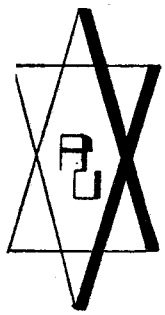
STEEL CITY JEWS



A Study of Ethnicity and Social Mobility in the Jewish Population of the City of Sheffield, South Yorkshire

by Barry A. Kosmin, Marzy Bauer and Nigel Grizzard
With an Historical Introduction by Kenneth Lunn

RESEARCH UNIT BOARD OF DEPUTIES OF BRITISH JEWS

SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC RESEARCH UNIT

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The Board of Deputies of British Jews, founded in 1760, is the representative body of the Anglo-Jewish community. The Research Unit was established in 1965 following a conference on 'Jewish Life in Modern Britain' which the Board convened in 1962 in association with the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. The Unit compiles statistical data on various aspects of the community, and prepares interpretive studies of trends. It functions under a special Committee of the Board, comprising the Honorary Officers, lay members and academic advisers.

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1976

Acknowledgement

The authors would like to express their thanks to Mr David Brown for the invaluable help and advice he volunteered and to the members of the Sheffield Jewish Community who cooperated in the census.

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By Kenneth Lunn.

THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF SHEFFIELD.

The original settlement of Sheffield, with its twelfth century castle site, lying in the junction of the rivers Sheaf and Don, gives some indication of the importance of water power in the history of the city. The present landscape of valleys and rivers is the geographical clue to the most famous industry of the area, cutlery and the associated light trades. The rivers and streams provided the motive power for the grinding wheels and forges which marked the emergence of this trade in the district. Indeed, by the fourteenth century, Sheffield was renowned for its knives, probably the best produced at that time. Its reputation continued to grow, and from the late sixteenth century, expansion in the industry was particularly noticeable. 'When in the eighteenth century, Sheffield had the advantage of an excellent steel locally produced and good craftsmen to use it, the region rapidly became the predominant centre of the cutlery trade.'[1]

The township, in the early years, was confined to the small area around the old castle site and the market place, although the parish boundaries took in many of the small hamlets which had sprung up along the rivers and streams, where individual craftsmen pursued their trade. An early survey (1615) estimated that the population of the parish was 3,000, of whom 2,500 lived within the confines of the township. By the end of the century, the figures had risen to 5,000 for the parish and 3,500 for the township alone, indicating an increase in both town and the smaller villages and settlements.[2]

Technological advances in the eighteenth century increased the range of manufactured goods. The discovery by Thomas Boulsover around 1740 of a new way of plating copper with silver led to the production of what is now known as Old Sheffield Plate. A more significant advance was the achievement of Boulsover's contemporary, Benjamin Huntsman, who invented the crucible method of making a hard tool steel of exceptional uniformity. This latter discovery led to the modern industrial development of Sheffield, so closely identified with the making of special steels, and the town became a main centre for the tool steel industry. These new products added to the range of goods being produced in the area. At the same time, communications were improving to meet the increasing demands of industry. Turnpike roads began to replace the packhorse tracks across the surrounding hills and a canal was constructed into the heart of the town from the flat eastern approaches.

As industry developed in the eighteenth century, population increased. A 1736 survey estimated the number of people living in the township at 10,000. By 1750, the figure was 12,000, with a total parish population of 20,000. Thus, in 50 years, the population of the town and its outlying settlements had quadrupled. The reasons for this increase lay in natural reproduction and also the attraction of industry, which drew immigrants from surrounding districts. The cutlery industry brought in many apprentices in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, mostly from South Yorkshire and Derbyshire, the 'traditional "hinterland" of Sheffield'.[3]

The development of the iron and steel industries in the second half of the eighteenth century, with the change from charcoal to coke as a smelting fuel, also assisted in attracting further immigration.[4] By 1801, at the first official census, the population of the parish had increased to nearly 46,000. Of these, about 35,000 lived in the urban, built-up, central area, which had by this time spread beyond the actual town boundaries.

The early trade directories and descriptions suggest that the town in these times was largely populated by craftsmen in the cutlery trade and by merchants engaged in providing goods and services. It is in this latter category that we find first mention of Jews settling in the area.

The nineteenth century was a period of substantial growth for many towns and cities in northern England and Sheffield was no exception. There was a vast increase in population during the century and numbers rose from 66,000 to 285,000 between 1821 and 1881. The upsurge which occurred after the end of the Napoleonic Wars was owed to the freeing of markets abroad and the continuing growth of the cutlery trades, which consistently attracted new immigration. In 1851, 49 per cent of inhabitants over 20 years old (and 36.3 per cent of the total population) had been born outside the borough, although the majority still came from the 'hinterland' mentioned above.[5] Only the Irish who constituted 3.3 per cent of the population could be called a significant minority group in Sheffield at this time.[6]

The physical structure of the town, which had been incorporated as a borough in 1834, still centred around the old focal points. Within a one mile radius of what is now the cathedral, there was no green whatever. Beyond that, to the west, lay fields and a few middle class homes. To the south, the east and the north, the rivers Parker, Sheaf and Don marked the boundaries of settlement, with a few scattered dwellings beyond. Indeed, whilst these rivers were essential for industry, they also hampered communications. As late as 1889, a Local Government Board Report on smallpox noted that Sheffield was more like a series of villages than a town.[7]

The town centre was densely populated and yet lacked the sophistication of other large towns. It still contained many narrow hilly lanes and the absence of imposing municipal buildings was evident. By 1865, the town had spawned several hundreds of streets of high density housing with 38,000 back-to-back dwellings and population densities of up to 260 persons to the acre. Thus, whilst the township was a commercial centre, it also provided accommodation for the bulk of the population, and by mid-century, had become saturated. Middle class housing began to develop in the Broomhall and Glossop Road area, as the beginning of an exodus from this overcrowding.

In industrial terms, the 1851 census revealed that nearly half the people in gainful occupations were employed in the staple industries: steel, metal goods (cutlery, tools and machinery) and in the working of gold and silver. The great range of goods produced meant that skilled craftsmen were still the main productive element; machine production was very much in its early days. The majority of the workforce was employed in the light trades, which, in turn, stimulated the development of heavy industry, for, as Pollard has shown, many of the steel producers of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries began in the cutlery and

related trades.[8]

In the second half of the century, there was expansion in many areas. The heavy industries responded to the new demands of railways, engineering, ship building and armaments, and the opportunities provided by the new large-scale method of steel smelting introduced by Sir Henry Bessemer. By 1891, they were employing a workforce nearly as large as that of the light trades, which themselves had experienced some further growth. The steel industry became based in the eastern side of the town, following the River Don and the railway line towards Rotherham, which provided a link with one of the main southward routes. Housing for these workers who came into the industry sprang up in Brightside, Attercliffe and Darnall. The middle classes continued to move westward into Nether and Upper Hallam, whilst the skilled craftsmen of the light trades lived in the 'villages' of Hillsborough, Walkley, Crookes and Heeley.

In the central area, the process of commercial development continued, whilst its population declined. It was in this section of the town that the worst living conditions were to be found. An 1872 survey referred to the 'quarters round West Bar and St. Philip's Road, where respectable artisans tried to preserve the decencies of life in intolerable conditions'.[9]

Until the last quarter of the century, immigration was still a very important factor in the town's growth. The expansion of heavy industry in the 1850s and 60s brought increases in the population of nearly 50 per cent, half of which was due to immigration. This process slowed up a great deal in the 70s and 80s, when the depression affected trade, and gains by immigration were cancelled out by emigration, particularly to America. Although the population did increase, it was due to natural reproduction rather than any other factors. Nevertheless in 1888, Sheffield's corporate activities and its population of some three hundred thousand fully justified its acquisition of the status of County Borough, followed in 1893 by elevation to the dignity of a city. By 1911 the former riverside hamlet had grown into the fifth city of England and the largest in Yorkshire, while the production of armour plating and guns had turned it into the arsenal of the British Empire.

The heavy industries have continued to expand. Even by 1911, they employed more people than the light trades, which had declined gradually. During this century the demand for canteens of cutlery has oriented the industry to mass-production, and favoured the growth of large firms and factories, although the small master has by no means been totally eliminated and still exists today.

The census returns show that if one takes into account various boundary extensions, the city's population continued to grow until 1961, after which it fell back to below a half million. In the local government re-organisation which took place in 1974, the boundaries of the City of Sheffield were again enlarged to form a new Metropolitan District, within the new County of South Yorkshire, with an estimated population of 561,500.

However, these general figures hide many interesting developments. The slum areas in the centre of town were cleared by the large-scale redevelopment schemes of the 1930s. In the period 1921-51, it has been established that one-quarter of the city's population moved from older densely populated areas to the suburbs and four-fifths of these seem to have been members of working class families.[10] Thus the central areas lost population to the industrial 'villages' of Brightside and Attercliffe in the early years of the century, and other suburbs like Meersbrook, Millhouses, Sharrow, Fulwood, Ecclesall, Walkley and Crookes were also growing. These areas took not only the middle class but also many working class families.[11]

Immigration ceased to be an important growth factor for several decades so that in 1951, 84.4 per cent of the population had been born in Yorkshire and 4.7 per cent in the neighbouring counties of Derbyshire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire. In 1951, for the first time there was a significant proportion of foreign-born, mostly post war Polish and other East European residents, who comprised 1.6 per cent of the total.[12] In the fifties and sixties they were joined by immigrants mainly from the West Indies and Pakistan. In 1971 the Commonwealth element numbered 10,500 persons and comprised around 2 per cent of the City's population. This trend combined with growth in the educational and health sectors meant that Sheffield was becoming a more cosmopolitan city by the 1970s.

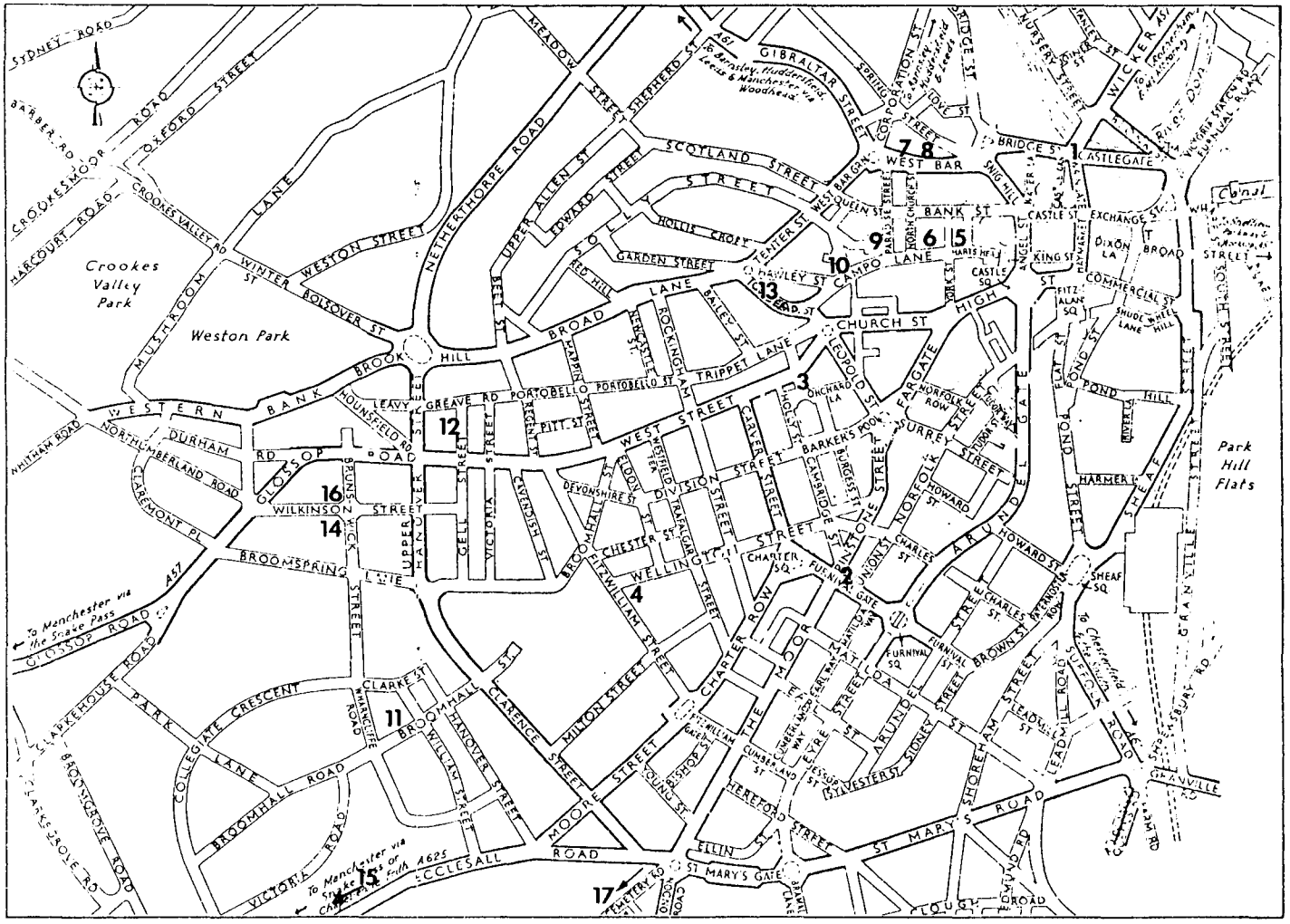
EARLY JEWISH SETTLEMENT

The establishment of a Jewish community in Sheffield can roughly be traced to the latter part of the eighteenth century. Much of the community's growth and evolution is attributable to the same patterns of immigration and commercial activity which contributed to the city's development.

Undoubtedly itinerant Jewish merchants had been operating in the Sheffield area throughout the eighteenth century, but towards the end of this period, it is clear that certain traders had become established in the town. Gershon Abrahams, a spectacle maker, settled before 1797; Benjamin Polack, a silversmith, had his mark registered at the Sheffield Assay Office in 1807. The most celebrated settler was Isaac Bright, who came to Sheffield in about 1786, and set himself up as a jeweller and watchmaker. The 1797 directory places the Bright's shop in Waingate (see Map 2), in the heart of the old town. The firm absorbed members of Bright's family, and gradually increased the business. For example, Isaac's younger brother, Philip, set himself up in Doncaster in the first decade of the nineteenth century, whilst Isaac himself later moved to Leamington with his son, Henry, to carry on the trade.[13]

However, the fact that these traders settled in Sheffield is not evidence of a Jewish community. Indeed, if we take the Brights, whom Lipson calls 'the first Jewish family of any note to settle in Sheffield', it is apparent that they had little contact with their co-religionists. In 1831, the Brights leased an acre of land at Rodmoor, well outside the town, from the Duke of Norfolk, for a family cemetery. Within a fortnight of this, a number of Jews, presumably acting as representatives of a community, leased some land in Bowden Street for a cemetery. Obviously, in this matter, the Brights were acting independently of communal activity by other Jews.

