aggregate this data using the 1880 Census tables available on ancestry.com.

³⁸ Pottstown significantly expanded in area between 1880 and 1890, although that does not fully explain the difference between the two figures.

³⁹ The 1950 Census contains summary statistics on Whites and non-Whites. This is the latter number. While table six does show that there were Asian-American and other residents of Pottstown at this time, nearly all non-White residents were Black.

Table 6: Relevant Census data on all Pottstownians listed as either Asian American or Native American between 1900 and 1950. All data collected using ancestry.com. Created by the author.

Name	Address	Ward	Relevant Source	Sex	Age	Birthplace (as listed)	Race (as listed)
Joe Mann	18 Hanover Street	2nd	1900 Census	Male	36	China	Chinese
Tom Lee	10 North Charlotte Street	2nd	1920 Census	Male	54	China	Chinese
S Oka	1920 King Street	2nd	1920 Census	Male	40	Japan	Japanese
Charles Yao	22 South Charlotte Street	3rd	1930 Census	Male	61	China	Chinese
Sing Tuck Wong	22 South Charlotte Street	3rd	1940 Census	Male	42	China	Chinese
Herbert P W Seto ⁴⁰	1236 High Street	6th	1950 Census	Male	37	Hawaii	Chinese
Max Martinez	140 South Washington Street	4th	1930 Census	Male	31	Mexico	American Indian
Ciminona Nacharine	138 South Washington Street	4th	1930 Census	Male	64	Mexico	American Indian
John Nacharine	138 South Washington Street	4th	1930 Census	Male	36	Mexico	American Indian
Gregorio Nacharine	138 South Washington Street	4th	1930 Census	Male	38	Mexico	American Indian
Raymond Martinez	140 South Washington Street	4th	1930 Census	Male	5	Pennsylvania	American Indian
Susan Nacharine	138 South Washington Street	4th	1930 Census	Female	18	Pennsylvania	American Indian
Lavington Wilkinson	623 Walnut Street	5th	1930 Census	Male		Pennsylvania	American Indian
Dorothy Wilkinson	623 Walnut Street	5th	1930 Census	Female		Pennsylvania	American Indian
William Wilkinson	623 Walnut Street	5th	1930 Census	Male		Pennsylvania	American Indian
Maurice Wilkinson	623 Walnut Street	5th	1930 Census	Male		Pennsylvania	American Indian
Susan Martinez	140 South Washington Street	4th	1930 Census	Female	27	Virginia	American Indian

⁴⁰ The 1950 Census lists Herbert Seto's wife and kids as White.

Table 7: Total, Jewish, Black, and Foreign Born summary data at the borough and ward level for Pottstown, Pennsylvania, in 1910 and 1930. Data collected and aggregated from the 1910 and 1930 Censuses, using ancestry.com. Created by the author.

	1st Ward	2nd Ward	3rd Ward	4th Ward	5th Ward	6th Ward	7th Ward	8th Ward	9th Ward	10th Ward	Total
1910, Total	1509	1545	1312	1386	1569	1676	1340	1548	2295	1424	15,599
1910, Jewish	11	12	0	58	60	15	45	0	0	28	229
1910, Black	10	2	0	10	36	63	106	4	15	46	292
1910, Foreign Born	50	49	151	451	112	271	229	16	157	56	1542
1910, Jewish (%)	0.73%	0.78%	0.00%	4.18%	3.82%	0.89%	3.36%	0.00%	0.00%	1.97%	1.47%
1910, Black (%)	0.66%	0.13%	0.00%	0.72%	2.29%	3.76%	7.91%	0.26%	0.65%	3.23%	1.87%
1910, Foreign Born (%)	3.31%	3.17%	11.51%	32.54%	7.14%	16.17%	17.09%	1.03%	6.84%	3.93%	9.94%
1930, Total	1500	1526	1375	1277	1845	2976	1663	2334	2852	1867	19,430
1930, Jewish	20	32	6	57	82	62	25	6	4	84	378
1930, Black	0	1	5	14	73	26	226	1	45	64	455
1930, Foreign Born	51	70	254	299	110	260	93	37	103	89	1366
1930, Jewish (%)	1.33%	2.10%	0.44%	4.46%	4.44%	2.08%	1.50%	0.26%	0.14%	4.55%	1.95%
1930, Black (%)	0.00%	0.07%	0.36%	1.10%	3.96%	0.87%	13.59%	0.04%	1.58%	3.43%	2.34%
1930, Foreign Born (%)	3.40%	4.59%	18.47%	23.41%	5.96%	8.74%	5.59%	1.59%	3.61%	4.77%	7.03%

Table 8: Selected Data from all “Hebrew” Immigrants whose Final Destination was Pottstown, Pennsylvania. Data Collected from New York, U.S., Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists (including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820 - 1957, using ancestry.com. Created by the author.

