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UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

A Study of German-Austrian Refugees
in Louisville, Kentucky

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Raymond A. Kent School of Social Work
of the University of Louisville
In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
Of Master of Science in Social Work

By

Lina K. Wolff

Ph.D. University of Tuebingen, 1923

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

1945



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INTRODUCTION

This paper will deal with the adjustment of refugees in an American middle-sized city, Louisville, Kentucky. It will attempt to touch the background and past of the group, but it will be pointed to a question which indeed is vital to each refugee: What does he make of his life after immigration? Can what was in origin compulsory, become constructive for the future? Will America for him be more than a haven of refuge after a harassing persecution - will it be a home for him and his children?

And the answer to these questions is inextricably tied up with the other aspect of immigration:

What, if any, contribution to America will these immigrants be able to make? What are their assets and liabilities? How do they compare with previous immigrants? How do they fit into the general and present socio-economic picture of American life?

This paper endeavors to furnish some factual material to answer these questions in a sample case, for such we might consider the immigration to Louisville where immigration developed according to its own laws, supported by an active committee, but not fostered beyond the natural trends. We think that to look at the adjustment of refugees in such a community will give a more typical picture than to examine a larger city with its disproportionate numbers of refugees, since in such a setting the refugees appear as a mass unrelated to the American population as a whole, and the problems which the group may actually present are numerically exaggerated.

We will have to investigate scrupulously to which degree the results of this paper may be generalized.

The writer hopes that an objective picture of the adjustment of the refugees will clarify American public opinion on the immigration of the victims of Hitler, furnish concrete information to relatives of immigrants, and give some workable material to the service organizations. Its goal is objectivity as far as facts can be found, and understanding where interpretation is needed. The writer hopes that her knowledge of the European scene from which the immigrants had to part and her two year observation of life in Louisville, her professional concern with questions of emigration in Europe and with questions of adjustment of immigrants in Louisville, will enable her to observe objectively and to interpret understandingly. Whether the results of this paper bear out this hope must be left to the judgment of the reader.

The following terms will be used:

Adjustment. Adjustment in the language of sociology means adaptation of the personality to its geographical and social environment.¹ We talk of a "well adjusted person" if his life is running smoothly in the circumstances in which he is living. According to the Dictionary of Sociology "personal adjustment is a condition or state of being in which the individual is in a harmonious relationship with a given social situation."²

¹ Kimball Young, "Adjustment", Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, The McMillan Company, 1930.

² Dictionary of Sociology, published by Philadelphia Library, New York City.

In this paper we are dealing with the question of how people react on a transplantation into a foreign continent and a different culture. They may be or may not be "well adjusted" people in the ordinary sense - there is another adjustment of a different order to be made when they emigrate. It is an adjustment to a new country and its people, a new language, different mores, a different way of life, a different vocational and economic system with its special problems for people who have not been trained in and for it.

From the above definition we would expect adjustment to be a one-sided process - the individual coming to a new country is to adapt himself to it as the new country cannot be expected to adapt itself to him. America, better than any other country, gives evidence, however, that the immigrant, by making his contribution, leaves his mark on the country in which he settles. When we look at the individual, it is he who has to fit himself into the scene; if we look at the whole, we find that the immigrants have left their imprint on American civilization. This is true of great individuals and in a different way of the ordinary people where they appeared in masses. As life in general is a give-and-take process, the immigrant's personal adjustment will depend largely on the contribution he is able to make, much more so than on pressure, persuasion, or even an act of willpower.¹

How will we determine adjustment?

There are different ways and methods which we will use.

1

We will deal with the aspects of adjustment in greater detail in Chapter VII, "Adjustment."

We will have some statistical material which throws light on our question. A complete picture of the vocational situation, of the financial support given to refugees by the helping organizations and material regarding support by relatives will determine the adjustment in a most significant area, the economic and vocational field. But because of the character of adjustment, as we understand it, there are other less tangible aspects of the adjustment process. How can we find data about cultural and social adjustment? We may furnish such statistical material as membership in temples and sisterhoods, organizations like the Y.M.H.A., trade unions, professional associations, and civic groups. We may count the contributions to the United Jewish Campaign as material about these as accessible, but we will thereby gather material that is not very meaningful. Refugees who are highly interested in Judaism and the fate of the Jewish people are frequently not affiliated with any of these organizations, because they feel they cannot yet afford membership or because affiliation does not seem to be important to satisfy these interests. There are many personal ties between refugees and Americans that do not show up in a membership list and there are purely conventional affiliations that are not indicative for an adjustment. Descriptive material, case histories, or characteristic details from records will be much more telling and illuminating. We have used this method mostly to illustrate social and cultural adjustment, and exclusively when we deal with adjustment as a psychological process.

Refugee: In spite of quite a few suggestions to avoid the term "refugee," it has been retained in this paper:

1. because it has become the popular and official term in spite of suggestions to replace it (see e.g. "National Refugee Service.")
2. because it is felt that the term is a truer expression for the phenomena than the neutral term "immigrant" which was suggested by Ruth Z. Mann.¹ The Century Dictionary defines "immigrant" as "a person who migrates into a country for the purpose of permanent residence."

Whereas "refugee" is defined as "one who in times of persecution or political commotion flees to a foreign country for safety." (Webster 1940). We feel that the factor of a flight from persecution is such an essential one in the complex of leaving, starting, and adjustment, that we prefer a term that includes this. We will, however, use "immigrant" as a synonym.

Which part of the immigrants in Louisville will be dealt with in this paper?

It is restricted to the immigrants coming from Germany since 1933 and living in Louisville on October 1, 1941.²

1

Ruth Z. Mann, "The Adjustment of Refugees in the United States in Relation to their Background," Proceedings of the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare, 1939, published by the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare and the Jewish Social Service Quarterly, 1939.

2

As the writing of this paper took place over one and one-half years time, we followed cases up to the time when the respective chapter was written. However, we always refer to the group which was in Louisville on October 1, 1941, disregarding cases that moved from or to Louisville subsequently.

"Germany" is not a definite term any more. We want to deal in this paper with the refugees speaking the German language as their mother tongue, the people living in the German space, the boundaries of which were determined by the Treaty of Versailles, and in the former Austria. We will include Czecho-Slovakian refugees so long as they speak German, and Polish or Russian people when they lived in Germany. In spite of their different former nationalities, these form a rather homogeneous group in respect to the reason for their emigration.

The method used to gather the data is as follows: the paper is based on a questionnaire¹ which in July 1941, was sent out to all the refugees in Louisville, known to the Kentucky Refugee Service and the Jewish Welfare Federation. It was sent to 105² families or individuals, of whom 44 furnished replies. That the answering of the circulars would meet some obstacles had to be expected. Though the circulars did not contain the names of the refugees, they were numbered in order to enable the writer to follow up the unanswered circulars; besides there was for a small group much identifying material in the circular. In an accompanying letter, the writer offered assurance that the material would be used in strict confidence. In spite of this, there was a great fear on the part of many refugees to

1 See Appendix A for a copy of the questionnaire and its English translation.

2 Two more questionnaires, which were sent to two people who were in Louisville at the time of the study, but were here for a short period only, and who were not known to anybody, were not counted. The questionnaires were not returned and no information could be obtained.

fill out the form. Some of the characteristic objections experienced by or reported to the writer are listed below:

"We do not want to give anybody insight into our financial circumstances."

"We would be ashamed to let anybody know that we are supported by our relatives."

"We have relatives in Germany and it might harm them."

"If Hitler comes to America, he will find us out."

"I do not want to talk any more about being a refugee."

Some of these remarks are typical of a small Jewish community, where there is a good deal of publicity of private matters and a good deal of gossip, part of them resulting from plain ignorance, but they show at the same time the distress of people who have been exposed to the methods of the Gestapo for some years; and the last is a typical reaction of a man who has become impatient with belonging to a minority, first to a persecuted minority in Germany, and now being again labelled, sympathetically as it may be - as a member of a minority group.

The writer followed up some of the cases where she could hope to get a result by sending the circular out again, adding a note with the request to send it back. Some were followed up by telephoning or by personal visits.

A selection of the material which was obtained by the answered forms is added to the paper in an appendix; wherever

the information contained in the questionnaires seems to be significant, it is embodied in the text, the main criterion for its use being whether it was typical and therefore might lend itself to some generalization. A good deal of material was obtained from other sources than the questionnaires. The chairman of the Kentucky Refugee Service ¹ had much first hand knowledge, which he very graciously conveyed to the writer. The records of the Jewish Welfare Federation ² contained much pertinent material. Another source of information were statistics compiled by the KRS, on the request of the National Refugee Service, ³ in the fall of 1943. The NRS requested complete statistics of the present refugee population and a detailed account about the refugees in the armed forces. This gave a complete picture of the age constitution of Louisville refugees. ⁴ It also served as a check on the material obtained formerly.

These three sources were relied upon to a large degree, not only because the material obtained in the questionnaires was quantitatively small, but also because the questionnaires were sometimes not correctly answered. The questions were sometimes misunderstood, some answers were not given out of concern to reveal this specific information. As the group is

¹ From now on referred to as KRS.

² From now on referred to as JWF.

³ From now on referred to as NRS.

⁴ For this study there were some gaps as some of the people had left the city since October 1941.

well known to KRS, JWF and to the writer personally, it would have meant to restrict the value of the study unduly and unnecessarily by relying exclusively on the inadequate material furnished by the questionnaires.

With very few exceptions, the refugees in Louisville belong to the German-Austrian Jews from Germany and Austria, and follow their sociological structure.¹

Sociologically the German-Austrian Jews may be very briefly characterized in the following way: they were predominantly urban and middle class people, living in comparative economic security, with deviations to the upper and lower strata, the proletarian group is almost exclusively represented by Polish and Russian Jews who immigrated into Germany during the last fifty years. The somewhat vague term "middle class" shall for the sake of greater clarity be split up into three groups:

The intellectuals, professional people or highly cultured business men:

A group of well-to-do business men with good standards of living, but without educational standards:

The "small bourgeoisie," people with hardly more than an elementary education, small store owners, commercial employees, mechanics (rare among the Jewish population of Germany) living in economic security but in very simple circumstances.