Map 2
CENTRAL SHEFFIELD
PLACES OF JEWISH INTEREST



LEGEND

1. Isaac Bright's shop, 1797.
2. House of Solomon Myer, where minyan met, 1817.
3. First rooms hired for worship, 1820s.
4. Cemetery, leased in 1831.
5. Rooms hired for synagogue, 1848.
6. Synagogue, 1872.
7. Base of Chevra, 1860.
8. Talmud Torah, 1902.
9. Talmud Torah, 1904.
10. New congregation synagogue, finally opened 1911.
11. Site considered for old congregation synagogue, 1908.
12. Another site considered for above.
13. Site turned down, 1912.
14. Talmud Torah, 1924, temporary synagogue after destruction of Campo Lane, 1940.
15. Old congregation synagogue, 1930.
16. Planned site for new congregation synagogue, 1951.
17. Centre Building, community centre, opened 1948, site of new synagogue, 1954 and school.

There are problems of deciding exactly when a Jewish community can be said to have existed in Sheffield. As Cecil Roth remarked in his study of provincial Jewish communities, 'the story of the Jewish community in Sheffield provides a curious example of the tendency of nineteenth century Anglo-Jewry to confuse its origins'.[14] Dates of origin which have been suggested vary from 1790 to 1850. According to Roth, the most accurate indication of communal activity is the leasing of land for a cemetery.[15] In Sheffield's case, this confirms the existence of a community by 1831. Recent work, suggests that there is firm evidence of commual activity in the 1820s. As early as 1817, a *minyan* (prayer group) was meeting in the house of Solomon Myer in Union Street, and when Myer moved to Hull, the group decided to take action for themselves.

> In or about the year 5589-1828, the number of families having increased, they hired a room to be used as a place of worship and applied to the Chief Rabbi of the time for their first Shochet, and Mr. Brown, father of Mrs Brown of Leeds, received the appointment.[16]

Most of the early Jewish settlers appear to have been merchants and traders of various kinds, providing services and living in the town itself. Isaac Moss, one of the signatories of the lease for Bowden Street was in the jewellery trade, as were the Brights. Exact information on the other members of the Jewish community at this time is scarce, but what little there is suggests that the immigrants of this period were reasonably well-off, and followed some kind of mercantile role in Sheffield society.

As yet, their numbers were extremely small, relative to the total population of Sheffield. A.A. Levy writing in the *Jewish Chronicle* in 1842, claimed 'there are at present about 10 Jewish families in the town, who are principally engaged in trade', and other evidence suggests a Jewish population of about 50 or 60 by the middle of the century.[17]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF JEWISH LIFE

The growth of the Jewish community began in the second half of the nineteenth century. From about 50 or 60 in the 1840s, the number of Jews increased to about 800 in 1903.[18] Most of this increase was due to immigration, although the total number of Jewish immigrants was never numerically significant in the pattern of Sheffield immigration.

The settlement patterns of this period are fairly clear. The initial Jewish community composed of middle-class tradesmen and merchants, lived in or near the built-up centre of the town. The institutions of the community reflect this fact; two examples are the cemetery at Bowden Street,[19] and the first rooms, hired as a synagogue, in Holly Street. (see Map 2). In 1848, the synagogue was situated in Figtree Lane, still in the town centre and this remained as the place of worship until 1872.

Lack of any definite statistical evidence makes it hard to trace the exact number of Jews at any time. Congregational returns vary with the years and, in Sheffield, with various internal disputes. For example, the number of seatholders of the old congregation in 1865 was 50, in 1867 – 20, in 1871 – 31, in 1873 (after the opening of a new synagogue) 74, rising to 300 in 1875, but falling again by 1882 to 35.[20] These figures reveal more about the nature of the early community than about its size.

It is possible, however, to detect an upsurge of immigration in the 1850s, since the clashes within the congregation indicate the emergence of a new, challenging group, who objected to being dominated by the old established minority. Eventually, this produced a complete split in the Sheffield community. There are references in the congregational Minutes of 1862 to the 'other congregation' and Lipson dates the foundation of the *Chevra* as 1860.[21] This breakaway movement became known as the Central Hebrew or New Congregation, and was based in rooms at West Bar. A further indication of continued growth are the references in 1875 to the two *Chevras.*

The majority of the immigrants appear to have arrived at Hull, which was the springboard for many Sheffield Jewish families. The opening of the Sheffield-Manchester railway in 1845 facilitated the western trek to Liverpool for those Jews intending to continue to America, and perhaps persuaded some to stay in Sheffield. One of this class of temporary residents who tarried some years in the town was Sammy Marks, from present day Lithuania, who went on to achieve fame and fortune in Kruger's Transvaal of the 1890s. It was to cope with the needs of these new immigrants that the Hebrew Benevolent Society came into being in 1872. This was an institution based in the immigrant community of the Central Hebrew Congregation.

The temporary revival of the Old Congregation with the opening of a new synagogue in North Church Street lasted only a few years. By 1881, there was a possibility of the new building ceasing to function. A motion was put forward at a congregational meeting 'to consider that steps shall be taken to prevent the closing of the synagogue'.[23] Yet, by the 1890s, conditions and membership seem to have improved, possibly by the influx of new immigrants in the period most associated with Jewish immigration, but also as the older immigrants became established and moved into a more respectable congregation.[24]

Living conditions for the new immigrants cannot have been easy. The area around West Bar, which was the first home for many newcomers, provided some of the worst slums in the town, as the 1872 survey mentioned above revealed. A further survey, in 1883, showed that conditions had not improved.[25] Whilst there were plans for slum clearance, the first scheme, in the Crofts area, in 1894, proved so expensive that further attempts, scheduled for Scotland Street in 1900, had to be abandoned.[26] Scotland Street lay in the heart of the Jewish settlement area.

The occupational structure of the Jewish community reflected the social stratification of that society. One group was the middle-class, following in the tradition of the Brights. Augustus Bright, a grandson of Isaac, had his own company of cutlery manufacturers and hardware

merchants. Selim Bright, Isaac's son, manufactured cutlery, and had his mark registered at the Sheffield Assay Office in 1864.[27] Other indications of these wealthier successful middle-class Jews can be found in the presidents of the Old Congregation. Among others were Philip Estell, a dentist, Barnet Samuel, a manufacturer of combs and knife handles, and Abraham Leon, a cutlery manufacturer.[28] It was from this section of the community that we find examples of involvement in public affairs. Maurice Bright, another of Issac Bright's sons, became a town councillor in 1845 and Henry Levy, son of Reuben Levy, was an unsuccessful candidate for the same office in 1858 and 1859.

These men were the elite of the community. Naturally, the historical sources on these people are plentiful and detailed. Information on the 'greeners' particularly those of working class origins, is not so easy to find. In evidence before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration in 1903, Maurice Wigram, President of the Sheffield Hebrew Congregation, referred to the various occupations of the immigrants who had arrived in the last ten years or so. These included 'tailors, machinists, cabinet makers, plumbers, painters, paper-hangers, glaziers and watchmakers'.[29]

Wigram's evidence was obviously designed to refute the claims of the anti-alien campaign which resulted from the immigration of this period, particularly as one of the leaders of the agitation, Sir Howard Vincent, was a Sheffield M.P. Thus, Wigram's claim that there was no destitution or overcrowding amongst immigrants in Sheffield ought to be treated with some scepticism. Other evidence already quoted suggests conditions were not as pleasant as he suggested. Indeed, the figures showing payment of relief by the local Board of Guardians, presented to the Commission, indicates a high degree of distress in these years.

Trade union activities by Jews, particularly in the tailoring industry, was a noticeable feature of the period. Although Joe Marfin, secretary of the local branch of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors, complained that alien labour was putting local men out of work, he also said that his union had Jewish members and Jewish branches. William Hart, Deputy Town Clerk, also suggested that there were Jewish unionists in the trade, but in a different union, the International Society of Tailors, Machiners and Pressers, and complained that both unions were in competition for Jewish members.[30]

Thus, at this time, the Jewish community, whilst having the features traditionally expected of the immigrant society, also had a middle class of some standing. This rather reflects the social structure of Sheffield society as a whole. Pollard in his study, consistently emphasises the possibility that the working class could gain middle class status in a short space of time. In this particular period, he points to the merging of cultural standards and modes of behaviour of both classes, of a 'growth of respectability'.[31] Of the cutlery trade he remarks, 'There were few wealthy manufacturers, and the transition from workman to master was a common occurence'.[32] Sheffield society may, therefore, have been more in accord with Jewish aspirations and values than other towns and cities, and this factor may help to explain the subsequent disappearance of a Jewish working class in later years.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, there existed in Sheffield a distinctive Jewish community, with its own institutions, synagogues, working men's club, naturalisation society and recreational organisations. The community was not, however, as we have seen, a unified one. The splits of the nineteenth century had also become institutionalised. These divisions were not only social but geographical. In the early years of the century, the idea of unifying the congregations was agreed on in principle, but the venue of Campo Lane, the headquarters of the New Congregation could not be accepted by the older group. Many of the middle-class Jews were following the pattern of their non-Jewish peers, and moving out into the suburbs.

At first, this move was westward, into the Broomhall area. In these early years, the Old Congregation needed a new synagogue to cope with increased numbers (there were about 100 seatless members at this time). The various sites which offered themselves as possibilities show the changing residential pattern. In 1908, Travis Place and Gell Street, both in the Broomhall area were suggested. On the other hand, when agreement was drawn up for a site in Townhead Street in 1912, the congregation could not raise the necessary funds from its members because of the location of the site.[33]

As the new immigrants became settled, and began to prosper, they too began to move out of the area around West Bar. Nether Edge and Broomhall became the settlement areas of the 1920s, extending further west into Ecclesall and Fulwood in the 1930s.[34]

This western movement is reflected in the changing location of the community's institutions. The *Talmud Torah* (religion school), which had opened in 1902 above a pork butcher's at West Bar, transferred in 1924 to Brunswick Street, because of the drift of population and a falling-off in attendance. After much deliberation, the Old Congregation sold the synagogue in North Church Street, moving in 1930 to new premises in Wilson Road, off Ecclesall Road. When the Campo Lane synagogue, belonging to the New Congregation was destroyed by bombing in 1940, services were held in the *Talmud Torah* at Brunswick Street, which suggests this venue was now more convenient than any central one. After the war, when plans were drawn up for a new synagogue, a site was found on the corner of Brunswick Street and Wilkinson Street, a further indication of these changes. However, amalgamation, which had been mooted ever since the nineteenth century splits, finally came about in 1953, and did away with the need for a new building for the New Congregation.

A new synagogue was planned, but it was built at Psalter Lane, next to the Centre Building, a Community Centre purchased in 1945. This indicates a movement of Jewish population even further to the west. Since that date, the community has become settled in its residential patterns, and little expansion or change has occurred.

The exact size of the Jewish community in this period is difficult to determine. In 1920, there were 325 seatholders for both congregations, which suggests a comm-

unity of some 1,500. A survey by the *Sheffield Jewish Journal* in 1952 suggested 500 families with an average of 3.1 persons per family, yielding a total of 1,550. In 1962, the *Journal* estimated a Jewish population of 1,800–2,000, although admitting that the real figures were probably less.

The story of the 1950s and 60s is one of a shrinking community. In 1962, the estimated Jewish birthrate was below the average Sheffield figure of 15.7 per thousand.[35] The *Journal* was alarmed that its announcements column revealed a decline in the number of births against deaths. In the period 1951–4, there were 68 deaths and 68 births. For 1959–62 there were 73 deaths and only 48 births. The number of children at the religion school was about 115. (In 1953 there were over 150 on the roll).[36]

The social structure of the community also changed rapidly, reflecting the geographical changes. The occupations mentioned by Wigram in 1903 no longer predominated. In 1962, it was estimated that, of the working community, 17 per cent were 'professional' and 83 per cent in 'trade'. Of that 17 per cent, 41 per cent were doctors. An earlier survey in 1956 had suggested that 70 per cent of this workforce were self-employed, although the statistical basis for this survey was rather weak. Several cutlery firms which are household names and employ thousands of workers had their origins in individual businesses and family concerns founded by Sheffield Jews. All this is evidence of the fairly fluid social structure of Sheffield life, which Pollard has referred to, and of which there are many examples in other economic spheres both from the Jewish community and from Sheffield society in general.

The Jewish community continued the tradition of service to society which had begun in the nineteenth century. 142 men and women served in the First World War. 12 were killed in action and 3 more died on active service. One of the servicemen was Harry Morris who, after the Great War, became a Labour Councillor and, in 1945, a Labour M.P. In 1950 he was made a Peer. During 1956, the community could boast of three councillors and four J.P.'s.[37] It has also provided a Lord Mayor in the person of Isadore Lewis, and a President of the Iron and Steel Federation of Great Britain in Lewis Chapman. In addition, a refugee from Nazi Germany, Sir Hans Krebs, won the 1953 Nobel Prize for medicine while a Professor at Sheffield University.

There is no doubt that the Jewish community has undergone many changes in the course of this century. The old settlement around West Bar has been left behind for the western suburbs,[38] and the Jewish working class has been replaced by what appears to be a largely middle class society in the 1970s. The exact extent of this transformation, and confirmation of this hypothesis will be illustrated in the following findings of the 1975 communal census.