First Name	Last Name	Nationality	Sex	Marital Status	Age	(Transcribed) Birthplace	(Inferred) Birthplace	Arrival Date
Etel	Klein	Hebrew	Female	Single	5	Gjdos, Hungary	<u>Veľké Revištia, Slovakia</u>	1/23/1907
Morris	Herschkovics	Hebrew	Male	Married	42	Sztakcsin, Hungary	Szigetszentmiklós, Hungary	4/20/1907
Ette	Bernik	Hebrew	Female	Single	17	Hookmansky, Witebsk	Vitebsk, Belarus	6/14/1908
Israel	Laudan	Hebrew	Male	Single	17	Munkaes, Hungary	<u>Mukachevo, Ukraine</u>	5/2/1911
Freide	Lewinsky	Hebrew	Female	Single	18	Korvel, Russia	Kovel, Ukraine	9/26/1911
Masha	Ravlin	Hebrew	Female	Single	20	Vittebsh, Russia	Vitebsk, Belarus	1/28/1913
Miksa	Moses	Hebrew	Male	Married	24	Losfalu, Hungary	Olaszfalu, Hungary	7/3/1913
Rebeka	Fischer	Hebrew	Female	Single	12	Ilk, Hungary	Ilk, Hungary	5/10/1914
Charles	Pollack	Hebrew	Male	Married	30	Roma, Russia	Unknown	7/21/1914
Minnie	Pallack	Hebrew	Female	Married	32	Leskorch, Russia	Leskovo, Russia	11/1/1915
Saphia	Pallack	Hebrew	Female	Single	4	Liverpool, England	Liverpool, England	11/1/1915
Abey	Pallack	Hebrew	Male	Single	3	Liverpool, England	Liverpool, England	11/1/1915
Rebecca	Pallack	Hebrew	Female	Single	2	Liverpool, England	Liverpool, England	11/1/1915
Suri	Galant	Hebrew	Female	Married	28	Werhisan, Romania	Unknown	1/11/1921
Kaonel	Gosman	Hebrew	Female	Married	65	Werhisan, Romania	Unknown	1/11/1921
Rigina	Nimberger	Hebrew	Female	Single	20	Szteterszeg, Hungary	Szentpéterszeg, Hungary	8/1/1921
Dominka	Andrejewska	Hebrew	Female	Married	35	Browica, Poland	Borowik, Poland	11/5/1921
Adam	Andrejewska	Hebrew	Male	Single	10	Browica, Poland	Borowik, Poland	11/5/1921
Paulina	Andrejewska	Hebrew	Female	Single	7	Browica, Poland	Borowik, Poland	11/5/1921
Terez	Markowicz	Hebrew	Female	Single	28	Meszo, Hungary	Mezőtúr, Hungary	3/19/1929
Terez	Markovitz	Hebrew	Female	Single	34	Mező Ladang, Hungary	Unknown	10/28/1940
Eugene	Greenfield	Hebrew	Male	Married	34	Fehergyarmat, Hungary	Fehérgyarmat, Hungary	10/28/1940

Table 9: Quality of Life Statistics for Jews in Pottstown's 6th and 7th Wards, as Compared to Jews Living in All Other Wards. Data collected and aggregated from the 1930 Census, using ancestry.com. Created by the author.