1

There are no political refugees in Louisville. This is an indication of the fact that the political refugees form a very small part of the recent immigration from Germany. There is a very small number of Christian refugees in Louisville - nine (three per cent) Christians, namely: three Christian wives and one Christian child of a Jewish man, five Christians who are converted Jews.

There has been much discussion in Germany in recent years about the vocational structure of the Jews, a majority of them working in the commercial sphere¹ as owners, salesmen, clerical workers, agents, and a comparatively great number of them taking up professional work. This was severely criticized by the younger Jewish generation. It was felt that this vocational structure was unsound as the Jews were losing the ground under their feet. A return to farming and mechanical work was advocated as a necessary regeneration of the Jewish people; it was felt that this was an economic necessity in a development that seemed to eliminate some of the commercial functions, and one of the reforms that was necessary to deprive anti-Semitism of one of its most frequently used arguments.

After 1933 this, under the leadership of the Zionist movement, led to a most promising program of training and re-training in agriculture, trades, and domestic work. Many hundreds of young people and many middle-aged persons too, responded eagerly to this program, and there was, for a while, a virtual reverse of previous vocational trends. Manual work, mechanic skills, and farming won a very high recognition and a new dignity. It was realized that such a reorientation was a necessary precondition for a successful adjustment in the country of immigration. Most of the people who trained in that line went to Palestine, but we shall see that this tendency, though much weaker, is still discernible with refugees in America.

1

Arthur Ruppin, The Jews in the Modern World, (London: McMillan & Company, Ltd., 1934), Chapter IX.

The German Jews had settled in towns and cities to a great extent. There were strong historic and also present day reasons for this. "In the Diaspora the urban character of Jewry is a permanent phenomenon. In 1925, of all the Jews 45%¹ inhabited towns with more than 100,000 inhabitants." In 1933 about one-third of the German Jews lived in Berlin alone, 70.9% in cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants (including Berlin)² while of the German population 30.4% lived in cities over 100,000. According to the questionnaires returned, a smaller percentage, 61% (27 of 44), of the Louisville group had lived in cities over 100,000 inhabitants prior to emigration.

The religious convictions and affiliations of German Jewry varied a great deal. There were all shades, from the strictly orthodox communities, frequent in small towns and rural districts, to the predominantly liberal communities in nearly all larger cities. Then there were those groups that did not keep up a Jewish affiliation at all. Some merely discontinued their membership in the Jewish community, others joined the organizations of free-thinkers, and still others were converted to Christianity.

A considerable number of intellectuals showed a definite tendency to complete assimilation to the surrounding

1

Ibid, pp. 36, 37.

2

Statistisches Reichsamt, Statistisches Jahrbuch fuer das Deutsche Reich, (Berlin SW 48: Verlag fuer Politik und Wirtschaft, 1937.)

German-European culture. In this group intermarriage was increasingly frequent. This was evidenced by the increasing rate of mixed marriages, e.g. about eight of every one hundred Jews entering marriage during the period 1901-1904 contracted mixed marriages, whereas this jumped to 22.36 by 1930.¹ However, with the average Jewish people intermarriage still seemed undesirable. The educated German Jews studied and loved German history, tradition and culture, and participated and contributed to all spheres of German life. The great Jewish philosopher and scholar Martin Buber wrote that never in history had there been a synthesis between the Jews and the nation in the midst of which they lived as in Germany in the last decades (1900-1933).

We have pointed out already that the recent immigrants lived in comfortable circumstances and that before Hitler seized power in Germany there was considerable economic security in this group. This is in striking contrast to previous streams of immigration. Heretofore the majority of the immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe came to America because of chronic starvation in their own country; even when they fled from political or racial persecution they belonged as a group to the low income strata of poor nations. In most cases, relatives in America bought the steamship tickets as the immigrants would not have been able to afford them. Those, emigrating from Germany previously were people who were escaping from class restrictions and overpopulation or looking for ampler opportunities. In the motley picture of American immigration the recent

¹

Ruppin, op. cit., p. 319.

immigration is probably the first case of a comparatively large group, who had been comfortably settled in their native country, a group which, when leaving, had to abandon their possessions and as a result emigrated from security into economic insecurity.

If we look at the situation a little more closely, we find that in these nine years of the rule of Hitler the circumstances under which emigrants could leave, varied and changed considerably, or rather that there was a constant tightening up of the screw; the chances to take property along when leaving the country became slimmer and slimmer. Due to this fact the economic situation of immigrants from 1933 to 1937 differed considerably from that of later years. The most important facts of this development will be pointed out, as they are of great significance for the adjustment of the immigrant.

As early as 1931, under the chancellorship of Bruening, a law was introduced to prevent money from leaving the country; one-third of fortunes over 50,000.00 R.M. (equivalent to \$20,000.00) had to remain in Germany. Under Hitler a much stricter control of the money leaving the country was added; transfer was only permitted by a specially authorized bank which determined the percentage of transfer of Reichsmark into foreign currency. This percentage was about 30% in 1933; 20% in 1936; and 2% in 1938. As an illustration: a person who after excessive, discriminatory taxation had 30,000.00 R.M. (\$12,000.00) left, which he wanted to transfer, could at this percentage convert 600.00 R.M. into \$240.00. From 1938 on money transfer became impossible.

As transfer of money became more and more unsatisfactory, one tried to transfer goods. For years there was no restriction in this respect. Well-to-do emigrants took ample furniture, rugs, china, jewelry, all their household equipment, washing and ironing machines, sometimes the machinery for establishing a factory abroad; doctors took a complete set of instruments and X-ray apparatus with them. From 1937 on, when the money transfer already had shrunk to almost nothing, restrictions of the transfer of goods were introduced. In the beginning only such cases were looked into, where emigrants took machinery, medical equipment, etc., with them and a ruling was made that the emigrant had to pay to the German Reich an amount equal to that which he had expended for the equipment. Then from month to month the goods that the emigrant was allowed were further restricted. From 1938 on, the emigrant had to make up a detailed list of everything he took with him. This had to be approved by a government agency. For everything that had been recently bought the owner had to pay an amount to the government which equalled the price of the merchandise. Later on, goods that had an international value and could be easily cashed anywhere, such as rugs, paintings, and etchings, jewelry, fur coats, were completely prohibited and so were machines and devices that became rare in Germany, such as typewriters, cameras, binoculars. It seems special scrutiny was applied to prevent the emigrant from taking such goods with him that might make his start abroad a little easier. Previously many people had taken a great deal of furniture along that would enable them to take roomers or to

open a boarding house in the new country. From 1939 on, for instance, in one area people were prohibited from taking with them more than one couch or bed per emigrating person.

In spite of the constant drain of Jewish fortunes performed in a dozen different ways, it was possible during the period of the largest emigration from the middle of 1938 to the fall of 1939, for a good many people leaving Germany, to acquire a rather abundant outfit, as this was felt to be the best form of investment, after money transfer had become practically impossible.

The handling of the shipments of the emigrant was not based on a law but was administrative practice. It therefore varied not only from one period to another, but also within the same period according to local practice, and sometimes even varied with the officials handling the case in the same city at the same time.

The economic situation of the emigrant was once more gravely changed when the European war broke out, and this by other factors than the German government. Since the outbreak of the war, transportation lines did not accept anything but dollar payments for the transportation of people and goods, and as a consequence of the war risks the passage rates were raised considerably. This all meant that the economic problem connected with immigration started in a very acute way when the immigrant was still in the old country. This had disastrous consequences for immigration. Whereas until 1938 the immigrant had to rely on his sponsor for financial aid of any kind only in very rare cases, and in 1938 and 1939 the sponsors just helped with the

start of the emigré, from now on the refugee needed financial help before he had even left his native country. It became more and more difficult to find sponsors under the circumstances. Many people who were still willing to make out affidavits, refused bluntly to go to the expense of \$250.00 to \$300.00 for the steamship ticket. Frequently it took months and months till the necessary amounts were raised and the complicated documents had been made out. Precious time passed, in which often the hoped¹ for opportunity of emigration was lost.

Frequently recent immigrants had to try to summon the necessary amounts, using their scanty savings and going into debt. The Joint Distribution Committee theoretically financed the trip of people who had no private connections by a special clearance procedure with the main German-Jewish organization. This, according to our knowledge, worked in such a small fraction of the number of prospective immigrants that it was negligible.

Drawing conclusions from the preceding, it may be stated that during the first years of the Hitler government, the emigrating persons could provide for their start in America by the transfer of money, by taking equipment and valuable belongings with them. Later the immigrant arrived virtually penniless; in a much greater number of cases he had to rely on his sponsors and on the refugee service after arrival. After the outbreak of the war he could not even leave Germany without having a

1

The much more decisive handicaps of immigration were the restricting policies and practices of the American consulates. See above.

considerable amount of money at his disposal for transportation of himself and his baggage. On top of that, the general immigration picture was furthermore unfavorably influenced by the fact that after 1938 old people emigrated who had never considered emigrating. The group of economically dependent immigrants grew on the strength of both aspects of the Nazi persecution of Jews, the more and more violent physical persecution and the increasing drain on Jewish property before and at emigration.

We would like to give some characteristics of the mentality of this group, but we feel quite at a loss in this undertaking. First of all we are dealing with a group comprehending young and old, urban and rural people, all vocations, all educational, religious, philosophic varieties - is there a common denominator for them? If there is, will our results not be commonplace rather than a basis for our future considerations? Can we avoid subjectivity on a subject like this where every statement may be true, but where it is our responsibility to strike the typical features? And finally, from which viewpoint should we approach this subject in order not to get lost in the vast and deeply stirred sea of the human soul? In the attempt to characterize the recent immigrant, studies by Americans showed more or less the deviations of the newcomers from the American pattern.¹ We feel that this should also be our viewpoint as it is the factor that promotes or hinders an adjustment; it is what is noted by the American people whom the immigrant meets, be it

¹ Mann, op. cit. and Amelia Igel, "Case Work with Refugees," Proceedings of the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare, 1939.

an asset or a liability, it is a question that bothers the newcomer in the process of adjustment, imbued as he is, with the feeling of insecurity. For a considerable time after arrival the refugee is constantly comparing himself with the Americans, the homeland with the country of refuge, customs, traditions, laws, social patterns there and here.