NOTES

1) G.P. Jones, 'Early Industrial Development', in David Linton, (ed.), *Sheffield and its Region.* (Sheffield, 1956) p. 149.
2) Sidney Pollard and A.J. Hunt, 'The Growth of Population', in Linton, *op. cit,* p. 172.
3) *Ibid.,* p. 173. See E.J. Buchatzch, 'Places of Origin of a Group of Immigrants into Sheffield, 1624–1799', *Economic History Review,* 2nd series, (1949–50).
4) Arthur Raistrick, *West Riding of Yorkshire,* (London, 1970) p. 122.
5) Pollard and Hunt, *op. cit,* p. 176.
6) Sidney Pollard, *A History of Labour in Sheffield,* (Liverpool, 1959), p. 7.
7) *Ibid.,* p. 3.
8) *Ibid.,* p. 79. Much of this account is based on this work.
9) *Ibid.,* p. 94.
10) *Ibid.,* pp. 260–1.
11) *Ibid.,* p. 185.
12) Pollard and Hunt, *op. cit,* p. 179.
13) For full details of the Bright family see Eric Lipson, 'The Brights of Market Place', *Transactions of the Hunter Archeological Society,* vi, no.3, (1947).
14) Cecil Roth, *The Rise of Provincial Jewry: The Early History of the Jewish Community in the English Countryside, 1740–1840,* (London, 1950) p. 99.
15) *Ibid.,* p. 14.
16) *The Jewish Chronicle,* 12 January 1872. For a summary on the recent work on the origins of the community, see Kenneth Lunn, 'The Sheffield Jewish Community in the 19th Century', in *Provincial Jewry in Victorian Britain.* Papers prepared for Jewish Historical Society of England Conference, 6 July 1975.
17) See Lunn, *op. cit,* for details.
18) *Jewish Year Book,* 1903.
19) This cemetery, one of the oldest Jewish landmarks, was disinterred in 1975, and the bodies and headstones moved to Ecclesfield Cemetery.
20) See *Sheffield Jewish Journal,* July 1961, p. 16.
21) Eric Lipson, 'The History of Jews in Sheffield in the 19th Century' paper delivered to the Jewish Historical Society of England, February 1945. Manuscript copy, Sheffield City Libraries, M.D. 1840.
22) For details, see Lunn, *op. cit.*
23) Minutes, 6 February 1881.
24) For a standard account of this period see Lloyd P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870–1914,* (London, 1960).
25) Pollard, *op. cit.* p. 96.
26) *Ibid.,* p. 186.
27) Lipson, *Transactions of the Hunter Archeological Society,* pp. 121–2.
28) *Sheffield Jewish Journal,* Tercentenary Edition, (1956), p. 9.
29) *Royal Commission on Alien Immigration,* B. PP. IX, 1903, Minutes of Evidence, p. 726.
30) *Ibid.,* pp. 514, 766. For an account of this struggle at national and local level, see John Garrard, *The English and Immigration 1880–1910,* (London, 1971) pp. 165–177.
31) Pollard, *op. cit.* p. 122.
32) *Ibid,* p. 3.
33) *Sheffield Jewish Journal,* (1956).
34) *Ibid.*
35) *Ibid.,* June 1953
36) *Ibid.*
37) *Sheffield Jewish Journal,* (1956)
38) A study of the addresses of those Jews sending New Year greetings in the *Sheffield Jewish Journal,* of September 1960 revealed that 90 per cent were in the postal districts 7, 10 and 11, which cover the western suburbs of the city between Millhouses and Crookes.

Chapter II
METHODOLOGY

1975 COMMUNAL CENSUS

Sheffield was considered by the staff of the Research Unit, both in its history and present situation, to be fairly representative of many of the Anglo-Jewish Provincial communities in industrial centres within the range of 1,000–2,500 persons. We had a general impression of the recent changes which had occurred in such communities, but it was thought necessary to obtain a complete understanding and quantitative knowledge of the present situation. In order to meet this need it was felt that a community census – similar to those carried out in the U.S.A.–should be attempted. Sheffield was not our initial choice for such a census, but other communities placed so many political difficulties in our way that we decided to turn our attention to a centre where the local leadership was cooperative and realised the value of such information. They themselves were particularly concerned with the apparent decline of the community due to the emigration of young people and what appeared to be a serious decline in the birthrate. At the same time the proportion of elderly persons appeared to be increasing and further provision for the elderly in addition to the present 12 warden controlled flats, was under discussion.

In April 1974 a preliminary discussion about local demographic trends took place between Nigel Grizzard and Mr. David Brown, a prominent member of the Sheffield Jewish Representative Council, with relation to Mr. Brown's own January 1974 survey of the synagogue affiliated population; this was undertaken by going through the synagogue membership list with 5 or 6 people, who between them knew every family. The results are reproduced in Table I.

TABLE I
RESULTS OF JANUARY 1974 HOUSEHOLD SURVEY OF UNITED SHEFFIELD HEBREW CONGREGATION

Type of Household	Total Persons
40 single males (widowers or bachelors)	40
67 single females (widows or spinsters)	67
6 households of 2 females e.g. sisters	12
6 households of 1 male and 1 female e.g. brother and sister	12
4 households of female and 1 child	8
4 households of female and 2 children	12
3 households of female and 3 children	12
3 households of male plus 2 females	9
3 households of 3 females	9
1 household of male and 2 children	3
1 household of 2 males	2
156 households of husband and wife	312
61 households of husband and wife and 1 child	183
72 households of husband and wife and 2 children	288
22 households of husband and wife and 3 children	110
5 households of husband and wife and 4 children	30
Total 454	**1109**

This survey gave a total of 454 addresses and 1,109 individuals, but because it was basically a head count there was no attempt to allocate the population into age cohorts. The term 'children' thus referred to all unmarried persons of any age who were living with their parents.

From April to August 1974 there was an exchange of correspondence between the Research Unit and David Brown about the feasibility of extending the work which he had undertaken. In August 1974 a second visit was made to Sheffield by the Research Unit staff during which time they met the then communal leaders and explained their intentions with regard to a household census.

A plan of action was agreed in principle but it was first considered necessary to design a suitable questionnaire which accommodated the local and Research Unit's general interests. The Sheffield side was understandably anxious not to include questions which they thought might give offence, such as asking women their ages or any reference to divorce, but they required the inclusion of a question regarding single young people living away from home. The Research Unit was particularly interested in the inclusion of questions relating to intergenerational occupational mobility. However, because of the number of elderly and self-employed people involved, we were all concerned to make the form as short and simple as possible.

Eventually an acceptable format was agreed. Following this the Representative Council gave formal permission for a pilot survey to be carried out under the joint auspices of themselves and the Board. At the same time David Brown offered his assistance and full cooperation to the Research Unit in order to ensure the smooth running of the survey and to act as the local liaison.

The questionnaire is shown below. Most questions were included to permit the specific analysis of demographic and socio-economic characteristics, migration and intergenerational occupational mobility. The reasons and problems associated with this specific design were as follows:

The postal areas were found to be segmented and of no real analytical value. A specific example is Sheffield 10, which stretches from the Moors to the centre of town. The duration and previous residence questions along with the date of marriage, indicated geographical mobility. The marital status questions provided for four obvious answers; the category 'other' was a compromise to include a general term for those separated or living together. Regarding marriage rites it was decided to dispense with any reference to church ceremonies because it was felt that this might offend respondents and that anyone in this situation was very unlikely to be interested in the survey. In the event the latter assumption was proven correct as there was no indication that any person in the survey was in this category: all the intermarried couples claimed to have been involved only in civil ceremonies. Some topics, particularly those relating to children and marital status were repeated on the back in order to ensure accuracy and test verifiability in this self-enumerated form.

The following plan of action was then drawn up:–

1) The community would provide the Research Unit with a list of names and addresses of all known Jewish people in Sheffield. This would be a master list collated from those of every communal organisation together with unaffiliated Jews known to the community.

2) That an article about the survey would appear in the forthcoming issue of the *Sheffield Jewish Journal* in order to give the survey publicity.

3) That a stratified 10 per cent sample would first be undertaken to test the feasibility of the questionnaire and the method of carrying out the survey.

In the New Year Issue (No. 112) of the *Sheffield Jewish Journal* of Tishri 5735/September 1974, the following article appeared:—

SIT DOWN AND BE COUNTED

If the community will cooperate the Board of Deputies will undertake a census in Sheffield, one of the first towns to be chosen for a demographic survey. It is expected to be more thorough and in greater deatil than any previous count of the community and will commence as soon as the Representative Council has had a meeting to give its consent. It will be an interesting experiment and may settle many controversies.

It is a matter of note that people, Jews and Gentiles alike, are more mobile now than was the case and the Survey would seek both to establish the movement of families and to determine the origins and occupations of their parents.

Past sociological surveys have indicated that the Jewish birthrate may lag behind the national average. Is this true of Sheffield? The validity of this can best be checked after each family has completed its questionnaire. The information will be treated in a strictly confidential manner so that individual particulars will not be available to us here. Nevertheless the final digest of the statistics as analysed by the Board of Deputies Demographic Unit, headed by Dr. B. Kosmin will of course be released to Sheffield and may reveal some fascinating aspects of how the community is changing.

For a period of around 3 months a dozen volunteers will be needed to help in various ways. Housewives, students, retired persons, indeed any tactful and mobile individuals who would be interested might care to contact David Brown.

There were discussions over the type of questionnaire which should be used and whether it should include the respondents name and address or be anonymous. In our pilot scheme it was decided to use both types; half with the name and address as in example A and half with this section deleted. The questionnaire would be posted to the family with an accompanying letter of explanation, and a prepaid envelope for the completed form addressed to the Board's London Offices.

EXAMPLE A.

THE BOARD OF DEPUTIES OF BRITISH JEWS RESEARCH UNIT/QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STATISTICAL SURVEY OF JEWISH POPULATION OF SHEFFIELD

Strictly Confidential.

Name of Head of Household .....

Address .....

.....

SECTION 1. (for the Head of the household to complete):

The 52 families that were chosen for our pilot sample were chosen on a specifically stratified basis, from different age groups and from varying degrees of observance to Judaism. On the 11th November the forms were sent out by second class post.

By the 1st January 1975 we had received 7 of the forms with the names and addresses previously inserted and 14 of the 26 forms sent anonymously but with a code of our own identification. In addition 2 forms were also returned from addresses from which the families had moved. The overall response rate was 21/50 or 42 per cent.

All of the returned forms were intelligently filled in and there did not seem to be any specific question that was consistently left unanswered, which reassured the Sheffield Representative Council, since we had insisted on everyone's date-of-birth being stated. Many of the people who returned the forms were those who had a higher education and many of the forms sent out anonymously were returned with names written in.

On the basis of the pilot survey David Brown went to the Representative Council and obtained agreement to enact the rest of the survey. It was decided to use the questionnaire with Section 1 as in example A, i.e. with the names and addresses already inserted, since the form would be sent to London and be processed by outsiders who had no knowledge of the people involved. This meant there was no need for a coding process. The other change was that in Section 3 the question asking all ever-married women how many of their children were still alive was omitted since it was felt that this could cause offence and so bias the rest of the questionnaire.

In February 1975 we prepared the complete master list of the Jewish Community and sent our survey forms together with an explanatory leaflet, to the 471 addresses we had gathered i.e. the Master List less 52 persons previously circularised. On the 12th February 1975, 471 forms were posted to all homes who had ever had contact with the Sheffield Jewish community, except those who had taken part in the preliminary canvass. By the end of February we had received back 175 completed forms, or 37 per cent of the total posted. A further publicity campaign was embarked upon in Sheffield through communal organisations and in this way it was possible to collect another 84 replies. We then had received questionnaires from 280 families, or approximately 55 per cent of the community. The

QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION I (for the Head of the household to complete).

(1) When did you move to your present address?

(2) Where did you live before? (please tick appropriate square)

(a) In this city at another address?

(b) In another city/town?

(c) In another country?

If you ticked (a) please give previous postal district, if (b) or (c) please specify.

(3) What is your marital status?

Never married	Divorced
Married	Other
Widowed	

(4) (If married, widowed, divorced, separated)

By what rites were you married?

Orthodox Jewish	Liberal Jewish
Reform Jewish	Civil

(5) Date of last marriage

SECTION II (to be completed by Head of household and wife, if married)

	Your Father's occupation when working	Your Father's place of birth	Place of birth of your Mother.
Head of House			
Wife			

SECTION III (to be answered by all ever-married women)

Relation to Head of Household	Have you been married more than once? YES/NO	Total number of children (except still-born) born to you, please give date of birth and sex of children.	How many are still alive?

TO BE COMPLETED BY ALL MEMBERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD (INCLUDING HEAD)

Relationship to Head of Household	Sex	Date of birth month/year	Place of birth	Religion	Marital Status	Occupation	Please state any educational qualification beyond Secondary School level.

To Head of Household: Do you have any unmarried children living away from home? If so, please fill in details below:

Sex	Town/country of residence	Date of birth month/year	Occupation	Educational level

problem thus became one of deciding whether or not it would be fair to claim this sample as representative of Sheffield Jewry.

At this stage the lists of respondents and non-respondents were shown to Mr. David Brown and he suggested that the respondents were biased towards the younger and better educated section of the community. We decided to canvass the non-respondents directly, using a shortened form asking their age, marital status and occupation. A form as shown below was used with spaces for all residents of the household.

NAME OF FAMILY *ADDRESS*

....

.....

.....

Relationship to Head of Household	*Occupation*	*Sex* M.	F.	*Age* 0-4, 5-9, 10-14
1. Head				
2. Wife				

Please tick where appropriate.
(The ages were given in decennial intervals from 15 onwards to 75+).

David Brown and helpers contacted persons at social functions and also went around the community calling at homes, filling in the appropriate details. As predicted when the marginals for the non-respondents were analysed it was found they consisted of a sample with a median age 10.8 years older than those who had replied by post. Those directly canvassed also had a smaller household size, 2.18 against 2.55 persons; 40 per cent of economically active males were self-employed businessmen as compared to 12 per cent of the postal respondents. We were unable to obtain information on 18 households before the cut-off date. Thus the total number of Jewish households in Sheffield in early 1975 was 501.[1] The difference between this number, 501, and the total of the two canvasses (471 + 52) is explained by the fact that there turned out to be a number of duplicate and changed addresses. In addition during the period of the survey a number of elderly people died and a few families left Sheffield.

The completed questionnaires were transferred to a coding form for preliminary analysis of population totals and socio-economic characteristics. The coded information was then converted into numerical form which was represented on standard eighty character data cards. Two data cards were necessary for each household since there was a possible maximum of 93 variables for each of the 483 observations. These 93 potential variables resulted from analysis of the full questionnaire and related to the data on each household, a possible six individuals in each, as well as single person living away from home. The punched data cards were analysed by computer using our own program and Version 5 of the SPSS system.[2]

The dual nature of the census resulted in the full total of 483 observations only being available for a restricted amount of basic information included in both types of questionnaire. These were household address and size, and the number, ages, sex, religion and occupations of the occupants. All the data concerning residential mobility, marital status and marriage, birthplace and education of present, and earlier generations, as well as the occupational patterns of the latter, only relates to the 280 households involved in the full questionnaire and of course even coverage of these is by no means fully complete. Nevertheless, much of this information can be regarded as representative if it is made age specific since this reduces the youthful bias of the sample. Moreover, although the information relates to a possible maximum of only 55.8 per cent of the 501 households, it incorporates the younger and larger households and so represents 59.8 per cent of the total population.