Q: Did this person's household own a radio set?	Universe: Jews in Pottstown, PA	(unit = 1 person)			
	Yes	No	Total	%Yes	
Wards 6 & 7	75	12	87	86.21%	
All Other Wards	203	86	289	70.24%	
Total	278	98	376	73.94%	
Q: Did this person's household own their home?	Universe: Jews in Pottstown, PA	(unit = 1 person)			
	Owned	Not Owned	Total	%Owned	
Wards 6 & 7	67	16	83	80.72%	
All Other Wards	210	80	290	72.41%	
Total	277	96	373	74.26%	
Q: Did this person work in Services, Manufacturing, or Other Sector	Universe: Jews in Pottstown, PA	(unit = 1 worker)			
	Services	Manufacturing	Other	Total	%Services
Wards 6 & 7	19	3	2	22	86.36%
All Other Wards	65	17	10	82	79.27%
Total	84	20	3	104	80.77%
Q: Birthplace	Universe: Jews in Pottstown, PA	(unit = 1 person)			
	United States	Foreign Born	Total	%U.S.	
Wards 6 & 7	64	23	87	73.56%	
All Other Wards	198	92	290	68.28%	
Total	262	115	377	69.50%	

Appendix I: Jewish Pottstownians in the 1910 Census

First Name	Last Name
Harry	Abrams
Israel	Abrams
Leonard	Abrams
Rebecca	Abrams
Rosa	Abrams
Saul	Abrams
Stella	Abrams
William	Abrams
Edith	Andrews
Phillip	Andrews
Rose	Andrews
Issac	Bereman
Gertrude Weiss	Berger
Evelyn Friedman	Bookbinder
Anna Pollock	Brenner
Anna Wolf	Bush
Joseph	Bush
Ray	Bush
Samuel	Bush
Yetta Markowitz	Cohen
Lillian Weiss	Eckles
Alexander	Estreicher
Anne	Estreicher
Joseph	Estreicher
Debye Pollock	Federman
Bessie	Feldman
Esther Farkas	Feldman

First Name	Last Name
Joseph	Feldman
Simon	Feldman
Bertha	Fendler
Dora	Fendler
Eva	Fendler
Martha	Fendler
Morris	Fendler
Nathan	Fendler
Sadie	Fendler
Saul	Fendler
Joseph	Flam
Robert	Flam
Sophia Engel	Flam
Amelia	Forkash
Ella	Frankl
A. Ben	Friedman
Annie Estreicher	Friedman
Bernhardt M.	Friedman
Harry	Friedman
Harry	Friedman
Joseph	Friedman
Joseph	Friedman
Julia	Friedman
M. Louis	Friedman
Martin	Friedman
Max	Friedman
Pauline	Friedman

First Name	Last Name
Rosa	Friedman
Samuel	Friedman
Sarah	Friedman
Simon	Friedman
Sophie	Friedman
Samuel	Fuerman
Ida	Gozalovski
John	Gozalovski
Annie	Greenstein
Issac	Greenstein
Morris	Herschkowitz
Amelia Leblong	Hirsh
Minnie Mosheim	Isett
Joseph	Jacobson
Julia	Jacobson
Martin	Jacobson
Morris	Jacobson
Rosa	Jacobson
Sadie	Jacobson
Samuel	Jacobson
Fannie	Klein
Farall	Klein
Hadley	Klein
Joseph	Klein
Ralph	Klein
Benjamin	Krelitz
Bessie	Krelitz

First Name	Last Name
Cecil	Krelitz
Lena	Krelitz
Annie	Laber
Fannie	Laber
Henrietta	Laber
Sarah	Laber
William	Laber
Emanuel	LeBlang
Jacob	LeBlang
Louis	LeBlang
Nathan	LeBlang
Phillip	LeBlang
Rachael	LeBlang
Sarah	LeBlang
Sarah <i>Selman</i>	LeBlang
Yedde	LeBlang
A. Joseph	Lerner
Lewis	Lerner
Minnie <i>Friedman</i>	Lerner
Elke	Levinski
Lena	Levinski
Rosie	Levinski
Sarah	Levinski
Helen	Liphatz
Samuel	Liphatz
Henry	Lukman
Miriam	Lukman
Bella	Malin