In spite of all the dissolving tendencies of the ending nineteenth and beginning twentieth century, the educated German middle class, to a large extent, still lived in the concepts of the German classical philosophy and poetry. Their ideals might be roughly outlined by mentioning the concept of duty of Immanuel Kant ("Categorical Imperative"), the concept of freedom of Schiller (freedom from tyranny, freedom of thought), the ideals of noble humanity expressed in unforgettable words by Goethe and Schiller, the ideal to devote one's life to a cause beyond the self interest of the individual, be it the state (Hegel), people and fatherland (Kleist, Schiller, Fichte), work for the sake of fellow men (Goethe, Faust II). This was to most educated Germans' life, "as it should be." Striving to reach these goals was the essence of life and according to the well-known motive of Faust, the striving effort itself is ennobling and leads to redemption.

These concepts, conscious and imperative for the educated group, were unconscious directives for the masses.

On the whole, the German type may appear more severe, more rigid and austere even, than the typical American. "Take it easy," or "don't worry," has never been understood in Germany;

there was a consciousness, often expressed in literature, that the character grows by experiencing and facing grief, sorrow, suffering.

The educated group was marked by devotion to spiritual values and by the effort of taking ethical obligations seriously. There was a strict distinction between things that are worth while and those that are not, to the point of discrimination of the cheaper forms of entertainment. In a considerable part of the middle class there was a conviction that money and earthly possessions did not matter too much as long as one had the necessities of life. Food and clothing were much simpler than they are in America; it is characteristic that among the socially leading group, government officials, army officers, and a great part of the professional people, quite moderate or small incomes were the rule. To live simply, to be hardened by exercise and outdoor life, was considered wholesome and was the usual pattern in good families, especially in the upbringing of children, while school children never earned money, except in the poorest families.

Love of nature is characteristic of nearly all Germans. A typical feature of German life is the enjoyment of nature and scenery by extensive hiking, indulged in by young and old alike. Connected sports, as swimming, rowing, skiing, skating, sliding, mountain climbing, are outgrowth of this love of nature as well as manifestation of the love of sports. Gardening was common and even in large cities people grew gardens against overwhelming odds. The virtues of everyday life; thrift, diligence, sense of

duty, reliability, soberness, good management, were highly developed in the whole middle class. They amounted to characteristic features in the third group (see page 9). Family relationship was close and strong, in the Jewish group still more than in the average German family. The authoritative attitude of parents to children that was sometimes noticed, was in most cases more on the surface, though there was a somewhat firmer grasp in the training of children than it is typically true in America. In this, as in other respects, tradition has been deeply stirred and changed during the last decades by cultural movements among which the youth movement was the most significant. It brought a complete rethinking of the structure of society, of conventions, relationships, forms of living, education; its lasting effect was a different concept of youth and a dissolution of tradition that had become meaningless. Youth was seen in the youth movement as the most idealistic, most creative period in man's life. It should, under young leaders of its own choice, be given every opportunity to make its full contribution to society and culture.

The results of this and other movements were brought out into the open by World War I, and by the violent upheavals of the post-war period. There is no understanding of the German people without having a picture of this period. World War I shook the fundamentals of our civilization, Germany emerged from it bled white, economically ruined, morally exhausted. The initial confusion, however, soon gave way to the drive to do constructive work for the rebuilding of the country and of Europe. The ideals of a democratic and socially minded Germany, a new Europe, a fairer society, raised enthusiasm and called for the

active participation of a large part of Germany; they lived for a decade, though undermined by the disaster of inflation, blighted by the failure of constructive European foreign policy, and by the frustration of hopes for the future of Germany. The depression strengthened the destructive reactionary and revolutionary parties and brought the rest of the country into an attitude of defeat. From 1931 to 1933 Germany was in the midst of a mad cyclone, the final struggle of democratic governments against unemployment, destitution, despair on one side, and the destructive political forces on the other. It ended with the defeat of the German democracy, a defeat from without and from within. Then the nightmare of Hitler's rule began. The psychological results of the Hitler period have, for different reasons, not been taken into consideration in the above picture.

1. The Jewish population of Germany was hardly affected by the Hitler doctrines. From the beginning, the Jews had been stigmatized and persecuted by the Nazis in a way that made it impossible for Nazi propaganda to reach them.
2. The extent to which Hitler and the Nazi party were able to get a hold of the minds of Germans at large, and how they were transformed in this period, can hardly be accurately stated by anybody at this time.

Emigres from Germany brought with them the democratic and social concepts of post-war Germany, but they also brought a skepticism concerning the chances of a thorough political and social reform, a weariness regarding the accomplishments of man -- too many hopes had been frustrated, too many beginnings destroyed, too much faith disappointed.

All Jews living under Nazi rule have some strong experiences in common. They experienced the triumph of power uncurbed by ethical consideration, and the sudden change of convictions to please the wanton victor. They saw their neighbors, fellow workers, friends, suddenly or gradually turn cool, timid, cautious, become a prey to the Nazi doctrine or conceal their feelings and betray their convictions for fear of endangering themselves, their families, or careers. The many exceptions to this only confirm the rule. The world has lost something of its shining beauty for most people who went through this, and the experience makes for some bitterness in all those who have not very rich inner resources.

CHAPTER I

IMMIGRATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE GERMAN GROUP

Immigration and the status of immigrants seem to have been a highly controversial subject in America throughout its history. On one hand, America has been a land of immigration from its very start; high political goals have led it to establish a unique cultural and political unity of the streams of European migration. Through centuries it has maintained the proud conception of the "melting pot," a term expressing the confidence that these many and various streams would form a unity, that they would be assimilated by the American stock, or better, to the ideal to which America has been dedicated. America has opened its doors freely and generously to the "huddled masses" of Europe, whom the Statue of Liberty greets with its lamp when the continent of the New World rises from the sea.

Not only were the streams of hard working immigrants a vital necessity to America in the colonization of the country, in building its roads and railroads, and in operating its trades and industries, but also the people of the United States seem to have been conscious at all times that their attitude to the immigrants, especially in cases where they were refugees from political or religious persecution, would be a measure of the success of the American political system, a test of the firmness and durability of its ideological foundations. For a long time the political ideal of free migration and the economic

necessities of the country were in full concordance.¹

Through more than a century there arrived nearly unrestricted the streams of people from Europe, thousands, hundreds of thousands, millions every year: the Irish escaping from famine and oppression; the Germans migrating into the land of vast and free space from the overcrowded European scene; the Poles and Russians fleeing from chronic starvation and political despotism; the Jews of all these countries, for whom discrimination and religious persecution were additional reasons for emigration; the Italians looking for opportunities where they could use their skills to better avail; the Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, Portuguese, Scotch, English refugees as a result of Europe's political uprisings and revolutions. They were a motley, diverse crowd. Their story is a great epic of frustration, pains, suffering, manly decision, hard struggle, homesickness, gingerly rooting in the new soil, a growing appreciation of the new scene and, mostly in the second generation, the definite grasp of the new land as one's own homeland and an assimilation to the American way of life which, in most cases, makes it difficult to even recognize the national origin. This is one side of the picture.

The other is concerned with the stranger as an unwelcome

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Robert G. Spivack, "Social Contributions of New Americans," Social Work Today, December, 1939, p. 46: "Europe may owe us a huge war debt. It is nothing compared with the cultural, economic, social and political debt we owe her. Far from costing us anything, "the open door" has built us a nation. Those who doubt our ability to keep on growing and enriching ourselves by new assimilation are skeptical of America's ability to keep on being America."

or dangerous competitor, as one who would lower the standards of living, having lived in the lowest stratum of material civilization so often, as one who was likely to dilute American culture by clinging to his own folkways, as a stranger who would stay a stranger because in his heart he would conserve his old allegiances, or even be a missionary of strange political and social creeds, and last but not least, as one likely to become a public charge on account of inefficiency, sickness, old age, or lack of employment opportunities. These points of view seem to have gained weight and momentum at times of crisis ever since emigration to America increased numerically, but they became decisive during World War I, at which time an increase of immigration at the end of the war was anticipated. A large immigration was especially feared at this time because of the dropping of the birth rate in the whole western world; the apprehension grew that the American way of living and concept of government were threatened by an immigration which might one day outnumber the native Americans and that such numerous immigrants could not be easily assimilated any longer. This led, after centuries of free immigration, to the restricting laws of 1921 and 1924.¹

On the latter, immigration to this country is based to this day. The trend of these laws was to have selective immigration to plan immigration consciously and to give preference

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One slightly restricting law had been put into force in 1917. It concerned itself mainly with the exclusion of illiterates.

to such nationals as were likely to be absorbed into American culture without difficulty; thus the preference of nationals from western, central and northern Europe to the nationals from the European East and South, and from Asia.

We have here not to deal in detail with the whole development of immigration after 1924. Though considerably less than in the decade 1900 to 1910 (less than half the number of this period) immigration still was on a large scale in the twenties; but when the great distress of the depression came along, America was found to be as hard assaulted by unmastered economic evils as the old world was, and even more so by the lack of a comprehensive relief system and of social security laws. In the decade 1931 to 1940, the smallest number of immigrants in any decade since 1830 has entered the United States.¹

The blight of the depression, the terrifying paralysis of unemployment, were a severely restraining factor, although from 1933 on a new cause of emigration from Europe began to be effective - Hitler's seizure of power in Germany.

Mass-emigration is only performed under pressure. The history of emigration of groups persecuted by Hitler gives new evidence of this. It was clear from the beginning that Hitler planned a total persecution of his political adversaries and of the victims of his racial theories, but it took five years and the climax of persecution that occurred in November 1938 for it to become the general conviction of every Jewish person that

¹ Social Work Today, December, 1939, p. 8.

staying in Germany meant not only a life lacking decent material standards, freedom, dignity and every semblance of beauty, but that it was fatal. From that time on people who had experienced the inferno of horrors and atrocities of German concentration camps were governed and driven by one thought, to leave a country which had become a jail guarded by sadistic desperados.