NOTES

1. It is known that this total does not exhaust the number of persons of Jewish descent in the City and relates only to those who have had some contact or are known to the recognised Jewish community.
   It is possible that changes in the political or social climate, or in personal circumstances, could cause members of this unknown group of people to affiliate at some time in the future.
2. N.H. Nie, D.H. Bent, and C.H Hull, *Statistical Package for the Social Sciences,* New York, McGraw-Hill, 1970.

Chapter III
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS

The Jewish community of Sheffield is overwhelmingly domiciled within the old city boundaries. The few Jewish families scattered around the smaller villages of North Derbyshire, such as Hathersage and Dronfield, as far as Chesterfield, and the neighbouring South Yorkshire towns of Rotherham and Chapeltown, look to Sheffield as their communal centre. These people have been included in this survey since only 26 households fell into this category, and they comprise some Sheffield commuters. The closest large centres of Jewish population are Manchester, across the Pennines, some 38 miles to the west, and Leeds, 33 miles to the north. Both these cities and their environs have large Jewish communities of around 35,000 and 18,000 persons respectively. There is also a small Jewish population with its own synagogue in Doncaster, 18 miles down the Don Valley to the northeast, and to the south there are other communities in Derby and Nottingham.

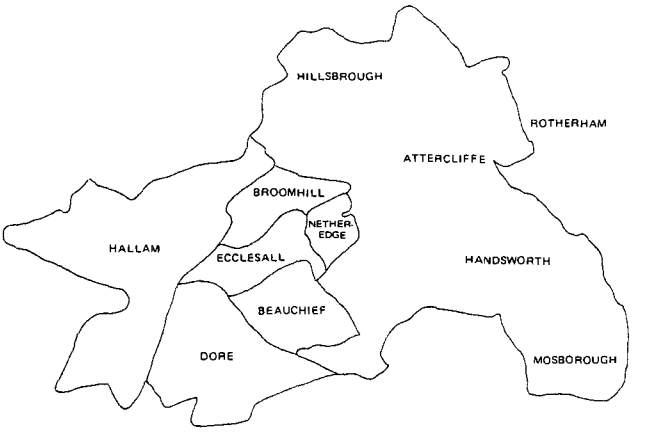
In terms of geographical distribution, the postal districts of Sheffield, many of which cover sections from the outskirts to the centre, do not bear much resemblance to homogeneous residential areas or local neighbourhoods. However, within these large sections, 88 per cent of the Jewish population are concentrated in postal districts, 7, 10, 11, and 17, with postal district 11, containing 200 households, or 40 per cent of the city's Jewish population, having by far the largest proportion.

The 1971 ward boundaries, for which census data are available, are far better indicators of social stratification than the postal districts, since they cover smaller areas. In 1975, 85 per cent of the 501 Jewish households were found in the following six wards – Beauchief (52 households), Broomhill (76), Dore (32), Ecclesall (141), Hallam (37), and Nether Edge (88).[1] No other ward had more than ten Jewish households. These wards represent the six most westerly residential wards in the city, going out towards the Moors. Although encompassing about 40 per cent of the total city land area, they contain only about a quarter of the city's total population, and very little industry. In socio-economic terms, it is there that Sheffield's high-status population (professional and managerial classes) is concentrated. In 1971 nearly 40 per cent of Sheffield dwellings were rented from the City Council; however, in these western wards the average was around ten per cent.

Ecclesall Ward forms the geographical heart of the six western wards, and of the preferred Jewish residential area which lies between the Abbeydale Road in the south and the Manchester Road in the north, fanning out from the centre towards Dore and Hallam Grange. 78 per cent of the houses in this ward are owner-occupied, whereas overall the average is 39 per cent. Additionally, the lowest proportion of Council housing was in the Ecclesall Ward, where only 1.2 per cent of the ward's households were Council tenants.

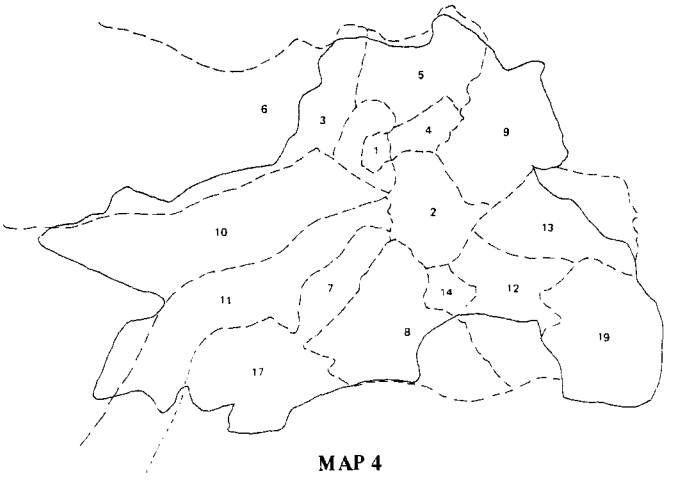
In addition to containing the largest number of Jewish households, Ecclesall Ward also contained the highest percentage of Jews of any ward in the city. Although the Jewish population was of no numerical significance within the total city population, in Ecclesall Ward the widely dispersed Jewish population comprised nearly 2 per cent of all households. It is for this reason that any comparison of social indicators will be made with Ecclesall Ward as well as with the city as a whole.

CITY OF SHEFFIELD 1968 BOUNDARIES SHOWING WARDS AND AREAS MENTIONED IN TEXT



MAP 3

SHEFFIELD POSTAL DISTRICTS



MAP 4

CITY BOUNDARY ———
POSTAL DISTRICT BOUNDARY – – – –

There are a number of Jewish families spread throughout the City in Council housing, but the vast majority appear to be owner-occupiers. This residential pattern is in marked contrast to Hackney, in inner London, where we found that 36 per cent of Jewish households resided in Council housing.[2] In other large centres, such as Leeds, significant numbers of Jews are also to be found in public housing. However, it appears from these residential patterns that the Jewish proletariat mentioned in the historical introduction no longer exists in Sheffield. The aspirations of the immigrant generation of the late nineteenth century were probably influenced by the social hegemony of the long-established middle class; the tendency was to move from private rented accommodation in the City Centre to owner-occupation further west. Some evidence of this movement was discernable among the 275 households which provided information as to their previous place of residence. There was evidence of substantial movement from postal district 1, the City centre, and particularly district 6, the area of Walkley and Hillsborough, towards the south-west. The data also showed considerable movement from districts 7, 10 and 11 towards 17, Dore and Totley. Further evidence of this preference for the western suburbs was shown among Jewish newcomers to Sheffield; 13 had moved from London, 31 from elsewhere in the U.K. and 7 from abroad. Over 75 per cent of the newcomers chose to establish themselves in districts 7, 10 or 11.

Another indicator of geographical movement was provided by the 240 households which supplied data on the length of time they had lived in their present home. 28 households had been established in one place for more than 30 years, and 125 households for more than 10 years. Only a quarter had lived for less than 5 years in their present home. This data showed that the longer established households were more likely to be found in postal district 10 than 11, and that the more newly established were more likely to be found in district 17. Among those who had been living in their present homes for less than 10 years, there was a tendency to move away from district 7, Nether Edge and Millhouses, and out towards 10, 11 and 17. The process of geographical redistribution has been aided by emigration and ageing among the poorer elements. There is no Jewish Old Age Home in Sheffield, so some former Sheffield residents have been accommodated in the Leeds Home. Elderly persons are also catered for in Carmel Court, a Warden-controlled block of flats in the synagogue grounds at Wilson Road in Nether Edge Ward.

HOUSEHOLD SIZE

The significantly smaller average household size of the Sheffield Jewish population shown in Table II, reflects both its agedness and its middle-class status, as demonstrated by its larger than average proportion of one-person households and fewer large families shown in Table III. It is interesting to note that Ecclesall Ward veers slightly away from the city norm and towards the Jewish profile. Again the contrast can be made with working class Hackney where the average Jewish household size was estimated at 2.77 persons, and the proportion of one-person households was 20.5 per cent, figures which are very close to those for the City of Sheffield.

TABLE II

HOUSEHOLD SIZE – ALL JEWISH HOUSEHOLDS

Number of Persons.	Number of Households	Total Persons
1	132	132
2	182	364
3	56	168
4	77	308
5	30	150
6	5	30
7	1	7
Total:	483	1159

Average Household Size 2.4 persons.

Outstanding 18 households estimated at 39 persons giving 1975 total of 1,198 person in 501 Jewish households.

TABLE III

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD SIZE

	Jews 1975	Ecclesall Ward 1971	Sheffield City 1971
Number of Persons:	%	%	%
1	27	21	20
2	38	34	33
3	12	18	19
4	16	17	16
5	6	7	7
6	1	2	3
7	0	1	2
Average Household size	2.4	2.66	2.75

The 18 households on which no information could be obtained before the cut-off date were estimated to have the same sex ratio and household size characteristics as the original group of non-respondents to the postal survey, i.e. 2.18 persons, with a slight female bias.

The 501 households which contained Jews also contained 31 persons in 22 households who were non-Jews. The data on these individuals have been included in subsequent tables referring to Jewish households but not in Table II nor Tables IV, VI, VII and VIII which relate explicitly only to Jewish persons.

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

Among the 483 households, only 317 consisted of the normal nuclear family of husband and wife, with or without children, and 17 of these had a parent of one of the couple living with them. There were 20 households consisting of unmarried adult relatives, predominantly brothers and sisters. The large proportion of one person households has already been remarked upon. In addition, there were other indicators of an elderly population, for although there were found to be 13 one parent families, 8 of these were entirely composed of adults. There were only 5 cases of a widow or divorcee with young children, a fact which relates to the very low incidence of marriage break-up, which is discussed in a later section.

Of the 383 families, there were only 2 cases of unrelated individuals living together in the same household. All the evidence points out that the family tie, rather than friendship, is the basis of household composition.

AGE DISTRIBUTION

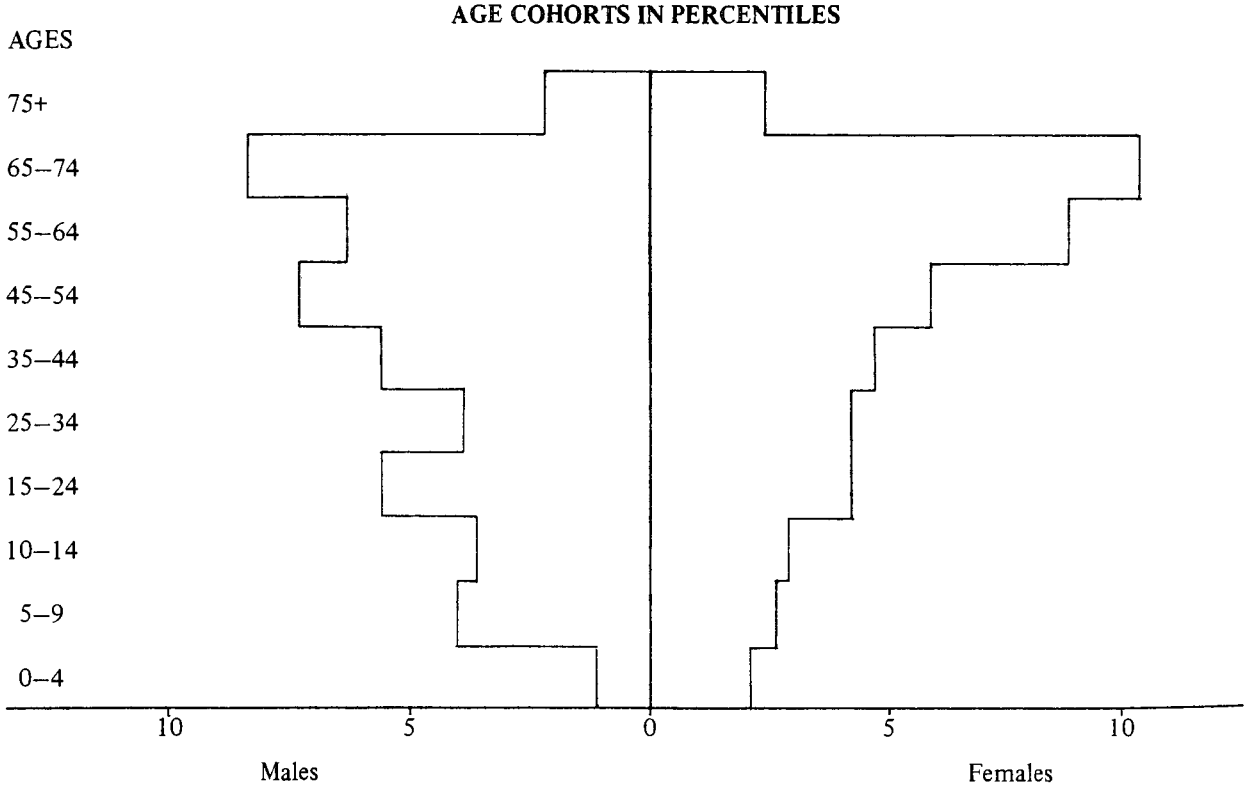
The age distribution of the Jewish population verifies the impressions provided by the residential patterns and the household size. The median age of the Jewish population in 1975 was 47.6 years, compared to the Sheffield City median age of 36.5 years and Ecclesall Ward's 38.9 years at the 1971 census. The top heavy nature of the population is well demonstrated by the pyramid. Whereas 29 per cent of the Jews were over the retirement age of 60 years for females and 65 years for males, in 1971 the Sheffield proportion of re people was 17 per cent and Ecclesall's was 19 per There was proportional underrepresentation of y Jews; only 17 per cent were under 15 years in compared to Sheffield's 23 per cent and Ecclesall per cent in 1971. Thus, although Ecclesall approximates slightly more towards the Jewish ch teristics, the Jewish population is still on average aged than the surrounding gentile population.

TABLE IV
SHEFFIELD JEWRY – AGE STRUCTURE

AGE	MALES	FEMALES	
0/4	14	24	
5/9	46	29	
10/14	43	33	
15/24	65	51	
25/34	45	50	
35/44	67	56	
45/54	85	70	
55/64	72	103	
65/74	98	122	
75+	25	30	
Census Total:	560	568	1128
Estimate:	19	20	
Grand Total:	579	588	1167

FIGURE 1

SHEFFIELD JEWISH POPULATION
AGE COHORTS IN PERCENTILES



The Jewish situation reflects the significant under-representation of young people in the age cohort 15–34 years. This suggests that there has been considerable emigration from among this segment of the population. The fact that the largest age cohort among Sheffield Jews was born between 1901 and 1911, suggests that this emigration is not a recent phenomenon and has been present since the end of the last World War.