First Name	Last Name
Fanny	Malin
Issac	Malin
Micke	Malin
Minnie	Malin
Rosa	Malin
Samuel	Malin
Adolph	Markowitz
Benjamin	Markowitz
Francis	Markowitz
Katie	Markowitz
Michael	Markowitz
Robert	Markowitz
Rosa <i>Schwartz</i>	Markowitz
Samuel	Markowitz
Alfred	Mosheim
Henrietta <i>Katzenstein</i>	Mosheim
Joseph	Mosheim
Morris	Mosheim
Samuel	Mosheim
Abraham	Pollock
Albert	Pollock
Bessie	Pollock
David	Pollock
Gertrude	Pollock
Hannah	Pollock
Harry	Pollock
Leonard	Pollock
Mary	Pollock

First Name	Last Name
Nathan	Pollock
Aaron	Prince
Evelyn	Prince
George	Prince
Henry	Prince
Horace	Prince
Joseph L.	Prince
Julius	Prince
Louis	Prince
Louis	Prince
Mary	Prince
Matthew	Prince
Paul	Prince
Sadie	Prince
William	Prince
Helen	Princenthal
Mary	Princenthal
Rudolph	Princenthal
Adolf	Printz
Agnes	Printz
Agnes M	Printz
Bert	Printz
Ernst	Printz
Harry	Printz
Herman	Printz
Jennie <i>Mittelman</i>	Printz
Joseph	Printz
Lena	Printz

First Name	Last Name
Markus	Printz
Matthew	Printz
Minnie	Printz
Robert	Printz
Rose <i>Goldner</i>	Printz
Samuel	Printz
Harry	Rachild
Jennie	Rachild
Leonard	Rachild
Morris	Rachild
Samuel	Rachild
Yetta <i>Wasserman</i>	Rachild
Dora	Raubfogel
Harry	Raubfogel
Jacob	Raubfogel
Rosa	Raubfogel
Samuel	Raubfogel
Sara	Raubfogel
Charles	Rosenberg
Elizabeth	Rosenberg
Lillian <i>Wolf</i>	Rosenthal
Gussie <i>Pollock</i>	Ruttenberg
Morris	Schiffler
Helen <i>Klein</i>	Schwartz
Emma <i>Rachild</i>	Simelson
Lena <i>Buch</i>	Simon
Julia <i>Mosheim</i>	Sturges
Aaron	Weiss

First Name	Last Name
Abraham	Weiss
Benjamin	Weiss
Bessie <i>Buch</i>	Weiss
Fannie	Weiss
Frank	Weiss
Max	Weiss
Minnie	Weiss
Minnie	Weiss
Mollie	Weiss
Morris	Weiss
Thomas	Weiss
Bessie <i>Strausse</i>	Weitzenkorn
Morris	Weitzenkorn
Morris [Jr?]	Weitzenkorn
Maurice	Werther
Raymond	Werther
Rebecca	Werther
Adolph	Wolf
Benjamin	Wolf
Emanuel	Wolf
Harold	Wolf
Harrison	Wolf
Jacob	Wolf
Maurice	Wolf
Nathan	Wolf
Phillip	Wolf
Regina <i>Schindler</i>	Wolf
Ruth	Wolf

[illegible]

Appendix II: Jewish Pottstownians in the 1930 Census

First Name	Last Name
David	Abrams
Harry	Abrams
Israel	Abrams
Rebecca	Abrams
Bernath	Berger
Emanuel	Berger
Geraldine <i>LeBlang</i>	Berger
Gertrude <i>Weiss</i>	Berger
Harold	Berger
Stanley	Berger
Leona <i>Bressler</i>	Borden
Ben	Borgor
Bessie	Borgor
Doris <i>Miller</i>	Borgor
Helen	Borgor
Herbert	Borgor
Hyman	Borgor
Minnie	Borgor
Samuel	Borgor
Sol [Solomon]	Borgor
Leah <i>Lerner</i>	Brauner
Anna	Brenner
Joseph	Brenner
David	Bressler
Esther <i>Engel</i>	Bressler
Harold	Bressler
Helen	Bressler

First Name	Last Name
Isadore	Bressler
Joseph	Bressler
Robert	Bressler
David	Brown
Dora	Brown
Edward	Brown
Lenora	Brown
Kathryn <i>Strom</i>	Charnoff
Abraham	Cohen
Cecilla <i>Laber</i>	Cohen
Laurence	Cohen
Lillian	Cohen
Norman	Cohen
Robert	Cohen
Russel	Cohen
Sylvia	Cohen
Yetta <i>Markowitz</i>	Cohen
Suzanne <i>Feit</i>	Collins
Abraham	Coverman
Eva	Coverman
Harry	Coverman
Lena	Coverman
Albert	Erkes
Clara	Erkes
Jacob	Erkes
Sadie	Erkes
Sydney	Erkes