In the quota year 1938-1939, for the first time since 1933, the German quota was exhausted. Emigration from "Greater Germany" since then has not been restricted to the typical kind of emigrants, young people, particularly men, who were seeking better opportunities in life, or were inspired by a sense of adventure, or sought to build a better future in the country beyond the sea. No children were sent over to live with strangers, the middle-aged withdrew their roots from the soil of the homeland, leaving homes, gardens, friends, neighbors, and all their economic security; and old people, who had made up their minds to remain in spite of all in order not to be imposing themselves on relatives and children, gave up their peaceful and resigned life in well-known surroundings as life became unbearable.

From the fall of 1938 on, every Jew in Germany felt that staying in the country subjected him to persecution in unpredictable and increasingly terrible forms. His only goal became to secure a permit for entry into another country. Unfortunately, most European countries had closed their doors after having had considerable influx of refugees during the first years of the Hitler regime, or - this is true of some

smaller countries - did not feel that they could offer refuge as their own population lived under trying circumstances. There was still emigration from Germany to England and Palestine, and a trickle to the South American countries. The hopes of the majority, however, were directed to the United States, the land with the amplest resources and perhaps the greatest opportunities for the able individual, the country with a definite and known policy of immigration as to administration, procedure, and numbers, and the country in which previous Jewish immigrants could help them make adjustments.

With the outbreak of World War II, the United States became the only land of refuge (with very few exceptions.) Unfortunately, the United States has offered a chance to only a small portion of the would-be immigrants. The number of immigrants was definitely restricted by the immigration law of 1924, further restricted by sometimes nearly prohibitive administrative procedures (as from the summer of 1940 until January 1941, and again since the closure of the American consulates in Germany); in the fall of 1941 there was in greater Germany a potential emigration of about 150,000 people whose only hope lay in the United States; yet, in spite of ample guarantees and guarantors in the great majority of cases, none could obtain a visa.

"The immigration policy of this country since the outbreak of the war has been so profoundly modified year by year that we have now reached the point where it is no longer possible to consider the United States as one of the great immigration countries. This fundamental break with tradition has been brought about without legislation, largely without the knowledge of public opinion, and solely by administrative practice..... Public opinion as a whole knows next to nothing about the change which has been wrought in our policy

and can certainly not be considered to have given to the administration any mandate on the subject. We find it very difficult to believe that millions of American citizens who were either immigrants themselves or the children of immigrants would, if they knew, acquiesce in the reversal of a policy which has made the United States the greatest single power in the world today.....

The State Department has repeatedly and emphatically pointed out that immigration into this country is governed by statute, and the impression has been widely conveyed that reluctant officials have been compelled against their will to turn away people whom they would otherwise have been glad to save..... The suggestion that a substantial American contribution to the solution of the refugee problem would entail controversial legislation is utterly without foundation.....

The major difficulty which the immigrant has to overcome is in Washington itself." 1

This was the more tragic as in every country conquered by Hitler, a new urgent need for emigration arose. The tiny Polish immigration quota (6,524), totally inadequate to alleviate the unprecedented tragedy of the Polish Jews, was not nearly used up in the years in which this tragedy unfolded itself. In the quota year 1939, 3,072 Poles entered the United States, in 1940, 702, in 1941, 451.² The Polish Jews were most anxious to leave Poland, and it would seem that many of them would have been able to get the necessary papers entitling them to an American visa; the overwhelming majority of the 3,300,000 Polish Jews have been murdered during the Polish-German war and during the German occupation. The situation of the Jews in Holland, Belgium

1 "The Jews of Europe," The New Republic, A. Special Section, Issues 41 and 52, August 30, 1943.

2 United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Philadelphia, August 25, 1942, (Mimeographed).

and France may have looked different in the beginning of the German occupation and the Jews in these countries may not have realized at first that there was but a short time to escape the fate of deportation and violent death, as it unfortunately came to pass in the following years. By a special action of the President of the United States "danger visas" were issued for persons who as political opponents of the Nazis, or Jewish persons of literary, scientific or artistic renown, among them many German refugees, living in France, were supposed to be in special danger; in two years immigration from France was slightly above the regular quota (1941 - 4,801; 1942 - 4,430; quota immigration 3,086.)¹ Even this small scale action brought a noticeable relief in a desperate situation and might serve as an illustration what could have been done by the countries abhorring Nazi methods, had they been determined to do everything in their power to open the doors for those suffering from Nazi terror.

We do not for a moment suggest that the United States alone could have offered a solution to the ever increasing Jewish problem in Europe. What we want to point out is that the United States have not nearly admitted all the people who can be admitted under the law and have not done anything (with the exception cited above) to take the extraordinary situation into consideration. It can be assumed that if the United States would have taken energetic steps to relieve the

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United States Department of Justice, Ibid.

unspeakable plight of millions of suffering people, this would have had its effect on the other powers. As it was, the nations represented at the Evian Conference (1938) did not arrive at any practical measures. It even made some smaller nations less willing than they had been to admit refugees as they became for the first time aware of the magnitude of the problem. The policy of appeasement had truly its analogy in the treatment of the refugee problem.

We said that emigration from Germany became indiscriminate, that it comprehended more and more everybody in the Jewish group who was able to get a visa. This sets a limitation to attempts to characterize the German immigration in sociological, mental, cultural, and economic terms, but it is a limitation only to a certain degree. There are some common characteristics in the German education and cultural background as well as in the Jewish heritage, some sociological peculiarities found with the Jewish population everywhere and also some pretty general psychological traits, especially as far as reactions to the European events of the last three decades are concerned. These were the deep stirring up of the emotional ground by the first world war, the trying post-war period in Europe, full of new socio-economic schemes, new political ideas, the hopes and despairs of a generation that saw the conception of a new Europe rise and fail and - most of all - the reactions to Hitler's rule in Germany, to the disintegration of the Jews from the life of the German nation and their ever intensified oppression and persecution. We consider

these experiences as at least as essential as the frequently stated sociological and cultural characteristics.¹

But let us keep in mind that beyond some general traits every attempt to describe the immigrants as a homogeneous group may all too easily result in over-simplification. It faces not only the multitude of individuals and individual differences, but also the obvious truth that city and country life seem to shape men even more than nationality, race, creed and culture, so that a German-Jewish farmer will have more in common with a Kentucky farmer than with a highly sophisticated Berlin lawyer. It is a fact, furthermore, that vocations mould their adherents; there are very definite personality patterns of the physician, the industrialist, the businessman, the tradesman, the scientist, and so on.

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Mann, op. cit.

CHAPTER II

CIVIL STATUS, AGE AND SEX OF THE LOUISVILLE GROUP

The number of refugees in Louisville on October 1, 1941¹ was 295. These 295 persons lived in 83 households and there were 22 single, unattached persons, a total of 105 cases. The group answering the questionnaires comprised 116 persons, and 44 cases.

Compared with their former status, the size and composition of the families has changed. Many families are lacking members with whom they lived and who were not able to leave Germany together with them; some cannot live with their families for reasons connected with the emigration; and on the other hand, refugees in Louisville frequently live in enlarged family units.

The enlargement of families - most frequently parents living together with married children, unmarried brothers and sisters living in the same household with married couples, in some cases three formerly independent family units being united in one household - follows in most cases economic necessities or common sense. To economize is imperative for people who have to start from scratch, and so the once highly treasured independence of aged parents has been given up in nearly all cases. Not only is one household considerably cheaper than

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This was taken as the deadline for the census; all the following statistics refer to this group. However, the cases described in this study were followed up to the time when the respective paragraph was written. The children born in the United States and marriages in this group were counted until March 1, 1942.

two, the presence of a mother in the house allows the daughter or daughter-in-law to accept an outside job.

There is, in most cases, an emotional factor in this enlargement of the family. After the weird events of the last years, the family as a haven of rest, love, and peace, receives a new emphasis; after the tragic dismembering of families for years, it was felt to be one of the greatest and most delightful achievements to have the family reunited, and living in the same house with formerly independent family members seemed natural.

Neither this enthusiasm, nor the economic necessity, however, could always prevent problems from arising, which so often are experienced when other than the closest family members have to live together. There are annoying habits, interference, lack of privacy, irritation. For some, this state of affairs has necessitated an extra adjustment besides the adjustment to a strange country.

In 25 (30.1%) of the 83 refugee households, family members other than husband, wife and children were part of the family unit. That this is an "immigration phenomenon" is borne out by the fact that in most cases the status has changed after emigration, and also by the further fact that after a period of stabilization in the new country a process of re-adjustment begins, in which the families separate according to the modern pattern of the small family. The KRS knows that in five of the twenty-five families difficulties of the kind mentioned above, exist. In one case at least

they are of a serious nature; there may be other such cases; a good deal of such tension never gets outside the immediate family.

Table I
Civil Status of 295 Louisville Immigrants

Civil Status	Immigrants
Total	295
Married	165 ^a
Unmarried	108
Widowed	18
Divorced or Separated	4

^a

The American spouses of German immigrants are, of course, not included in our figures.

One man is married to a British woman; the woman is not included.

In four cases married women were in Louisville, the husbands in other parts of the United States. Reason: two women worked in Louisville as interns; one studied at the School of Dentistry.

Among the unmarried, fifty-nine were under eighteen years of age, forty-nine over eighteen years of age; of those over eighteen years of age thirty-three were male and sixteen were female.

Among the widowed were thirteen widows and five widowers.

Among the married persons are eleven who are married to Americans, ten German immigrants married American girls, one German widow is married to an American man.

We consider this as quite indicative of the social position of the refugee group. It is socially not integrated

enough for intermarriage; this is especially true for the girls, whereas the boys have more opportunity to meet American girls outside of the social group, and are more easily admitted into American families than German girls would be. As the refugee group is small, the marriage chances for the young girls of the immigrant group are slim. This has in some cases caused a change of residence. There are in our group four marriages¹ between Germans after emigration.