The overall sex ratio is quite evenly balanced. The rather wide disproportions in certain cohorts such as ages 0–4 and 5–9 years are not significant and could be expected in such a small sample.

The age distribution explains the concern of the Sheffield community about its future and provides the background for the known decline in the birthrate and the high death rate.

MARITAL STATUS

The Sheffield Jewish population was found to consist of many married couples and a very high proportion of widowed persons, which further reflects its agedness. Most of the 31 persons whose status details were not obtained were elderly women who did not specify whether they were widowed or had merely never married. Disregarding these persons it was revealed that 87 women and 21 men over the age of 45 years, and one woman under 45, were widowed. There were 33 men and 33 women over the age of 45 years who had never married, and many of these were brothers and sisters who now live together. The number of 'never married' adults over 45 years, and particularly the number of older bachelors, is somewhat unusual among Jewish populations which are normally noted for their very high marriage rates.[3]

TABLE V
MARITAL STATUS

Never married	412
Married	634
Widowed	109
Divorced/Other	12
Not given	31
Total	1198

The fact that there were only 8 persons, equally divided between the sexes, who were divorced, out of 501 households, indicates an extremely low divorce rate, even despite a possible tendency for divorced persons to leave Sheffield for social reasons. Divorced persons are not located in any particular age group, since half are over 45 years of age. Another indicator of the low divorce pattern was the fact that of 240 women who answered the question on how many times they had been married, only 7 had been married more than once.

REPRODUCTIVE RATES

TABLE VI
CRUDE BIRTH RATE

Annual Average Number of Children Aged 0–4 Divided by Total Population

	Children 0–4	Total Population	Rate per mile
Sheffield Jewry 1975	38	1,157	6.8
United Kingdom 1975	N/A	N/A	12.2
Sheffield City 1971	40,603	520,325	15.6
Ecclesall Ward 1971	1,309	19,980	13.1

TABLE VII
FERTILITY RATIO

	Children 0–4		Females 15–45		Fertility Ratio
Sheffield Jewry 1975	38	:	157	=	242
Sheffield Jewry 1970	75	:	171	=	439
Hackney Jewry 1971	1,919	:	4,745	=	404
Ecclesall Ward 1971	1,309	:	3,704	=	353
Sheffield City 1971	40,603	:	94,599	=	429
United Kingdom in '000s 1971	4,508	:	10,631	=	424

The age structure of the Sheffield Jewish population is not representative of Anglo-Jewry as a whole since so many young people born and bred there obviously move away. This means that a crude birthrate, as shown in Table VI, is not very useful in gauging reproductive rates, but merely emphasises the known agedness of the Jewish population. Nevertheless, recent national findings reveal that there has been a marked fall in the overall birthrate between the late 1960s and the early 1970s.[4] Additionally it must be remembered that the communal census relates to a time four years after the national census, and to a period in which the national birthrate is at an unprecedentedly low level.

To gain a clearer idea of the rate of reproduction, it is necessary to examine the fertility ratio which shows the average number of children produced by females of fertile age over the quinquennium. In Table VII, the figure extrapolated back to 1970 for Sheffield Jewry, using children and females presently in the next highest five year age cohort, reveals a fertility ratio slightly above

the national average, and much in excess of Ecclesall Ward's. Nevertheless, the fertility ratio in Table VII reveals that recent Jewish fertility in Sheffield has fallen by more than the one-third which has been the national decrease in the last decade.

The fall-off by 1975 can mainly be attributed to the diminished size of the cohort of married women under 30, as illustrated by Table VIII. This has resulted in an unusually small number of children aged 0–4 compared with those aged 5–9 and 10–14 years. As Table III indicates, the loss has been particularly evident among male children. Such anomalies are quite common in small samples.

It is also possible to compare reproductive rates over longer periods than 5 years, since our own, as well as the national census, asked women to give details of the number of children ever born to them.

The results are set out below in Table VIII. The data show that over the last two generations, Sheffield Jewry's reproductive rates have reflected the City's trends, and have been greater than those of the middle-class population of Ecclesall Ward. It is interesting to note that women born between 1900 and 1914, although bearing enough children to reproduce themselves, had nowhere near as large families as those of which they themselves were generally held to products.

TABLE VIII

CHILDREN BORN PER 100 MARRIED WOMEN.

	AGE			
	16–29	30–44	45–59	60–74
1971 Sheffield City	123	224	192	N/A
1971 Ecclesall Ward	90	205	169	N/A
1975 Sheffield Jewry	119	215	197	224
No. of women in Sample	21	59	72	79
1971 Hackney Jewry	134	227	165	N/A
No. of Women in Sample	121	211	307	–

The low fertility among women presently aged 45–59 years, who were married from the late 1930s to the early 1950s, was not as pronounced among Sheffield Jewry as it was in Hackney and other areas of London. This may have been reflective of the more middle-class status of Sheffield Jewry, the cheaper cost of living and better housing situation in the north of England, as well as a lower wartime stress factor.

THE DEATH RATE

The Sheffield Jewish community buries some 20–30 persons every year. In 1975, the Jewish Burial Association interred 25 persons, which can be translated to a crude death rate of 20.8 deaths per mille, assuming a population of 1,200. This number is not always strictly related to the actual community size, since sometimes persons unknown to the community during their life-time request a Jewish burial.

POPULATION PROJECTION

In recent years, the average number of children born annually at 7.6 persons, has been far exceeded by the number of deaths. The natural loss has been about 18 persons a year. However, other factors have also tended to deplete the community's numbers. The most obvious of these has been the emigration of young adults. The census revealed a total of 35 single young people in this category among the 280 households who completed the full questionnaire. We can therefore assume that the overall number is about 50. Of the 35 persons, 25 were men and 10 were women; 9 of the males and 4 of the females were under age 25, and one male was over age 35. It would appear that about 20 per cent of the current generation of young people aged 25–34 years have left the City. To these must be added an apparent net loss among those Sheffield persons who marry outsiders and take up residence elsewhere.

Among the elderly, too, there is also some loss by emigration. These comprise those who retire to coastal resorts and warmer climates, and a few who move into the Old Age Home in Leeds.

The census revealed that in the last few years, Jewish immigration into Sheffield has been at the level of 7 families, or about 20 persons a year. Most of these families are headed by professionals: doctors, university lecturers, scientists, and business executives. They often have young children and so are likely to call on the facilities of the Jewish community. The future of this immigration will depend on local employment prospects in the professional/executive sectors, which in turn depend on Sheffield's role as a regional centre. It can be expected that there will always be a small immigration of families to offset some of the losses of single young people, mentioned above. As a result, the community will continue to exist in the foreseeable future, but may stabilise at around 1,000 persons.

NOTES

1) The wards and postal districts can be approximately related as follows:
   - Postal District 7 – Nether Edge and part of Beauchief Ward
   - Postal District 10 – Northern part of Hallam Ward, Broomhill Ward
   - Postal District 11 – Southern part of Hallam Ward, Ecclesall Ward
   - Postal District 17 – Dore Ward
2) All references to Hackney are to be found in B.A. Kosmin and N. Grizzard, *Jews in an Inner London Borough,* London, Research Unit, Board of Deputies of British Jews, 1975.
3) A survey of 1,666 Jewish households in Britain taken in 1950–1952 revealed that only 7.1 per cent of males, and 8.4 per cent of females, aged 55 years and over, had never married. The corresponding figures for the general population at that period were 8.6 per cent for men, and 15.5 per cent for women.
   H. Neustatter, 'Demographic and Other Statistical Aspects of Anglo-Jewry', in M. Freedman, ed., *A Minority in Britain,* London, Valentine Mitchell, 1955, pp. 90–91.
4) *OPCS Monitor,* PP2 75/1, p.3.

Chapter IV
SOCIAL PATTERNS

COMMUNITY STRUCTURE

The Sheffield Jewish community is extremely well endowed with societies and organisations. More than 30 organisations ranging from, for example, the Zionist Association, to the Sheffield Committee for Soviet Jewry, to the Kol Rinah Choir, exist to serve the varied needs of the 501 Jewish households.

Naturally, there is a considerable amount of duplication of membership. Since the overwhelming support for these organisations comes from synagogue members, it is fair to say that the United Sheffield Hebrew Congregation's membership comprises the backbone of the community. In addition to the usual religious, educational and Zionist organisations, others provide cultural, social, youth, welfare and recreational services. One, the Jewish Housing Association, provides flats for 6 elderly couples and 6 single people in a warden controlled block.

The need for service organisations for the elderly is borne out by the census which found 123 males and about 200 females over retirement age. As noted in the Demography section, a large number of these persons live alone, as a elderly couples, or share their domicile with elderly siblings. It seems apparent that as this largely elderly population ages further the demand for service organisations particularly geared towards meeting their needs will become greater. The 18 accommodation units offered by the Jewish Housing Association will not be sufficient to meet the needs of elderly persons in the future.[1]

The percentage of synagogue affiliation among Sheffield Jews is very high at 86 per cent or 431 of the 501 households. It is interesting that this figure is so high, in view of the traditional Orthodox nature of the congregation. Instead of a new Liberal or Reform congregation arising, as has happened in many provincial communities, the United Sheffield Hebrew Congregation has appeared to adopt a more flexible attitude toward modernist challenges and has welcomed young newcomers into its midst, whilst retaining its traditional Orthodox values.

Nevertheless, even among the 70 'fringe' households of the Jewish community, who are not synagogue members, there is a high degree of cohesion with the organised Jewish community, as evidenced by the high degree of response to our questionnaire. In effect, completion of the questionnaire can be regarded as a positive index of affiliation. Although there is some concern within the Jewish community that the professional and acculturated Jewish families who have moved into Sheffield in recent years are not affiliating with the synagogue, and therefore not participating in Jewish community life, this was not found to be the case. In fact, there was a higher than average degree of participation in the postal questionnaire among the younger members of the community. The 110 children attending the Religion School, and the presence of a youth worker from Israel, emphasises the interest among young families.

The decline in members from about 2,200, and relative geographical dispersion, which the community has undergone in the last half-century, have perhaps contributed to the dilution in the specifically religious content of most peoples' lives. The community, which at one time could boast two rabbis, has been unable, for more than three years, to fill the rabbinical vacancy in its one remaining congregation. In the same period, the eight kosher butcher shops and delicatessen have been reduced to a sole kosher butcher.

MARRIAGE PATTERNS

One current concern has been the possibility of attrition caused by intermarriage. The census showed that this was not such a large problem. There were 22 instances of mixed marriages, where the non-Jewish partner has not converted to Judaism, 17 among Jewish males and gentile females, and 5 among Jewish females and gentile males. Nevertheless, the Jewish partners of these couples have demonstrated their affiliation to the community through synagogue membership or by their participation in the communal census.

As one would expect, in a community with solely an Orthodox synagogue, an overwhelming proportion of marriages – 89.6 per cent – were performed in Orthodox ceremonies; 3.2 per cent were Reform marriages, 1.2 per cent Liberal, and 6 per cent had a purely Civil ceremony. The latter figure corresponds to the 22 inter-married couples already referred to.

Analysis of marriage among couples under age 45 showed very little diversion from the overall pattern. There was a slightly higher proportion of Reform marriages, and a small drop in the percentage of Civil marriages, but the preference remained firmly with the Orthodox ceremony.

TABLE IX
AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN BY MARRIAGE CERMONY

Marriage Ceremony	Number of Children per Woman						Number of Women in sample	Average number of Children
	0	1	2	3	4	5		
Orthodox	45	35	94	44	5	0	223	1.68
Reform	2	1	1	2	0	1	7	2.0
Liberal	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	2.0
Civil	11	1	0	3	0	0	15	0.75
Total	58	37	98	49	5	1	248	1.63

Our data provided the opportunity to investigate the relationship between the type of marriage ceremony, and fertility. Out of a sample of 248 women, the average number of children per woman was 1.63. Because the sample includes some younger women, this figure must not be confused with completed family size. However, such a figure does emphasise the overall low fertility of this population during this century. 23 per cent of the married women had no children; only 2.4 per cent had more than 3 children. Among the overwhelming number of couples married in an Orthodox ceremony, the average number of children was 1.68.

Among those married in Reform and Liberal ceremonies, the average number of children was higher, at 2.0 per family. An interesting and significant difference was those married in Civil ceremonies, most of which were mixed marriages. The average number of children born to this type of couple was 0.75. About 75 per cent of these couples have had no children at all. The reason for this surprisingly low reproduction can only be conjectured. It is possible that many of these couples have decided to avoid the possible social problems involved in raising children of mixed marriages, or, possibly it is couples in this position who are more likely to be able to retain their links with the Jewish community, without conversion. Another possibility is that in those mixed marriages where children were produced, there was a greater incentive for conversion of one parent to the faith of their spouse.

The data on age at marriage suggested a trend towards marriage at an earlier age during the last two decades, in line with national trends. The younger couples appear to be closer in age than those married in the 1930s and 1940s, when the male partner was often 5–10 years older. This appears to be a return to the pattern at the earlier part of the century, though among the elderly one can assume that if large age differences had existed at the time of marriage, by now the elder partner would no longer be alive.

An examination of the birthplace data revealed that in only 23 per cent of 184 observations were both partners born in Sheffield. In only 60 per cent of the cases was either of the partners born in Sheffield. As one would expect in a community of this size, with its obviously restricted choice of marriage partners, a regional marriage market was evident. 20 per cent of all marriages involved a Sheffield-born person and a partner from Manchester, Leeds or other centres in Yorkshire and Lancashire. There were only 12 cases of Sheffield-London marriages. Another index of this rather closed regional marriage market was the fact that although there were 68 married persons in Sheffield who were born outside of the British Isles, in only 7 cases did they have a Sheffield-born spouse. Further evidence of the regional context of social relations is found in the fact that of 35 single young people who left Sheffield, London attracted less than half; among the females, Manchester served as almost as powerful a magnet as did the capital. Somewhat surprisingly there does not appear to be a sex-specific pattern of emigration at marriage, for nearly equal numbers of Sheffield males and females with non-Sheffield-born spouses were found in our census.

When one investigates the socio-economic backgrounds of marriage partners, one finds a fairly fluid social system, with children of manual workers (SEG 9), the self-employed (SEG 12), and the managerial and professional classes (SEGs 1–4), readily intermarrying.

A greater degree of similarity of interest, and occupational backgrounds exists between actual marriage partners than is indicated by their family's social backgrounds. Whereas no clear pattern could be discerned of sons and daughters of those with similar occupations marrying, among the couples, there is a marked division into two groups: those with a professional/public service background, and those in the business-managerial field. In cases where both marriage partners were working, it was found that there were 13 instances where both husband and wife were engaged in the professions (SEGs 3 and 4), and 20 cases where professional husbands' wives were employed in SEG 5 (school-teachers, social workers, nurses, etc.) In fact, more than half of all working wives were married to professionals. Wives of businessmen were less likely to be found working, and those who did work tended to have business and office occupations, rather than professional qualifications.