First Name	Last Name
Amelia <i>Leber</i>	Estreicher
Emanuel	Estreicher
Gertrude	Estreicher
Joseph	Estreicher
Morris	Estreicher
Nathan	Estreicher
Rose <i>Hoffman</i>	Estreicher
Samuel	Estreicher
Florence	Feit
Martin	Feit
Helen	Feldman
Helen [Jr?]	Feldman
Simon	Feldman
Joseph	Flam
Lawrence	Flam
Miriam <i>Estreicher</i>	Flam
Robert	Flam
Sophia <i>Engel</i>	Flam
Esther <i>Herskowitz</i>	Fox
Anita	Friedman
Anna	Friedman
Ben	Friedman
Ethel	Friedman
Gerald	Friedman
Harry	Friedman
M. Louis	Friedman
Martin	Friedman

First Name	Last Name
Martin	Friedman
Manuio	Friedman
Max	Friedman
Merkel	Friedman
Pauline	Friedman
Rose <i>Segel</i>	Friedman
Samuel	Friedman
Simon	Friedman
Arthur	Fuerman
Norman	Fuerman
Rose <i>Lang</i>	Fuerman
Samuel	Fuerman
Warren	Fuerman
Ruth <i>Miller</i>	Galler
Max	Geldzeiler
Rose	Geldzeiler
Max	Gill
Rosie	Gill
Marion <i>Roth</i>	Green
Annie	Greenstein
Issac	Greenstein
Miriam <i>Weinstock</i>	Gutanoff
Fannie	Herskowitz
Jacob	Herskowitz
Molly	Herskowitz
Morris	Herskowitz
Amelia <i>Leblong</i>	Herskowitz
Evelyn	Herskowitz

First Name	Last Name
Lillian	Hirsch
Martin	Hirsch
Ruth	Hirsch
Samuel	Hirsch
Edward	Hoffman
Harry	Hoffman
Jacob	Hoffman
Morris	Hoffman
Nathan	Hoffman
Pincus	Hoffman
Rose	Hoffman
Soloman	Hoffman
Stelle	Hoffman
Geraldine	Horwitz
Hilda	Horwitz
Morris	Horwitz
Sara	Horwitz
Shirley	Horwitz
Minnie <i>Mosheim</i>	Isett
Gertrude	Jacobson
Morris	Jacobson
Paul	Jacobson
Sadie	Jacobson
Josephine <i>Miller</i>	Katz
Caroline	Katzen
Harold	Katzen
Helen	Katzen
Issac	Katzen

First Name	Last Name
Leah <i>Shilofsky</i>	Katzen
Murry	Katzen
Anna <i>Prince</i>	Kessler
Charles	Kessler
David	Kessler
Robert	Kessler
Fannie	Klein
Joseph	Klein
Sara <i>Wolf</i>	Klein
Albert	LeBlang
Frances	LeBlang
Gerald	LeBlang
Jacob	LeBlang
Morris	LeBlang
Nathan	LeBlang
Raymond	LeBlang
Sarah <i>Selman</i>	LeBlang
Shirley	LeBlang
Charles	Lerner
Esther	Lerner
Harold	Lerner
Jacob	Lerner
A. Joseph	Lerner
Bernhardt	Lerner
Blema	Lerner
Frances	Lerner
Marie	Lerner
Max	Lerner

First Name	Last Name
Minnie <i>Friedman</i>	Lerner
Morton	Lerner
Tube	Lerner
Alvin	Levin
Florence	Alvin
Helen	Levin
William	Levin
Ruth <i>LeBlang</i>	Levithan
Anna <i>Kaplan</i>	Lipkin
Samuel	Lipkin
Lelia <i>Phillips</i>	Lockspeiser
Annie	Magitson
Harry	Magitson
[Francis] Arnold	Markowitz
Adolph	Markowitz
Agnes	Markowitz
Cathryne	Markowitz
Irwin	Markowitz
Jacob	Markowitz
Katie <i>Printz</i>	Markowitz
Marion <i>Nimberger</i>	Markowitz
Rita <i>Prince</i>	Merson
Anna <i>Krasnick</i>	Miller
Carl	Miller
Herbert	Miller
Maurice	Miller
Mike	Miller
Morris	Miller