The material presented in Table II gives the picture of a group with declining birth rate, very typical of the Jewish group in modern times. This tendency has been greatly accentuated by the facts caused by and connected with emigration. The marriage age, always later in Germany than in America, has been further postponed by the extreme insecurity of life in Germany, by the turmoil of emigration and the consuming task of starting anew. The will to have children has been negatively influenced by the same factors.

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In one case we could not verify whether the marriage was before or after arrival in the United States.

Table II
 Age and Sex of 295 Louisville Immigrants^a

Age	Immigrants		
	Total	Male	Female
Total	295	150	145
Under 11 years	28	15	13
11 years under 21 years	43	21	22
21 years under 31 years	44	27	17
31 years under 41 years	58	23	35
41 years under 51 years	45	25	20
51 years under 61 years	43	22	21
61 years under 71 years	23	9	14
over 71 years	11	8	3

^a

This table is based on the statistics of KRS in October 1943; the ages are as of October 1941

In thirteen cases the ages were estimated; these cases were not included in the statistics of the KRS as the people had left town or had died, or the ages could not be verified by KRS. As the persons were known to the KRS and our age categories are large, the estimate will be fairly accurate.

CHAPTER III
SETTLEMENT AND RESETTLEMENT

Why did the refugees establish themselves in Louisville, Kentucky? What were the factors of orientation for the newcomers? Was there an organized distribution over the United States, or was there a mere haphazard movement that lead them to a middle-sized city in Kentucky, nine hundred miles from the port of arrival?

It is a general experience with immigration that the immigrants tend to establish themselves in the large cities where there are the amplest opportunities, where they will find a colony of people of the same descent, language, and culture, and - probably also - where they will find a benevolent anonymity. This old experience was fully confirmed by the latest wave of immigration to America. Ruppin¹ has pointed out that in cases of migration there is very likely to be a change from rural to urban settlement. In our case this is further accentuated as German and Austrian Jews were city dwellers par excellence.

Though Louisville belongs to the larger cities, settlement there is decentralization from the point of view of counteracting the agglomeration of immigrants in the largest Eastern cities; looking at Kentucky as a whole, it may be regarded as a centralization in Kentucky's largest city.

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Ruppin, op. cit., p. 131

The most important single factor for the recent immigrants in the choice of the place of residence is having relatives with whom the immigrant had been in personal contact or correspondence before he came. In most cases these were affidavit makers who frequently, though not always, took a natural, genuine interest in the newcomer. The movement to the place of residence of the relatives is accentuated by the NRS, whose policy is to have the affidavit makers assume their responsibilities. It is logical that thus the distribution of the immigrants was to a certain extent a replica of the settlement of their American relatives.

We are listing in Table III the reasons for settlement in Louisville. We are referring here to the cases or family units, as the reasons for settlement at a place are the same for all the members of a family. In forty-four cases material was obtained from the questionnaires, in forty-six cases not answering the questionnaires it was based on knowledge of KRS or writer, which they had from their immediate contact with the group. This is one of the cases where we use other sources of information to supplement the questionnaire material. In fifteen cases the reasons for settlement in Louisville could not be stated with certainty.

More than half of the Louisville refugees (52.3%) came there because it was the residence of their relatives. Our statistics do not list those cases where the members of one family unit arrived at different times; this occurred frequently, the typical procedure being that one well-settled refugee prepared the ground for his family.

Table III

Reasons for Settlement in Louisville
of 105 Immigration Cases

Reasons for Settlement	Immigration Cases
Total	105
Relatives	55
Employment Opportunity	17 ^a
Resettlement	7
Studies	5
Friends	4
German-Jewish Children's Aid	1
Other Reasons	1
Reasons Unknown	15

a

In two questionnaires work possibilities were the predominant factors, but the immigrant also had relatives in Louisville; they are counted here.

That an amazingly large number of German Jews had American relatives, was one of the most significant facts after the persecution of Jews in Germany started. There had been a great German-Jewish immigration into this country from 1830 to 1840, and then again between 1870 and 1890. Typically, the sponsors of German refugees today are their American-born uncles, aunts, cousins; in rarer cases the sponsors themselves had left Germany as young people, thirty or forty years ago. With the ever greater weight of America as a haven of refuge and with the immigration set-up being as it is, the relatives in America became the focal points of the plans of rescue and of the hopes for the future.

At first the American consulates requested a sponsor on the other side; later, with the rising tide of emigration, the consulates became more particular of these requirements in requesting close relationship and greater securities for a valid affidavit. A virtual maze of documents proving both became necessary. As already described above, these conditions became such that only a really interested person would perform an unending series of formalities, of furnishing documents, financial statements, reports, and affidavits, and paying the very considerable expenses later on, connected with the emigration of their relatives. In the plight of the German Jews, the numerous relatives in the New World were and are the anchors of hope and action.

As pointed out in Table III, in seventeen cases refugees came to Louisville in order to accept a definite job or to

explore the chances for work in Louisville. Among the former were those who found jobs by cooperation of the NRS and KRS; in other cases people joined their former employers in Louisville, or found a job by applying through the ordinary channels of the labor market. The latter were mostly experts in some particular field, who explored the possibilities in Louisville. Four families settled in Louisville because they had friends there. Five were students at the University of Louisville; four of the five came because scholarships were offered to them. One boy was sent by the German-Jewish Children's Aid.¹ The resettlement cases cited in Table III were cases of "pure" resettlement. Although the number of resettlement cases are relatively few in Louisville, it might be well to review this problem in the following paragraphs.

As has been mentioned, the new immigrants (just as previous immigrants did) settled mostly in large cities. This material contained in Table IV refers to states and not to cities, but it is commonly known that the overwhelming majority of those intending to reside in New York State, will live in New York City, the same with Chicago for Illinois, San Francisco and Los Angeles in California, Philadelphia for Pennsylvania. Kentucky is not mentioned as a state of intended residence. It may be contained with a small figure among "all other."

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On the whole, there have been five cases of children placed in Louisville by the German-Jewish Children's Aid. Two of the boys have been reunited with their parents (they are living in Louisville); and two of the children have left Louisville.

Table IV

Intended Future Permanent Residence According
to States Given by 10,608 Hebrew Immigrant
Aliens in the Year Ending June 30, 1942. a

States	Immigrants	States	Immigrants
California	524	Missouri	68
Colorado	13	New Hampshire	4
Connecticut	96	New Jersey	343
District of Columbia	60	New York	7,521
Florida	56	Ohio	172
Georgia	12	Oregon	19
Illinois	503	Pennsylvania	280
Indiana	39	Rhode Island	26
Louisiana	17	Texas	63
Maine	5	Vermont	12
Maryland	99	Virginia	46
Massachusetts	196	Washington	48
Michigan	172	Wisconsin	34
Minnesota	31	All other	155

a

United States Department of Justice, op. cit.

The settlement in large cities has well understandable personal reasons. There is consensus omnium, however, that it is a harmful thing, both to the individual immigrant and to the cause of immigration. The newcomers in these big centers associate with their countrymen and former friends rather than with Americans, and this stands in the way of a rapid cultural assimilation and social integration, both of which are desirable in each case of immigration. By this agglomeration of strange elements, ill-feelings are likely to be fostered, especially when competition of one kind or another is experienced. Anti-alien feeling may amalgamate more or less consciously with anti-Jewish feeling. Competition offered on the labor market by people of the same vocational type, people with the same assets and liabilities, makes the employment situation much more difficult in those centers. At the same time, the assisting organizations are less effective in dealing with masses of people. They encounter the difficulties just mentioned and cannot give much attention to each individual case. Then, too, the appearance of a great number of immigrants in one city makes them conspicuous in the public eye much more than their numbers would warrant. Problems are virtually created in those large centers which would be non-existent, were the immigrants more evenly distributed over the vast land of the United States. This again will influence public opinion against immigration as a whole, as has been experienced again and again in the last years. Though there is some demagoguery in this, it is true that every individual case of good social adjustment of a

refugee is a case for continuation of immigration. There is a connection between the individual and the general aspects of adjustment of refugees.

"Resettlement" as a function of NRS is an outgrowth of these thoughts and of the experience that in spite of all directed efforts along these lines in the old country and in America, the immigrants spontaneously show the tendency to remain in the eastern cities. Sometimes this is due to the fact that they have no relatives or friends in other parts of the country, or the friends they have are not able to help them make a start. It can even be said that in most cases, settlement in a different locality can not be carried out without some potent help. It involves transportation for the family and their goods, finding and furnishing residence, looking for a job which will, most likely, not be found right away. Promotion of resettlement also involves providing information about economic, climatic, and living conditions in a place at which resettlement is planned, and a practical, well-directed propaganda for it.

The resettlement division of NRS was organized along these lines; it enlisted the very essential cooperation of the local committees or organizations in charge of help for refugees.

Louisville has very readily cooperated in this program. When the program was started, KRS agreed to accept one resettlement family per month.

In 1942 the KRS counted nineteen cases of resettlement in Louisville. The families resettled in Louisville came mostly on their own initiative; they had relatives or friends there,

had heard of friends who got along satisfactorily or had positions there. They are regarded as resettlement cases as they were referred by the resettlement department; in some cases they were not officially referred by the organization, but relatives in Louisville made the arrangement with the KRS before arrival of the family. In one particular situation a family was later on recognized as a resettlement case.

Table V

Reasons For Resettlement in Louisville
of Nineteen Resettlement Cases. a

Reasons for Resettlement	Cases
Total	19
Relatives	7
"Pure" Resettlement	7
Employment Opportunity	3
Friends	2

a

These figures do not conform with the statistics in Table III. Only the "pure" resettlement cases were listed there.

It appears from Table V that the number of resettlement cases in Louisville is extremely small -- the nineteen cases have been resettled over a period of four to five years -- especially in view of the readiness of the local committee to accept twelve families per year, and of the significance of this program as carried out above. We do not underestimate the difficulties the resettlement program has to face, as a very natural trend holds the immigrants in the cities where they have relatives,

friends, and a much smoother social life. In case that there will be immigration in great numbers after the war, it is felt from the experiences in Louisville, that the NRS should work toward an intensification of its resettlement program.