The overall impression that one gets from the data on marriage patterns is that proximity and class considerations had very little influence over the choice of Jewish marital partners, and that they chose each other on the basis of their own personal preferences. This in turn may help account for the high degree of marital stability found among Sheffield Jews, which was referred to earlier.

BIRTHPLACE

The data on birthplace bears out many of the previous findings. The middle-age groups were found to be the most geographically mobile, since they contained the lowest proportion of Sheffield-born persons. However, from a social viewpoint, the most important fact to emerge was that 88 per cent of the Jewish population of Sheffield were born in the British Isles, and 92 per cent in English-speaking countries. A corollary of this is that there is hardly more than a handful of Jewish homes in Sheffield where English is not the home language. A further aid towards integration within the city is the fact that 60 per cent of the population were born within the boundaries of the former county of Yorkshire, and over 70 per cent hail from the north of England.

TABLE X

BIRTHPLACES OF SHEFFIELD JEWRY

	Number	Percentage
Sheffield	363	52
Leeds	39	6
Manchester	37	5
London	56	8
Other British Isles	120	17
Commonwealth/U.S.A.	25	4
Europe	49	7
Rest of the World	10	1
	699	100
Not given	460	

A slightly cosmopolitan flavour is provided to the community by a small number of individuals of diverse origins, including people from Guatemala, Greece and Iraq. Among the elderly, where some might expect to find a high incidence of foreign-born, the percentage of the population born in Sheffield is surprisingly high.

This is no doubt a result of the early Jewish settlement in Sheffield, and has contributed to the high degree of social integration into the community at large, as well as the occupational success, which will be discussed in the following section.

NOTES

1. In March, 1976, the Housing Association decided to proceed with plans for a further 8 single and 9 double flat units.

Chapter V
ECONOMIC ACTIVITY & OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS

THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION

The Sheffield Jewish community is characterised by a relatively small work force in relation to its total population. A dependency ratio, which numerically relates the economically active population to the total population, was calculated in order to measure the impression. The Jewish working population numbered 462, out of a census-enumerated population of 1159, yielding a dependency ratio of .610. Thus, for every 399 economically active persons there were 601 non-earners. This high ratio can be attributed partly to the high proportion of elderly people in the population, and to the low female participation in the Jewish community's work-force. Females comprised only 28 per cent of the economically active population. In Hackney, for comparison, 37 per cent of the Jewish working population were female. The dependency ratio is particularly affected by the non-participation of females over retirement age. Although 37 per cent of Jewish Sheffield males past retirement age were still working, compared with the national figure of 19 per cent, slightly less than 10 per cent of retirement age Jewish women were economically active, which is below the national average of 12 per cent.

The large number of elderly Jewish males still employed is indicative of the high degree of self-employment within the Jewish community, which will be discussed at a later stage. The low female participation is reflective of the very middle-class nature of the Jewish population as a whole. Although the dependency ratio is high, the average male household head is presumably earning enough income so as not to necessitate assistance from his spouse. When we discuss the actual socio-economic classifications, the high income potential will be clarified.

EMPLOYMENT CLASSIFICATION

Although the City of Sheffield's industrial reputation is based on its being a centre of steel manufacturing, there is a notable lack of participation among Sheffield Jewry in that, or any, manufacturing industry. In those few instances where Jews are employed in manufacturing, they tend to be either owners or managers, or executive level scientists and engineers, rather than shop floor workers.

This has not always been the case among Sheffield Jews. At the beginning of the twentieth century, there was a large proportion of Sheffield Jews engaged in industrial occupations, as skilled manual workers. Since that time, the trend in occupational patterns has shifted towards the professions and self-employed businesses.

Few of Sheffield's Jewish population are employed in governmental or civil service positions. Those who are to be found in that category are in relatively high-level positions, for which they are professionally qualified.

By far the largest proportion of the economically active Jewish population was engaged in service occupations. This further reflects the large number of professional occupations – doctors, solicitors, university lecturers. This category is also increased by the Jewish female members of the work-force, who tend to be employed as teachers, social workers and doctors.

As briefly mentioned previously, there is a high degree of self-employment among Sheffield Jews. By combining the percentage of those in the self-employed SEG categories 3 and 12, with about half of those in groups 1 and 2, an approximate figure of 47 per cent self-employment is reached. This can be compared to the Sheffield figure of 5 per cent, or Ecclesall Ward's 11 per cent self-employment. The percentage of self-employed workers can further be broken down by sex: 54 per cent of male workers are self-employed, and 25 per cent of females – a surprisingly high figure. It is interesting to note that even among the professional groups, more are self-employed than not, even given the large numbers of university lecturers in that category. The bias towards self-employment among Jews generally is well known, and can be attributed to sociological and historical as well as religious observance reasons. In Sheffield, Jews tended towards self-employment to a large extent because of restrictive employment practices in the steel industry. Employment in the steel industry was characterised by informal recruitment into the work teams and craft unions, using hereditary and traditional principles. Jews, thus excluded, found work in the peripheral industries; furniture, tailoring, or glazing; or formed their own cutlery factories, avoiding the gentile firms. In recent years, 5 of the city's 130 cutlery factories have been wholly or partly Jewish owned.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS

The definitions of the socio-economic groups (SEGs) are shown in Table XI.

TABLE XI

BRIEF DEFINITIONS OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS

(O.P.C.S. Classification of Occupations 1970, London, HMSO, 1970, (p.x i.)

(1) Employers and managers in central and local government, industry, commerce, etc – large establishments.
1.1 Employers in industry, commerce, etc.
Persons who employ others in non-agricultural enterprises employing 25 or more persons.
1.2 Managers in central and local government, industry, commerce, etc.
Persons who generally plan and supervise in non-agricultural enterprises employing 25 or more persons.

(2) Employers and managers in industry, commerce, etc. – small establishments.
2.1 Employers in industry, commerce, etc. – small establishments.
As in 1.1 but in establishments employing fewer than 25 persons.
2.2 Managers in industry, commerce, etc. – small establishments.
As in 1.2 but in establishments employing fewer than 25 persons.

(3) Professional workers – self-employed.
Self-employed persons engaged in work normally requiring qualifications of university degree standard.

(4) Professional workers – employees
Employees engaged in work normally requiring qualifications of university degree standard.

(5) Intermediate non-manual workers
5.1 Ancillary workers and artists.
Employees engaged in non-manual occupations ancillary to the professions, not normally requiring qualifications of university degree standard; persons engaged in artistic work and not employing others thereat. Self-employed nurses, medical auxiliaries, teachers, work study engineers and technicians are included.
5.2 Foremen and supervisors non-manual
Employees (other than managers) engaged in occupations included in group 6, who formally and immediately supervise others engaged in such occupations.

(6) Junior non-manual workers
Employees, not exercising general planning or supervisory powers, engaged in clerical, sales and non-manual communications and security occupations, excluding those who have additional and formal supervisory functions (these are included in group 5.2).

(7) Personal service workers
Employees engaged in service occupations caring for food, drink, clothing and other personal needs.

(8) Foremen and supervisors-manual
Employees (other than managers) who formally and immediately supervise others engaged in manual occupations, whether or not themselves engaged in such occupations.

(9) Skilled manual workers
Employees engaged in manual occupations which require considerable and specific skills.

(10) Semi-skilled manual workers
Employees engaged in manual occupations which require slight but specific skills.

(11) Unskilled manual workers
Other employees engaged in manual occupations.

(12) Own account workers (other than professional)
Self-employed persons engaged in any trade, personal service or manual occupation not normally requiring training of university degree standard and having no employees other than family workers.

(13) Farmers – employers and managers
Persons who own, rent or manage farms, market gardens or forests, employing people other than family workers in the work of the enterprise.

(14) Farmers – own account
Persons who own or rent farms, market gardens or forests and having no employees other than family workers.

(15) Agricultrual workers
Employees engaged in tending crops, animals, game or forests, or operating agricultural or forestry machinery.

(16) Members of armed forces

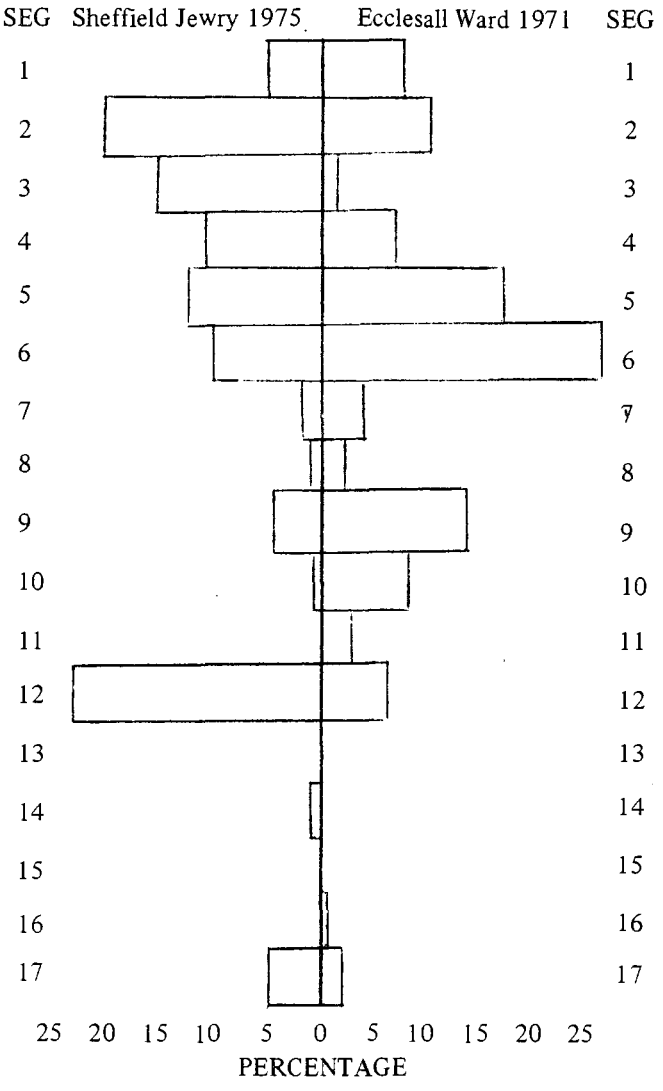
(17) Occupation inadequately described

The majority of the total Sheffield working population (61.4 per cent) fell into SEGs 6, 9 and 10: Junior non-manual workers (clerical, sales), skilled and semi-skilled manual workers. Another large group was in SEG 11, unskilled manual workers. Since Sheffield is a large manufacturing centre, it is predictable that manual workers would compose the greatest share of the work-force. Among the Jewish population, however this is not at all the case. Only 3.9 per cent of the economically active Sheffield Jews are found in SEGs 9 and 10, and none at all in SEG 11. Instead Jewish workers tend to be engaged in professional and business managerial occupations. SEGs 1–4 and 12 account for 68.6 per cent of the Jewish work-force, with an additional 21.2 per cent in SEGs 5 and 6. Clearly, the Jewish population's occupational preferences are divergent from those of the surrounding population.

The Jewish working population is contrasted with respect to SEGs, with that of Ecclesall Ward in Figure II, in order to produce a comparison with a more homogeneous middle-class population. Even in this comparison, Jews are more likely to be in self-employed and professional categories, and less likely to be found in SEGs 9 or 6.

FIGURE II

COMPARATIVE SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS ALL ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS IN PERCENTILES



MALE EARNERS

Male Sheffield Jews fell into two basic categories of socio-economic groups; the business/managerial occupations (SEGs 1, 2 and 12) comprising 52.3 per cent of all male Jewish earners, and the professional groups (SEGs 3 and 4) representing 28.2 per cent. As mentioned previously, the large numbers in groups 3 and 12 indicate the proclivity of Sheffield Jews towards self-employment. Table XII shows that there is a small percentage of male Jewish skilled workers, 4.8 per cent (SEG 9), but in comparison to the City's 38.8 per cent,

or even middle-class Ecclesall Ward's 19.2 per cent, one can readily see that this is not a major Jewish occupational category in Sheffield as it is in Hackney. There is no representation in the unskilled trades (SEG 11), among Sheffield Jews. Sheffield Jews are twice as likely to have a high status occupation (SEGs 1–4) as those in Hackney, and four times as likely as the average working male in their City.

TABLE XII

COMPARATIVE MALE SEGS IN PERCENTILES

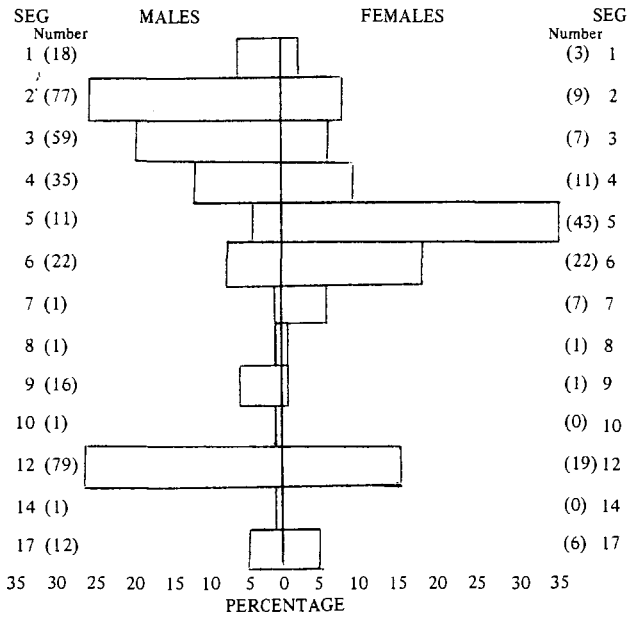
SEG	Sheffield Jewry	Ecclesall Ward	Sheffield City	Hackney Jewry
1	5.4	9.7	3.6	1.6
2	23.2	12.7	5.6	19.5
3	17.7	2.3	0.6	–
4	10.5	9.2	3.4	5.0
5	3.3	10.0	4.5	6.7
6	6.6	13.2	10.4	12.2
7	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.4
8	0.3	3.2	3.8	0.6
9	4.8	19.2	38.8	20.2
10	0.3	9.6	14.7	10.4
11	–	2.3	8.9	3.4
12	23.7	7.4	3.8	15.1
13	–	–	–	–
14	0.3	0.2	0.1	–
15	–	–	–	–
16	–	0.2	0.2	0.3
17	3.6	0.6	1.1	4.6
Total	100	100	100	100

Jewish males appear to form two separate and distinct occupational groups, professional and business/management. The concentration in these two overall categories is particularly interesting if one considers the historical occupational development of the Sheffield Jewish community. The majority of sons and grandsons of the early Sheffield Jewish merchants – shop owners, market traders, small factory managers – have continued that mercantile tradition, often enlarging the original business, or branching out into related areas and generally becoming more economically successful. The descendants of the later immigrants, who were mostly self-employed or manual workers, have more often graduated into the professional fields, a trend which perhaps reflects the social values of their immigrant forbears.