First Name	Last Name
Pearl	Miller
Rita	Miller
<i>Robert</i>	Miller
Rose	Miller
Rose <i>Estreicher</i>	Miller
Warren	Miller
Yetta	Miller
Henrietta <i>Katzenstein</i>	Mosheim
Dora <i>Jaffe Friedman</i>	Moyer
Lewis	Nievitz
Edgar	Orensten
Golda	Orensten
Jane	Orensten
Frances <i>Raden</i>	Oxenbourg
[deleted name]	Pear?
Edward	Phillips
Fannie <i>Estreicher</i>	Phillips
Herbert	Phillips
Madine	Phillips
Sanders	Phillips
Abraham	Pollock
Audrey William	Pollock
Bertha <i>Duklesky</i>	Pollock
Bessie	Pollock
David	Pollock
Dorothy	Pollock
Harry	Pollock
Henry	Pollock

First Name	Last Name
Hindela <i>Orensten</i>	Pollock
Mary	Pollock
Meyer	Pollock
Minerva <i>Orensten</i>	Pollock
Nathan	Pollock
Nettie	Pollock
Sarah	Pollock
Sidney	Pollock
Syre <i>Federman</i>	Pollock
Aaron	Prince
Albert	Prince
Annie	Prince
Eleanor <i>Berger</i>	Prince
Esther	Prince
Francis	Prince
George	Prince
Harold	Prince
Harold	Prince
Hillary	Prince
Horace	Prince
Hyman	Prince
Joseph	Prince
Joseph [L]	Prince
Julius	Prince
Leon	Prince
<i>Louis</i>	Prince
Majorie	Prince
Mary	Prince

First Name	Last Name
Millie	Prince
Paul	Prince
Robert	Prince
Sadie	Prince
<i>Stanley</i>	Prince
<i>Tillie Freedman</i>	Prince
Wayne	Prince
William	Prince
Alice	Princenthal
Francis	Princenthal
Horace	Princenthal
Isadore	Princenthal
Jennie	Princenthal
Joe	Princenthal
Josephine	Princenthal
Mary	Princenthal
Phillip	Princenthal
Phillip	Princenthal
Rudolph	Princenthal
Samuel	Princenthal
Sylvia	Princenthal
Abraham	Printz
Adolf	Printz
Agnes	Printz
Agnes M.	Printz
Ernst	Printz
Francis	Printz
Hillary	Printz


First Name	Last Name
Jennie	Printz
Josephine	Printz
Lena	Printz
<i>Lena Princenthal</i>	Printz
Markus	Printz
Minnie	Printz
Pearl	Printz
Robert	Printz
<i>Rose Goldner</i>	Printz
Ruth	Printz
Ruth	Printz
Anna	Raden
Jacob	Raden
Joseph	Raden
Norman	Raden
Philip	Raden
<i>Rose Princenthal</i>	Raden
Dora	Raubfogel
Emanuel	Rivlin
Joe	Rivlin
Katie	Rivlin
Reuben	Rivlin
Lillian	Roden [Raden]
Benjamin	Rosenberg
Charles	Rosenberg
Elizabeth	Rosenberg
Alice	Roth
Bernath	Roth

First Name	Last Name
Fannie	Roth
Francis	Roth
Fred	Roth
Morris	Roth
Anna	Sandler
Benyamine	Sandler
<i>Goldie Ratkin</i>	Sandler
Henry	Sandler
Joseph	Sandler
Morris	Sandler
<i>Esther Strom</i>	Sankey
<i>Ruth Rivlin</i>	Schonberger
<i>Elizabeth Pollock</i>	Schwartz
Frank	Singer
Louis	Singer
Molly	Singer
Rose	Singer
Cecele	Stein
Gerald	Stein
Hyman	Stein
Jules	Stein
Mildred	Stein
Milton	Stein
Rose	Stein
Sonia	Stein
<i>Bennie</i>	Strom
Bessie	Strom
Earl	Strom

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