In line with case work philosophy there was apparently a tendency of NRS to take up resettlement only when definitely desired by the party. Though we feel that it is very vital that a person wants the resettlement as the better plan for himself, it is also felt that in many cases the immigrant is not in a position to view the American scene and to have a real awareness of the advantage which the choice of a place with fewer newcomers would have for him. An intensive enlightenment, generally and individually, appears to be necessary; it should reach the immigrant before he has already rooted in New York. We think that in many cases it would result in a decision to settle in one of the smaller communities where a local committee was offering help. This is illustrated by an article which appeared in a periodical for recent immigrants, written by a refugee who described his life in a small town near the west coast. More than eighty persons wrote to him personally, interested in settling there.¹

Our experiences with refugees resettled in Louisville have confirmed that their resettlement was mostly an enterprise initiated by themselves and also that they compared it favorably with their former life.

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Aufbau, an American Jewish Weekly, (New York, New World Club, Inc., 1942,) Issues 42 and 50.

In seven cases the resettled families came to Louisville because they had relatives there; these relatives, however, were unable to assist them materially, or were unwilling to do so, as they were not the affidavit makers and had other responsibilities; in four cases of the seven, they were recent German immigrants. Two parties came because they had friends in Louisville; three because they had positions; the remaining seven cases were "pure" resettlement propositions in which the families were sent out by the NRS in New York, or had only the slightest personal relations with Louisville.

Table VI
Occupational Status of Nineteen Resettlement
Cases in Louisville, 1942.

Occupational Status	Resettlement Cases
Total	19
Self-employed	7
Commercial Employees	6
Laborers	3
Hospital Internes	2
Mechanic	1

More about this in the general chapter on the vocational and economic structure of the whole refugee group, as there is no reason for singling out the resettled people.

Two cases, which we are going to describe in greater detail, will illustrate the initiation and typical problems of resettlement.

Case X

The X's came from New York where they had lived for about one year. Mr. X. had been operating picture shows and selling moving pictures in Germany; Mrs. X. had had a responsible position in an office; their little son was one year old when they arrived in the United States. It proved impossible for Mr. X., who is a man of forty years, to find work in New York. His English was poor, he could not get into the Union, and would probably not have been equipped anyhow, to operate a picture show in America; he had no other usable skills, though he is a handy man. It was along the line of least resistance that prompted Mrs. X., who is a good typist and knows English shorthand, to accept a job. This meant that they had to place the baby in a home. The X's lived in a furnished room. The greatest hardship for them was to have to be separated from their child. Mr. X. tried to find odd jobs; he peddled for a while. He felt very badly about having his wife work for their living. Not only had he always provided amply for her -- they were comfortably settled formerly -- but she was physically delicate, very frail and suffered from headaches. He was constantly afraid she might get sick. To make things worse, Mr. X. was a nervous person, he suffered from insomnia and worried a great deal; small adverse things completely upset him. Both X's are intelligent, competent people; Mrs. X. is the more educated of the two.

In spite of all this strain, the X's seem to have wanted to stay in New York, as they had some relatives and many friends there. Only when they found out definitely that Mr. X. was unable to find a job in New York, did they become interested in resettlement. Their only connection with Louisville was that some people whom they knew superficially in their home town had made a satisfactory adjustment there.

The X's came to Louisville in February 1941, at a time of extreme scarcity of housing. It was fortunate that at that time another refugee family left the city, and that it was possible not only to rent the place but KRS also could buy nearly all the furniture from this family for a reasonable price, and the X's moved into the completely furnished place after a few days. A week after his arrival Mr. X. found a job as a stockworker in a textile wholesale house, and he has steadily worked there ever since, without being laid off. After some months, he was promoted to a somewhat more responsible position, but he still (1942) gets a very modest salary (\$16.00) a week. They would not be able to get along without the renting out of two rooms with housekeeping facilities; these rooms had been furnished by the Committee along with the apartment of the X's. Besides the cost of getting started and of medical care, which they cannot afford with their present income, the family needed assistance in periods when the rooms were not rented.

In addition, the Committee arranged to have a person (another German refugee) watch the child and thus give the X's the opportunity to go out once a week. They had been kept at home for a long time because they could not leave the child alone, and had longed for contact with other people and for occasional attendance at a show. Recently a group took an interest in the family and provides milk for them.

The expenses of the Committee in this case during the first year were:

1. Help to get started in Louisville (furniture, hauling, bedding, rent for the month)\$190.98

The baby was admitted in Jewish Children's Home for about two weeks during which the X's got established.

2. Occasional additional relief during the first year in Louisville, outside of the help for the start, \$63.35.

The family also was helped with clothes, toys, baby equipment, cod liver oil and frequently with free medical care. Services given to this family were manifold. Mr. X. has to be backed up time and again and needs reassurance when the room is temporarily not rented, when there are unexpected expenses which they cannot meet, sickness of one of them, or when his work situation gets somewhat discouraging. The worker advised and assisted the X's with the renting of their rooms. It was attempted to get some people interested in the X's, and by paying a person to watch the baby, the X's were enabled to carry on some social life. This appears to be a special responsibility of the Refugee Committee with resettlement families who have no personal ties to the community. Medical care for Mrs. X. and the baby was frequently necessary and the questions involved and ensuing had to be discussed. It was found that Mrs. X., who had always been a business woman, had very little experience in running the house and in child training. Questions of buying and organizing the household work were taken up with Mrs. X. When the child was in the Jewish Children's Home, the mother learned some principles of physical care for babies; at the present time the question of the proper training of the child has to be discussed frequently, as Mrs. X. has considerable difficulties in training the child.

The case worker tried to encourage Mr. X. to improve his English. As in many refugee families, it was true here that Mr. X. was not able to benefit from Mrs. X's very good command of the English language; they always talked German in the home, and only recently it seems that the child's baby talk offers some stimulation to talk English. Mr. X. did not go to the night school for refugees; he claimed that he was too tired in the evenings, but it seems that he has some emotional inhibition which has not been completely clarified.

In spite of the very close and warm relationship between the X's, there was once some slight marital disturbance, caused by financial strain, worry about the future and the relatives in Europe. The worker seems to have been successful in straightening this out, especially by relieving some of the material strain.

After a year in Louisville, the family has made a satisfactory adjustment. Mr. X. has worked steadily and satisfactorily; he likes his work. They have their own home, Mrs. X. takes care of the child, and they have made some community contacts. The economic basis is still quite narrow. The budget does not allow for medical care, nor for any other than the current household expenses. It is doubtful whether Mr. X. can earn much more; a widening of the economic basis can only be expected of Mrs. X's earning soon. In a few months the baby can be admitted into the nursery school which, with some additional arrangements, would allow Mrs. X. to accept a position. The X's regard Louisville as their permanent home and hope to have other relatives join them there.

Case Y

In the case of the Y family the adjustment encountered considerable difficulties. They are middle-aged people with one son from whom they had been separated for some time prior to immigration. After their arrival in New York, where the affidavit-maker lived, Mrs. Y. worked as a domestic; Mr. Y. lived in a furnished room and tried to find a job. This proved to be extremely difficult. Mr. Y. had worked in different lines previously; he did not have any complete training nor any consistent work experience. He had taken a short course in bookkeeping and thought he would be qualified to accept a bookkeeping job. Besides a few short-termed jobs he had not been able to find work in New York. The family had to depend on Mrs. Y. and finally became interested in re-settlement. They had hardly any personal ties in Louisville when they arrived.

It was a great event for the Y's to have their own home again. This occurred four weeks after their arrival in Louisville. The plain, but nicely situated apartment was large enough to enable the Y's to rent out one room, which provided a small income. The placement of Mr. Y. was difficult; in spite of the demand for bookkeepers he was not able to hold any of his jobs. He was discharged or he gave them up on account of poor payment, or because of aggravation. He blamed some factors in each occurring situation for his

failure, but it soon turned out beyond any doubt that he did not have what it takes to be a bookkeeper and that he was not able to qualify as one even in small positions. In the eleven months which Mr. Y. had spent in Louisville, he had had seven positions as a bookkeeper and one as a laborer. Several times he failed because he could not understand and talk English well enough; he has a good reading and writing knowledge of English, but he could not understand Americans easily, and he was hard to understand even in his native tongue. Every failure led to discouragement and to a permanent resentment that exploded occasionally. During different periods of unemployment he took odd jobs. Mrs. Y. also earned a little money by domestic work, sewing, selling, and taking care of children.

For a while Mr. Y. was unemployed and took care of the home while Mrs. Y. took outside work. With the help of JWF he looked for work as an unskilled workman or stockworker. He cannot do work that requires a great deal of physical strength. Possibilities of a training course in bookkeeping were considered but had to be dropped when it became clear that Mr. Y. did not have the ability for this work. Eventually a job as a shipping clerk was found for Mr. Y.; in this he could put to use his positive qualities, diligence, conscientiousness, reliability. He was able to adjust to this work, to satisfy his employer and to work on it steadily.

The Y's are people of high principles, very modest, diligent, and thrifty, and owing to that the financial support of the Committee was relatively small. Mr. Y. staggers between discouragement and weak attempts to assert himself; he is intelligent and has a fair education, but there is a remoteness to reality and a lack of balance which affect his judicial power and mental equilibrium. He is somewhat immature; his outlook may completely change and while he is elated about a person or a position in one moment, he may be quite depressed in the next. Often it does not become clear whether he fools himself or tries to save his face when talking to others. An analysis of his past shows clearly that his European work record was rather unsteady and did not show any real accomplishment in any one line. He has vacillated vocationally all along. Though he worked in a number of lines and had hobbies besides, none of these activities seems to furnish a ground on which he can stand.