FIGURE III

COMPARATIVE SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS BY SEX

SHEFFIELD JEWRY 1975



FEMALE EARNERS

As discussed in a previous section, participation by females in the work-force is lower among Sheffield Jewry than in the general population, local or national, probably because of the affluent nature of the Jewish community, as well as the large number of elderly females who would not be expected to still be working. In addition, since many young Jewesses receive higher education, their entrance into the work-force is delayed, thus eliminating a large percentage of potential teenage workers.

The most important fact about the female earners in Sheffield is that there is a high degree of concentration in occupations requiring formal qualifications. One-third of the female Jewish working population is employed in SEG 5 – teachers, social workers, etc. 22.9 per cent were engaged in occupations falling in SEGs 1–4, indicating a very high degree of both self-employment and managerial employment among females; nationally, only 5.6 per cent of working women are in SEGs 1–4. One can surmise then, that many Sheffield Jewish females who work do so not primarily to support their families, but because they have been trained for, and are committed to, a career. Many are also involved in commerce and industry, often family businesses, as indicated by the 21.9 per cent in SEGs 2 and 12.

These occupational trends among Jewish families appear to be a particularly strong post-war phenomenon. Among women born after 1930, who entered the work-force after 1945, 20 per cent are to be found in the professions (SEGs 3 and 4), and 45 per cent in what are officially regarded as occupations ancillary to the professions (SEG 5). Comparative figures for women born 1900–1930 are 8 per cent and 24 per cent respectively. There has been a decrease of women in

commercial occupations, particularly SEG 12, the self employed, such as dressmakers, and market stall owners.

A comparison of Sheffield Jewry's male and female SEGs, in Figure III reveals little differentation from the national pattern of male-female achievement. Women in any social stratum tend to be less likely to hold posts of responsibility or authority than men of the equivalent social background. A larger proportion of females than of males is found in SEGs 5, 6 and 7, bringing the general average for females lower down the SEG scale. The males, as pointed out previously, are concentrated in SEGs 1–4.

Although the Jewish population is not numerically significant in Sheffield by virtue of their occupations it has had a considerable impact on the life of the City, because of the type of service and expertise it provides to the population at large. A very large number are employed in the medical professions: 36 doctors, 8 dentists, 7 pharmacists and 2 opticians. Other professions which afford a great deal of contact with citizens of Sheffield, and which have attracted many Jews, are university lecturers (25), schoolteachers (28), social workers (4), and solicitors (10). Other Sheffield Jews contribute to the City's development and industrial growth, as metallurgists, physicists, engineers, architects and civil servants.

The obvious occupational success of the Jewish population is at least in part attributable to the openness and tolerance of Sheffield society, since Jewish professionals and businessmen are dependent upon the wider population for custom and employment. This is particularly noticeable and welcome when contrasted to the situation at the turn of the century, when Sheffield was one of the centres of anti-alien agitation in England.

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

There is no doubt that the key factor in the rapid upward mobility of the Jewish population has been the possibility of open access to higher education. As a minority group with a long history of suffering from discrimination, Jews in most free societies have tended to seek educational qualifications as an objective measure of their personal ability and achievement.

Our census revealed that the present-day Jewish population has achieved a similar level of educational attainment as that of predominantly middle-class Ecclesall Ward; in both populations about 40 per cent of economically active people have received some officially designated degree of higher educational qualification (O.N.C., 'A' level, School Certificate and above). The overall figure for the total working population of the City of Sheffield showed that only 15.5 per cent had attained such qualifications. Apart from talent, motivation, and encouragement from within the family circle, the vehicle for this high Jewish educational performance has been the City's former selective schools, particularly the King Edward VII Grammar School for Boys, which prepared many working class Jewish boys for university.

The average standard of educational attainment has risen for the Jewish population in general, in the past several decades. A comparison of persons aged 18–45 years with those aged over 45 years highlights the findings, for all persons answering the educational question including some who are not presently economically active.

TABLE XIII
SHEFFIELD JEWRY
HIGHER EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT
BY AGE AND SEX

MALE POPULATION

	Age 18–45	Over 45
A level, School Certificate, O.N.C.	14%	10%
University Degree	38%	27%
Total Higher Education	52%	37%
Number in Sample	93	164

FEMALE POPULATION

A level, School Certificate	21%	17%
University Degree	26%	5%
Total Higher Education	47%	22%
Number in Sample	104	171

Amongst the males, there has been a gradual increase in the percentage of those attaining any higher educational qualifications as well as those attaining university degrees. The evidence suggests that the greatest educational breakthrough occurred one generation further back, i.e. between the generation of those presently over 45 and those born in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Among females we have evidence of significant change in the post-war era. It would appear that the younger group of women is five times more likely to have a university education than those over 45 years. However, a large proportion of females still terminate their education at the 'A' level or certificate stage. This may reflect the fact that many of the traditional female occupations – teaching, nursing, social work, etc. – still only require a certificate or diploma as a measure of qualification. The delayed mobility of females as opposed to males is not only due to their families' economic situation and their tendency to concentrate their efforts and sacrifices for their sons, but also to the national social environment which did not until recently encourage female entry into high status professions and careers.

CONCLUSION

The relatively rapid progression in socio-economic status, made by Sheffield Jews in two or three generations, is an intriguing sociological phenomenon and certainly a subject for further investigation. How, and why, were Jews able to successfully overcome their handicaps and move from slum dwellers to solidly middle-class suburbanites, in less than a century, given the strong class pressures and economic inequalities which are often considered to militate against such socio-economic fluidity in much of British society? The answers to these questions, and the discovery of the success formula could be of interest to many present-day deprived minority groups, and, indeed to society as a whole.

Chapter VI
ETHNICITY AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

It has been demonstrated in the previous chapters that, according to accepted indices of socio-economic status, the Jewish population of Sheffield has, as a group, achieved an obvious success. In comparison with the conditions at the turn of the century, as described in Lunn's introduction, the community's success can be measured by every possible index, both economic and cultural; from inner city slum residence to middle-class suburb; from 'low value' SEG status to the higher groups, from little or no educational achievement to significant higher educational achievement, from isolated and community orientated social and political contacts to leadership in city-wide and general interest groups.

The residential aspects of the Jewish community's status passage have already been documented. The following table illustrates changes in employment status over four generations. Since occupational status is such an important indicator of social position, this inter-generational change is an important key to understanding the social mobility of the Jewish community in Sheffield.

TABLE XIV
INTERGENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS
SEGS OF JEWISH MALES IN PERCENTILES

SEGs	Generation D Born after 1930	Generation C Born 1900–30	Generation B Born 1870–1900	Generation A Born pre–1870 (No. only)
1	3.5	7.4	4.1	1
2	22.7	23.8	19.4	1
3	21.1	16.5	4.6	
4	16.1	7.8	1.9	
5	5.0	3.0	1.9	2
6	9.0	5.9	6.1	
7	–	1.1	0.4	
8	–	1.1	–	
9	3.5	5.4	33.7	12
10	1.1	–	1.9	1
11	–	–	–	
12	16.9	30.0	26.0	10
13	–	–	–	
14	1.1	–	–	
15	–	–	–	
16	–	–	–	
No. of observations	122	196	262	26

Generation D – Male respondents under 45 years
Generation C – Male respondents aged 45-75 years
Generation B – Male respondents aged over 75 years plus the fathers of Generation C and their wives
Generation A – Fathers of respondents of both sexes aged over 75 years.

The initial observation to be made regarding this table is that from Generation A to Generation D, or over 70 or so years, there has been a marked shift from the lower SEG levels, notably SEGs 9 and 12, to the higher levels, SEGs 2, 3 and 4. Further, it can be seen that most of this shift took place between Generation B and C, although much of the transfer from SEG 12 occurred later. This may be due to the fact that SEG 12 is composed of self-employed workers, a description which can encompass a fair degree of diverse employment characteristics. It is significant that the greatest changes have been from the manual grades, the skilled trades and self-employed (often skilled artisans who are self-employed) to the professional occupations.

The most significant and unusual features is the channel of recruitment into the professions, from men whose fathers were skilled manual workers. This is illustrated by the fact that the largest proportion of persons whose fathers were in SEG 9 are now to be found in SEGs 3 and 4. It is this process above all which resulted in a Test of Fit of the occupations of fathers and sons – which, to some extent amalgamates Generations C and D and compares them with B – being very highly significant beyond the .001 level. Even more remarkable is the fact that the vast majority of SEG 9 males in Generation B were born abroad, while the commercial/service sector, (SEGs 2 and 12) was more anglicised. Yet it was the sons who had to overcome both the social and immigrant status of their fathers, who were channelled towards professional status, a sphere where it is freely admitted, even today, there is a very high degree of occupational inheritance.

To further emphasize the significance of upward social mobility among Jews, one need only compare the descendants of the Jewish artisans of the late nineteenth century with their non-Jewish peers, as illustrated in Table XII. By far the largest percentage of Sheffield male workers is in SEG 9 and other manual labour grades, just as their fathers were.

As important as any individual's lifetime success is in changing his social status, there is no doubt that the upward social mobility among the Sheffield Jewish community can, and should be seen in a group context, since there are a variety of factors which distinguish the Jews as a group, and which in turn enabled the group to establish a secure social and economic position in local society. Jewish social mobility is observable in other countries, notably those that originated from colonial settlement, such as the U.S.A., Canada, Argentina, South Africa and Australia, where a new and fluid social structure existed. In Britain, an established society, the centuries of tradition militated against group social movement, though some upward mobility was always possible for individuals, who managed to acquire the ways of the established elite. The ability of the Jewish community generally to penetrate the rigid British class structure is particularly significant, but in Sheffield the process is so striking that it warrants considerable investigation.

Given the vast changes in the socio-economic profile of Sheffield Jewry over the last 70 years, it is significant that neither the membership nor the community structure has changed very much. The Jewish community is still an intrinsic, identifiable group which incorporates

the migrant aspiration of being respected and prosperous. That the community managed to succeed socially and economically in a modern industrial society, without sacrificing its ethnic heritage and cohesiveness, is an interesting subject for further analysis. Obviously, ethnicity is an important and persuasive element in Jewish social mobility. Other present-day ethnic minorities which find themselves in similar circumstances may look with interest at the Jewish experience, although it is unlikely that the Jewish 'success formula' can be duplicated.

Ethnicity can be defined as an awareness by individuals that they belong to a specific, identifiable descent group and that they share a common identity with other individual members. Beyond that, there is a feeling that their own situation, present and future, is closely intertwined with that of the group. This can also be described as solidarity.

Jews have often been characterised as a racial or religious group, rather than an ethnic group. Those definitions are somewhat erroneous. Unlike race, which is sometimes used synonymously with ethnicity, ethnic identity is often transcendant. In certain conditions, one's Jewsh identity is not relevant or obvious. For example, in British politics, many Jews vote without any respect to 'ethnic issues', and most Jewish politicians represent their party's attitudes rather than any 'Jewish' point of view on a particular issue. There is no recognisable 'Jewish bloc' or 'Jewish vote'. Rather, Jews tend to vote as individuals influenced by their socio-economic position and personal opinions. Historically, this is illustrated by the general Jewish support of the Labour Party in the early twentieth century, when most Jews were members of the working class and held fairly radical political views. Now, many Jews have aligned themselves with the Conservative Party, and in Sheffield there are Conservative councillors. Defining Jews as a religious group, while less inaccurate, is not exhaustive. Many people of Jewish descent identify themselves as Jews in an ethnic sense, and are seen as Jews by non-Jews – without their lives having any vestige of religious practice at all.

One factor leading to successful Jewish participation in British society was their East European background, for though their previous urban residence and occupational skills were generally more highly respected there than in Britain, they had been constrained by a pariah status in a caste-like society. This background, their lack of traditional English attitudes, and the non-existence of an established hierarchical niche for them to fit into meant that they were less likely to identify with the British class structure. Thus, their class orientations and perceptions differed from those of British society, and, to some extent, these attitudinal differences have continued into the post-war period.[1] Most Jewish immigrants had some artisan skill or commercial experience; while by late nineteenth century British standards they were considered to be part of the labouring or lower classes, their social values, orientations and lifestyles were more closely related to those of the dominant middle class, who were their reference group.

Thus, the rigid lines and antagonisms distinguishing the classes in British society were not relevant to the frame of reference of most immigrant Jews. Moreover, their own religious culture aided their moral integration into the higher echelons of local society. There was a definite affinity between the self-denial and moral ethos of Judaism and the middle-class nonconformist Protestantism of Victorian and Edwardian Yorkshire.

Another process which eased the group's transition into English society was rapid anglicisation through marriage. The single young male workers, who formed a large proportion of the immigrants, often married Jewish women whose families had been resident in England for a generation or more. Table XV illustrates the higher degree of anglicisation on the female side. It can be seen that a Jewish child presently living in Sheffield is twice as likely to have a maternal grandmother who is English-born, than a paternal grandfather. This social phenomenon was previously suggested by research on London Jewry.[2] It probably relates to the fact that the rate of out-marriage is always higher among Jewish males than among females. This is probably caused by the much greater social and family control placed upon the females of Victorian Anglo-Jewry, compared with their brothers, who could achieve financial and social freedom, with the result that they were much more geographically mobile and less pressured into endogamy.

TABLE XV

SHEFFIELD JEWRY
ANGLICISATION BY SEX AND GENERATION
PERCENTAGE BORN IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRY

Father	Mother	Father	Mother
34	48	58	66

Husband	Wife
85	89

Children
98

Whatever its causes, this anglicisation is particularly important simply because it occurred on the female side. Despite their foreign sounding surnames, a surprising proportion of Jewish children grew up in an English speaking home environment during their formative years, and were thus able to take full advantage of the educational system. Unlike many other immigrant groups, where the father is more likely to be in touch with the dominant society, the Sheffield children of Generation C were able to enter the general social milieu with comparative ease for first generation British. An added significance of these women was that most were locally born, and were therefore attuned to Sheffield's networks and support systems, and this in turn provided some transmission of financial advantages, social influence and know-how.