Mrs. Y. is a highly nervous person, always rushing, over-amiably, easily excited and upset. Her nervous condition was a handicap for her in finding or holding a job, and it is hard on her family. Mrs. Y's parents, sister and brother, all of whom she loves dearly, are still in Europe. Mrs. Y. is going through an inferno of anxiety, worrying

about what may become of them. Her inability to help her family come over was almost an unbearable strain, especially when the news from Germany became more and more alarming. Since the war interrupted mail connections from German-dominated Europe completely, she is going through another ordeal. It was always felt that Mrs. Y. is unusually attached to her family, and after having married probably did not break away from them. This only accentuates her grief, which is entirely warranted by the events in Europe. Mrs. Y. is the more determining factor at home; in Europe she always worked and probably contributed more to the family income than Mr. Y. did.

The marital relationship is a very good one. Mrs. Y. has endured the many failures of Mr. Y. with admirable patience; she was always encouraging and never blamed him. In spite of that there is quite a feeling of guilt on the side of Mr. Y., who is intelligent enough to know what the unsteadiness of the economic basis means for his nervous wife. Then again he overcompensates his inferiority feelings by over-asserting himself at home.

This family, naturally, had to be supported by the Committee not only at their start in Louisville and not only with specific budget items, but also with some maintenance relief in the periods of unemployment of Mr. Y.

1. Help to get started in Louisville, \$186.33.
2. Relief during the first year in Louisville outside of the help at the start, \$85.50.

Services for the Y's had a wide range; in a time of great scarcity of housing, a place had to be found and furnished. Securing jobs or an additional training for Mr. Y. has been a constant problem; there were discussions of management and buying, attempts to find jobs for Mrs. Y. and to prepare her for them mentally, assistance in finding roomers. Some of the emotional problems of the Y's have been mentioned before. Mrs. Y. needed relief in her anxiety about her family; much work was done with Mr. Y. to give him a better understanding, a more realistic attitude towards his work situation, some conception of the behavior that is expected from an employee and also an understanding of the rights of an employee. The relationship to their boy was a little difficult at times as living in a different environment had estranged the child to some extent. Interpretations of the mutual difficulty, both to the parents

1

This does not include the furniture which had been given to the KRS for refugees, but it does include the furniture that had to be bought for the Y's.

and to the child, have helped to modify this difficulty.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Y. had private English teachers. The Y's were brought in contact with people in the community, Americans as well as German refugees.

When we try to come to an evaluation of the adjustment of this family after resettlement, we will find that the result is far from satisfactory. And yet, compared with the life of this family in New York, there are great assets. The family is living together in their own home. In spite of all the setbacks, Mr. Y. is considered the wage earner and the efforts are focussed on enabling him to perform this responsibility. Though Mrs. Y. was helped with finding jobs, her work is planned in a way which allows her to be the homemaker. The efforts of finding work for Mr. Y. which he can do and by which he makes a living, were finally successful, and after about a year in Louisville the Y. family has firm ground under their feet.

CHAPTER IV

SELF-SUPPORT AND OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE

Data Concerning Self-Support and Assistance

How many refugees needed help at some time after their arrival? Who helped them? For what length of time was help necessary?

We will give the figures for the total material as given orally by the chairman of KRS and checked with material of JWF and questionnaires. They can be considered accurate as far as organized help is concerned; in respect to help by relatives there may be an approximate accuracy only. Some of the cases listed as having not received help, may have had it from relatives, especially from relatives in other cities. As the circumstances of the Louisville group of refugees are rather well known, it is felt that the figures regarding support by relatives will, however, be quite close to the real picture.

Table VII

Assistance Needed in 105 Louisville
Immigration Cases. a

Assistance	Cases
Total	105
Assistance Needed	59
Assistance Not Needed	46

^a Data on forty-four cases obtained by questionnaire.

Table VIII

Source of Assistance in Fifty-Nine
Louisville Immigration Cases. a

Source of Assistance	Cases
Total	b 59
Kentucky Refugee Service	b 36
Relatives	b, c 23
Friends	b 4
Student Committee	4
Refugee Agencies in Other Cities	d 2

a

Data on twenty-six cases obtained by questionnaire.

b

In nine cases the families were supported by KRS and relatives; in one case by KRS and friends. These cases are twice listed, thus the total number of cases assisted was fifty-nine.

c

We did not list here the cases where relatives took the arriving refugee into their home for a short time.

d

We have no reliable material as to support of refugees prior to their coming to Louisville. We list here the two cases in which the questionnaires stated support by NRS and a local committee in another city.

The Group not Needing Assistance

Above we gave this group as forty-six (43.8%) of the entire group; according to the questionnaire returns eighteen (41%) could start and carry on their life in the United States without help of any kind.

Some of this group had their own funds. In ten cases¹

1

Two of these cases are also listed among those that received help. Friends or relatives helped the refugees in the beginning, for instance, with taking them into their homes for some months so that the funds of the newcomers did not have to be used up.

of the forty-four returned questionnaires there was either some transfer or funds of other origin. In one case the immigrant inherited from American relatives, in the other European relatives were able to provide a sum in United States currency. In both cases the immigrant was in possession of \$5,000.00. There remain eight cases in which formal transfer was reported. The transfer quotient in these cases was two to six per cent, the resulting dollar amounts were \$154.00, \$200.00, \$300.00, \$350.00, and \$1,300.00. Three persons stated that they transferred money, but the amounts were not given.

Compared with the former possessions of the immigrants, the amounts transferred were insignificant. In one questionnaire we find the statement that the \$154.00 transferred was all that could be saved from a fortune of RM 290,000 - (equal to \$116,000 -)! No doubt, there were refugees who were able to transfer larger sums. This is obvious from the fact that one man (answering the questionnaire, but not filling out the amount of money transferred) could open a substantial business with his own capital. There were also other ways than the official ones for transferring some of the former possessions about which the questionnaire did not ask, because this would never have been answered.

According to the questionnaire material, ten (22.7%) of forty-four had their own funds. From our knowledge we think that this figure could be generalized for the whole group, but have no data to prove this.

The people starting without help and without funds

either found a job right after their arrival or had this job already before they came. Quite often the pattern of emigration and economic adjustment was that one or two of the sons or daughters left Germany first, frequently lived in the house of the relatives for a few weeks, and found a job with the help of American relatives. About a year later, parents and other relatives (grandfather, aunt, younger sisters and brothers) followed. At that time the son or children had established a home for the family, and by their adjustment and experiences the adjustment of the older people was greatly facilitated. Had emigration continued, this would have been in many more cases the pattern of an adjustment of the older people, painless for them and without any reliance on organized help.

Among the 116 people about which the forty-four questionnaires gave account were fifty-eight people engaged in gainful work. Forty-three answers were obtained to the question: "When after arrival did you find a job?"¹ (Fifteen persons did not answer this question²). Answers are tabulated in Table IX. Over forty-three per cent of the gainfully employed of the questionnaire group (fifty-eight) found jobs in less than four weeks and over sixty-five per cent within seven months. Among those who started work later are such cases as women who did not work originally and only started to work after it became necessary

1
Odd jobs are not listed.

2
Erroneously the answers were sometimes given for the first party that arrived, not for the wife, father or child who started to work later on.

Table IX

Months Elapsed Between Arrival and Employment
of Forty-Three Louisville Immigrants

<u>Months Elapsed</u>	<u>Immigrants</u>
Total	43
Less than 1 month	25
One month less than 7 months	13
Over 7 months	5

to supplement their husbands' incomes, and that of a woman who was here on a visitor's visa and was not allowed to work before the change of her status; among those not answering the questionnaires may have been such that found employment quickly. So the actual picture is even more favorable for the immigrant than these figures indicate.

Assistance by the Kentucky Refugee Service

The assistance given in thirty-six cases by KRS will be further analyzed here. We find that it is of a very different nature and on a widely varying scope. It can be divided into five groups as shown in Table X.

1. Those cases where the families had to be established in Louisville and where considerable financial help was necessary over a limited period. Accurate figures are not available with the exception of the two resettlement cases described before: according to oral information the average expenditure per case was \$250.00 to \$300.00. In some cases it was \$400.00, in one it was estimated to be \$600.00 or \$700.00. There are eight

Table X

Type of Assistance in Thirty-Six Cases
Known by the Kentucky Refugee Service

<u>Type of Assistance</u>	<u>Cases</u>
Total	36
Considerable Immediate Assistance	8
Considerable Long Term Assistance	7
Slight Assistance	8
Household Furnishings or Medical Care Assistance	5
Business Loans	8

such cases in the group that received help from KRS. In most of these cases the families have made such an excellent economic adjustment that they did not have to come back to KRS after they were settled.

2. Seven cases where help in smaller amounts had to be given over a longer period. The two resettlement cases described before are in this group. There were two cases where wages were supplemented for a considerable time, one where income was irregular, one of a farmer's family which needed help over a period of years, one of a boy sent to Louisville by the German-Jewish Children's Aid.

3. Eight cases of small assistance (board in the first weeks, clothing, medical help, financial aid occasionally).

4. In a few - five - cases the only help given by the KRS was furniture when the family was established in Louisville, or

medical help, which supplemented the help of relatives or friends.

5. In eight cases KRS gave business loans without interest to people who started a business, or could profit from a loan in an already going business.¹ Only in one of these cases the family got some assistance besides this when they started in Louisville.

Only the first two categories² imply a larger expenditure of money. If we add that these expenditures were distributed over about five years, it seems that the organized help for refugees was not a noticeable burden on the community.

These fifteen cases rather than the thirty-six should be compared with the refugee population of 105 families.

The above figures concern assistance that has been given to immigrants at one time or another, and especially when they started in Louisville.

At the present time³ financial assistance or KRS is given to refugees in nine cases: four of these received occasional assistance, four medical help, and only one is being aided regularly.

1. As this is a different function from assistance, we doubted if this service should be listed here. However, on consideration, we decided to present it as we were anxious to report all the financial aid of any kind given by KRS; the fact that the loans are given without interest may justify this further.

2. Business loans are currently repaid. Details about this were not available.

3. We understand by "present time" not only this moment, but the last four months (January-April 1942). The picture may be slightly, not considerably, improved by the excellent employment situation due to the war effort and the fact that Louisville has several important defense plants. Though refugees very seldom get into the defense industry itself, they benefit by the present boom indirectly.