Perhaps the most important psychological advantage that Jews held over many present-day immigrant minorities was their ability to appreciate the situation they found themselves in as newcomers. Their minority ideology combined a deep sense of historical awareness with a definite future orientation. They recognised

their problems and difficulties and the necessity to adapt to a new environment.

Since most of them had fled persecution and oppression, they had a grateful and positive attitude towards their new society. There was no nostalgic notion of returning 'home' after earning some money. Unlike some modern immigrants, they did not initially regard themselves as temporary residents in Britain. They were therefore very highly motivated to adapt and succeed from the outset, and they threw themselves into becoming British, in every sense of the word, from learning to play cricket to wearing bowler hats. Such attitudes were not only the result of their negative experience in Eastern Europe, but were also engendered by a strong respect for their adopted country and its ways. This is not surprising, since they entered a powerful, rich and supremely self-confident society. Aided by the established Jewish population, the newcomers were quick to adapt to its systems and institutions, to become naturalised, to register to vote once they acquired franchise qualifications, to be involved in civic organisations and political parties. Convinced of their own ability, they endeavoured to compete with native society at its own game, and to win by already established rules. There was no feeling (and certainly no likelihood) that they should receive any special respect or favour for having been forced to flee their homeland. Rather, they were conscious of having been able to overcome their past situation, by gaining skills and escaping it, and were determined to do better in their new home.

The organisational tendencies amongst the Jewish community also helped in its ability to successfully integrate into English society. The multiplicity of Jewish organisations presently existing in Sheffield has been referred to earlier; this organisational impetus is historically characteristic of the Jewish community. Partly as a result of existing in this kind of organisation-orientated society, Jews have generally developed a respect for authority and for a communal social elite, which is reinforced by the notion of family cohesiveness. This outlook enabled them to adapt more easily to the British system, and to accept the legitimacy and authority of the existing order. The formation of 'official communal organisations' for protection, companionship and mutual aid actually gained for the Jews greater legitimacy in the eyes of the outside world. Since their voluntary organisational structure paralleled that of the larger society, over time, it gained recognition and standing for Jewish communal leaders and office holders from officialdom.

Another example of the Jewish community's eagerness to 'beat the others at their own game' was its attitude towards language. Most immigrants were willing to forsake Yiddish in order to adopt a new language and thus fit in more readily in Britain. This process was often accelerated when an immigrant married an English-born wife. They were well aware that if they spoke Yiddish at home, their children would learn to speak English with a foreign accent, and, being conscious of the English emphasis on accent as a determinant of social status, and partly as a result of their own difficulties with accented speech, they strove to have their children learn to speak good Yorkshire English. The most dramatic result of this was that Yiddish as a spoken language almost died out in one generation.[3] Education was also an important tool in this process, as primary schools in the early part of the twentieth century were much less permissive about unorthodox vocabulary and speech patterns.

Finally, an additional factor in the Jewish community's social mobility was their epitomisation of Weber's Protestant Ethic. Traditionally engaged in commerce, Jews as a group tended to be sober, hard-working and industrious. Any profits made by the hard work of Generations A and B were ploughed back into the business, enabling it to expand and prosper, or invested in a son's education or professional advancement. They resisted the temptation to siphon off any surplus into non-essential luxuries.

In group terms, the concept of challenge and response can be applied to the immigrant Jewish community of late-nineteenth century Britain. Very much aware of past persecution and discrimination, there was enough of a challenge to engender group loyalty, and move individuals to foster cohesiveness and group solidarity. Yet the challenge was not so great as to obliterate any hope of change, thus creating passivity. The rewards were such as to motivate them to overcome discrimination and show the general public that they could overcome the predictions of the anti-alien agitators who doubted them.

Too much, however, can be made of the psychological factors aiding the Jewish immigrants successful incursion into British society. Much of the Jews' success can be attributed to the opportune time that they arrived in large numbers. It can be said that Jews who emigrated to Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were in the right place at the right time; when western society was about to enter its greatest period of economic expansion. New opportunities were arising in new areas and industries, where no exclusionary traditions regarding recruitment had been established. An obvious example of this was the ready-made clothing industry. In Sheffield, as elsewhere, Jews moved into commercial, white collar and professional occupations, and the social services. In effect, they were also serving a newly-developed consumer society, whose tastes were not tied to the old system. Recruitment in these fields was based on merit and documented achievement rather than on family ties or traditional hierarchies. The impact of education cannot therefore be over-stressed.

Jewish cultural tradition has always incorporated a respect for literacy and learning, which is only to be expected of a people with a literary tradition stretching back several thousand years. Despite their menial jobs, a surprising proportion of the immigrants of Generations A and B were literate and many had been formally educated in their native countries and were proud of any diplomas or certificates they gained there. In modern industrial society, this desire for learning was able to be channelled into a means for social and economic advancement. The birth control and family limitation practised by Generation C (see Table VIII) and possibly many in B, was intended to create a concentration of parental resources, emotional, cultural and material, on children, especially sons. This process was comple-

mentary to the growing importance of formal education and examinations as the institutionalised machinery for occupational placement and social selection in the larger society. The readiness of Jews to adapt their fertility can again be contrasted with the general mass of the working class who continued to have larger families than the middle classes until mid-century.

Lacking inherited wealth and access to private education, the young Jews of Generation C were fortunate to be growing up at a time when there was an expansion of public secondary education, geared towards the lower and lower-middle classes. Grammar schools in particular, where selection was based on merit, provided a real hope of advancement and Table XIII shows they took full advantage of it. The 'passport' to social mobility and economic success provided by the grammar school system, and the new meritocracy showed the children of Jewish immigrant workers a way out of their proverty. They did not feel trapped by their inability to escape from their situation, as young members of present-day immigrant groups in the inner city often do.

The whole story of Sheffield Jewry's social mobility is a remarkable example of resource management, whereby individuals made full use of any economic, social and kin resources and opportunities which were open to them. It is the result of a combination of individual efforts and a decision-making flair, which would please any social engineer. Yet the most intriguing aspect is the relationship between the individuals and the group. That the grandfather of today's owner of a city centre department store ran a tally business as a peddler in the surrounding mining villages, or that the father of a civil engineer was a joiner is not significant except that such occurrences are the rule rather than the exception. In addition, adaptation to the new environment apparently caused few psychological wounds, for there is little evidence of the marital and intergenerational tensions that many immigrant groups suffer. There were very few symptons of social disorganisation, such as juvenile delinquency or adolescents running away from home. Even the dependence of students on their financially hard-pressed parents produced little friction, because the parents were willing to make large sacrifices to live out their own unfulfilled desires and fantasies through their children.

The key element in this syndrome, and the most useful resource available to Sheffield Jews was their ethnicity, which provided a cushion and a sense of security for all members. Jewish ethnicity is closely bound up with the whole Jewish historical experience as a minority group. For ethnicity to work successfully the group must be maintained, while at the same time it must provide the correct kind of support and solutions to the problems of individuals. It is this symbiotic relationship between the individual and the group, in a free society, which must be investigated. One example of it is the propensity of middle-class Jews to support welfare organisations to aid indigent immigrants in the nineteenth century. Having been treated as a distinct group for centuries by non-Jews, the Jewish community has accepted its self-supporting and self-policing role. While in a modern context, Jewish welfare organisations sometimes seem superfluous, it must be remembered that at the time of the large waves of Jewish immigration at the turn of the century, there were no state-sponsored services to assist the poor. Most welfare services at the time were church supported. Rather than seek assistance from Christian religious organisations, the Jews developed their own. Support for welfare organisations went beyond purely humanitarian concerns, however.

Stereotyping and the idea that the Jewish community was seen as a monolith by the outside world meant that any Jewish criminal, deviant or even helpless indigent would give the entire community a bad name. Thus, in order to present a good, responsible front to the non-Jewish world, and thus avoid any excuse for antisemitism, the Jewish community readily accepted the burden of policing and supporting its own members. Conversely it was assumed that individual success would generate respect for the group as a whole among the wider community. The latter attitude relates to the peculiarly Jewish concept of status honour known as *nachas,* whereby the family and associates of an individual who has attained acclaim or standing, *yikhus,* share in the reflected glory.

The hostility at the turn of the century, insecurity in non-Jewish situations, and distrust of the intentions of some non-Jews, has had long-term effects on economics and occupational choice. For example, our census showed that although educational achievement was similar for both Sheffield Jews and non-Jewish middle-class residents of Ecclesall Ward, the SEG profile was considerably different, with Jews tending to avoid the hierarchical nature of the SEG 1 occupations. While Jews are willing to compete in examinations, business or politics, and do so successfully, they still insist on competing in a milieu of meritocracy. They distrust some sectors of the administrative and managerial strata, where selection criteria are less clearly defined than in the professions or entrepreneurial activities, and where there is an emphasis on generalised and subjective qualities of 'character' and ascribed, rather than achieved characteristics – who you know rather than what you know. Such perceptions have their origins in the situation that existed at the beginning of the century. The established nature of the steel industry in Sheffield, with its traditional and time-honoured employment practices and industrial organisation, offered no niche for the Jewish immigrants to fit into. They were either forced to set up their own parallel industrial organisations, as in the cutlery trade, or work in peripheral industries such as furniture or clothing manufacture. In Sheffield, exclusion from the city's major industry led Jews to concentrate their occupational interests in the commercial and service sector. The tendency toward self-employment, which is particularly common among Jews of all occupations, can at least partly be traced to these barriers, and a concomitant fear of residual discrimination in hiring and promotion, which still persists.

We have previously mentioned that the upward social mobility in a community like Sheffield has been more rapid and more pronounced than in other, larger centres of Anglo-Jewry. The demographic influence on ethnicity is an important factor that should be further analysed.

Ethnicity was used by Sheffield Jews as a resource, because the Jewish community was never so large as to precipitate general hostility and backlash as the result of the group's success. In some larger communities, ethnicity can be a burden, especially among the second and third generations who are beginning to enjoy the benefits of success. If it appears to the majority group that a minority is gaining too large a slice of the pie, defence mechanisms – such as quotas, exclusionary employment and housing practices, and political rhetoric – go into action.

Since Sheffield was a one-industry centre, it presented a harsher environment for potential settlers than cities like Leeds, Manchester or even London. As a result the Sheffield Jewish community was, in effect, self-selected, only those who were able to overcome the challenges elected to stay there. Their less successful fellow immigrants moved on and out.[4] The result was that Sheffield's community never reached the 'tipping point' in size whereby it would threaten native Sheffield workers. Thus, the local Jews were able to use their group solidarity as a resource and progress through the social mobility process described earlier.

In contrast, in Leeds or Hackney, where a large Jewish proletariat existed, Jews were able to take advantage of their ethnic solidarity in the first instance, and probably found fewer challenges, and fewer occasions to make forays into the outside world than their confreres in Sheffield. They were secure in their segregated existence. However, this security turned into a burden for their children. Since Jews in Hackney were regarded as a large identifiable and potentially dangerous bloc by their non-Jewish neighbours, in the 1930s and 40s obstacles to their advancement were created. As a result, we found that social mobility in Hackney was lagging approximately one generation behind that of Sheffield and that SEG 9 was still the largest occupational category for males of Generation C.[5]

The obvious lesson to be learned from this observation is that there is a demographic saturation point beyond which ethnicity changes from a resource to a burden. While no actual percentage can be labelled as the 'tipping point', once an ethnic group is large enough to operate consistently within its own social and economic milieu, and denies itself interaction with the majority group it will lose many of the benefits group solidarity has for the individual members in terms of social and economic mobility.

Pressures from both sides have made the preservation of Jewish ethnicity in Sheffield a difficult proposition in the last half-century. Within the group there have traditionally been social and religious pressures to marry and remain within the Jewish community. In past centuries due to externally caused Jewish alienation, intermarriage was never a large problem. As Jews became successful in society, by non-Jewish standards, pressures for out-marrying grew through increased contact with non-Jewish society. As young Jews became better educated and physically mobile their desire to choose compatible marriage partners with similar backgrounds often propelled them to marry their non-Jewish classmates. New ideas of freedom and rebellion also encouraged intermarriage among upwardly-mobile young Jews.

Despite these pressures the census revealed that intermarriage without conversion has been surprisingly low, and while it is impossible to say whether, on the whole, intermarriage is growing or declining, some of the reasons which encouraged Jews to marry out have been diminishing since since the Second World War. As our census shows, younger Jewish women are now approaching equality of educational attainment with Jewish males. Jewish men are now able to find marriage partners with similar tastes, background and cultural interests among their co-religionists. In fact, homogamy (marriage to person with similar characteristics as oneself) is now compatible with endogamy (marriage within the group). The result of the past decades' educational and cultural changes is that the Jewish community in Sheffield – and in Britain generally – is probably more culturally and socially homogeneous now than it ever has been before.

In the past social exclusion of individuals from certain clubs and societies forced them to turn inward to form their own social organisations with other Jews thus intensifying intra-group relationships. In Sheffield, as in many Jewish communities, the Jews have adapted their religious institutions to serve as societal ones as well. The synagogue is the social and cultural centre of the community as well as a religious one. Groups formed in sympathy with other Jewish communities or movements – Zionism, or Soviet Jewry, for example – form important uniting bonds. However, for persons in Generation D, and their children, ethnicity has a much less utilitarian aspect that it had in previous generations. Its relevance, both as a resource and a burden, has declined. This is attributable to the fact that, having progressed up the social ladder, Jews are now a secure and established segment of British society. Even the mantle of real minority status has passed on to more recent and conspicuous immigrant groups. Today, an individual Jew's membership and identification within the group is truly voluntary. The pressure is now on those who would maintain affirmative Jewish identification to demonstrate that their ethnic heritage, in cultural and religious terms, can still be a meaningful and attractive part of people's lives.

NOTES

1. See E. Krausz 'The Edgware Survey: Occupation and Social Class', *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, XI (1969), 89–92; and H.M. Brotz 'The Outlines of Jewish Society in London'; in M. Freedman, ed., *A Minority in Britain*, London, Valentine Mitchell, 1955, pp. 155–164.
2. S.J. Prais and M. Schmool, 'Statistics of Jewish Marriages in Great Britain: 1901–65', *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, IX (1967), 157; and Kosmin and Grizzard, p. 22.
3. It must be remembered that Yiddish, a Germanic dialect, was a purely secular language. The status of Hebrew as a sacred language, which was never used as a spoken tongue in diaspora communties, was not affected.
4. This phenomenon has changed in Generation D. Our census showed that single young people who moved away from Sheffield were very highly qualified and left in order to enhance their careers or for social reasons.
5. Kosmin and Grizzard, p. 29.

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