Exact figures concerning amounts and duration of assistance by the KRS were not available.

Assistance by Relatives

American consular practice makes it indispensable that every immigrant have a sponsor, who in the great majority of cases is a relative. Registration with one of the four American Consulates in Germany and Austria and an affidavit from an interested person in the United States were pre-requisites of immigration. By his affidavit the sponsor assumes the responsibility of taking care of the newcomer; his affidavit is a guarantee that the immigrant will never become a public charge. It is the definite policy of the NRS and its local affiliations to refer the refugee to the sponsor when he needs help, and only when an investigation shows that for one reason or another the sponsor is not able to help, will the organized ¹ refugee committees give financial help.

In order to understand the relationship between refugees and American relatives better, we have to go back to the time when the affidavit was made out. Thousands of tormented, frightful German Jews made a plea for affidavits especially from 1938 on, when the development in Germany turned into physical persecution. They implored their relatives to help them with a good affidavit, stressing in most cases that they would not have to rely upon them for help as they would earn all they needed, their children would support them, they had

1

Other but financial services are available in cases where the sponsor is able to assume his responsibilities.

their own means or - sometimes - close relatives from Germany who did not have a fortune and therefore could not make out impressive affidavits, were willing to have them in their homes and help them get started. Frequently the American relatives answered this cry for rescue, more or less conscious of, somewhat frightened by the responsibilities they undertook. The American relatives sometimes sent affidavits for any number of people, and they may have hoped that the assistance which they promised would often not be necessary. They were not mistaken. During the first years hardly any refugee had to ask his sponsor for assistance. Though this became different later on, the Louisville material would show that on the whole refugees did not have to rely on their American relatives to a large extent.

Of our total group (105 units) twenty-three were supported by relatives at one time or another, in seven of these cases the KRS assisted too, and it may be assumed that the help of relatives in these cases was not substantial. But even when we count them, the group that had financial assistance from relatives is not quite twenty-two per cent, in the questionnaire group assistance of relatives occurred in 27.2%¹; among them were two units (three people) that were permanently supported by relatives on account of old age.

According to our material the help given by relatives was very decisive in fields other than financial, the main one

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We want to point out once more that these figures do not include the cases where parents were assisted by children, or children by parents, and that we did not count here the cases where the relatives invited the refugee to live with them for a period of less than one month.

being help in finding a job. This was of special importance for the refugee when he came to this country and when his language handicap, among other factors, made it quite difficult for him to find a job, at a time when jobs were generally hard to find and in such cases where the refugee would have not been able to find a job due to his age, physical unfitness and lack of specific training. The relatives were able to find positions for the refugees in many cases where it would have been very hard or impossible for the KRS and the JWF to succeed. Quite often the refugees did not need any help of a specific nature to improve their positions later on, but to get a job soon after arrival was of the greatest importance for economic independence even if it granted only a very modest living. Advice and general orientation given by relatives may also have facilitated the refugee's adjustment in many instances. With the role of the relatives in the social adjustment of the refugee we will deal later on.

CHAPTER V

ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH THE LOUISVILLE REFUGEE GROUP

Five Louisville organizations are connected with refugee work to a larger or smaller extent. They are:

1. Kentucky Refugee Service Committee
2. Council of Jewish Women
3. Jewish Welfare Federation
4. Young Men's Hebrew Association
5. Student Refugee Committee

1. Among them the unquestionably leading part is played by Kentucky Refugee Service, the local branch of the National Refugee Service.¹ It was founded on the request of the National Refugee Service in 1934. Though it is the local agency of NRS which corresponds with KRS in every case where Kentucky cases are concerned, it is independent in respect to its policy. It is financed by the Conference of Jewish Organizations in Louisville which collects money for local,² regional, national and overseas action in behalf of suffering Jews, Jewish institutions and projects in its yearly United Jewish Campaign. A great amount of the work of the KRS is done on a voluntary basis. An advisory board of KRS determines its policy at large, but has not been very active; the decisions in an individual case are entirely with the chairman. A good deal of the social service has, in the course of time, been shifted to the JWF. Relief plans are worked out on a budgetary basis by the JWF workers with the refugee families, and

¹ A detailed statistical report of assistance given by KRS is on pp. 59-62.

² The Jewish Welfare Federation, however, is a Community Chest Agency.

have to be finally approved by the chairman of the KRS. In practically all cases the proposed relief plans are accepted by the chairman and financed by KRS.

The work of the refugee service, national as well as local, can be divided into two main parts:

The help to immigrate by giving advice and assistance in making out affidavits, tracing relatives, contacting and interesting them, giving advice concerning the technicalities of emigration (transportation, visa and passport regulations, cost and routes of traveling, luggage dispositions, procedures of sending money abroad, addresses and policies of the agencies concerned with help for immigrants abroad and in the United States) and,

the support of and service for refugees after arrival if their relatives are not able or not entirely able or not willing to take care of them until such time as they become citizens of the United States.

Most large cities have integrated the latter part of the work for refugees with the work of the Jewish family agencies, even though the refugee work may be financed by a different source. It is claimed that there is no reason nor justification for carrying the refugee work on by a different agency; advocates of this arrangement point to the fact that Jewish agencies have often times in their history dealt with people of foreign birth and that their methods have been developed accordingly. They think that the refugees should not be singled out in respect to social services any more than

in other respects, and finally that the Jewish family agency with a professional staff would be better equipped to work with refugees than a new agency working mostly with volunteers. If, on the other hand, the refugee agency has to hire a staff of its own, there would be a lack of economy.

In Louisville, the KRS is being kept up as a special refugee agency for the following reasons:

The work for and with refugees has been developed from this agency and it has resources of which possibly the Jewish Welfare Federation would not have the same command. It is also believed that there is a special devotion, interest in and understanding of refugees in the specialized agency set up for this service. The KRS and the groups behind it were most anxious to make it very clear that the support of refugees is financed by a special fund, not by Community Chest money. It is thought that if the JWF would carry the refugee work, this fact might be blurred in the public mind. It may also have been felt that in Louisville receiving "charity" is still considered a disgrace and so degrading for the recipient that it appeared not desirable to attach this stigma to a predominantly self-respecting group. The National Refugee Service does not exert any influence on the local organizational set-up. A great part of the services to refugees is now rendered by JWF (see below)

2. Another organization that is greatly interested in the refugee question, the national agency of which has been connected with it for about thirty years, is the National Council

of Jewish Women, Louisville Section, (NCJW). The immigration work of the National Council of Jewish Women originated in its interest in unattached girls and women, coming to the United States. This interest was then carried over to all immigrants, families particularly, so much so that in the beginning of the present tide of immigration the agency set up by this organization was handling the refugee work at large. The establishment of the National Refugee Service was a fusion of most of the agencies interested in refugee work, some activities remaining with the Council, nationally and locally. The main activity of Louisville Section, NCJW, in former times has been to provide English classes for newcomers, to help to make out and to finance first and second citizenship papers. With the present German-Jewish immigration the LSN CJW developed a more comprehensive program in cooperation with the KRS. This program consists of the following projects:

- a. Americanization classes for immigrants.
- b. Financing of citizenship papers.
- c. Assistance in the furnishing of homes of newcomers, advice in regard to buying and housekeeping.
- d. Friendly visiting.
- e. Workshop for women.
- f. Nursery School.

a. Teaching of English to immigrants has remained one of the interests of the Louisville Section. Though the classes were in the course of time financed by the KRS, the Council supervised the English teaching. There were classes for beginners and classes for advanced students. ¹ Later on the Council

1

Some students more advanced have attended night classes arranged by the Board of Education (High School level). There were other opportunities to study English, e. g. classes in Neighborhood House.

recommended that the English classes were taken over by WPA, at the present time (1943) they are run under the auspices of the Y.M.H.A.

Most Louisville refugees are anxious to learn English and to improve their English; they are interested in the classes and often impatient when they find their progress too slow. The English classes at the same time have the character of a social gathering which is enjoyed by the attendants. In cases where the newcomers could not, for one reason or another, attend night classes (night work, physical condition) or where a more individualized method appeared desirable, the Council has found private teachers. This has been very helpful to a number of refugees. Of the 11³ persons comprised in the answered questionnaires, twenty-three took language lessons of one kind or another. This is hardly a representative figure, as many had probably attended classes in the beginning of their stay in America, and had discontinued attendance when they were far enough advanced to progress by their everyday contacts.¹ A considerable number of immigrants who had learned English in school and had prepared themselves for their emigration came to America in about that stage.

At different times the Council organized classes in American history which introduced the newcomers to the thoughts

1

The question in the questionnaire was, "Do you take English lessons?" and was apparently answered in the affirmative only where the person took such lessons at that time.

and documents forming the basis for the government of the United States. Once a class teaching American housekeeping and cooking was undertaken.

b. Since 1920 the Council has administered a fund to finance citizenship papers (Klauber trustfund) which serves the old and the recent immigrants. In all cases where refugees are unable to pay for their first papers themselves, the five dollar fee is paid out of this fund. It represents a guarantee that nobody has to neglect the making out of first or second papers of citizenship on account of lack of money.

c. By the very active chairman of its "Service to Foreign Born," the Council has collected furniture for refugees who could not bring their own furniture over. The chairman of this special committee has been most helpful to most refugee families coming to Louisville in establishing their homes. She has helped the newcomers in finding an apartment and in furnishing it. By her constant soliciting it was possible to get the greater part of the necessary furniture from Louisville households; such pieces of furniture that were not given to the committee were bought. Though all this is done in the most economical way, the families are provided with all the things necessary for the start, and most of the homes of German refugees

1

Twelve families (of forty-four parties answering the questionnaires) brought their furniture with them, two more "some." These are 31.8% of this group.

2

She is at the same time a member of the KRS; it is sometimes hard to determine on the authority of which organization she acts; but what she has done was extremely helpful and encouraging to the newcomers in Louisville.

are attractive. All along the furniture was supplemented by the Council, if pieces still missing, became available later. With the stabilization of their circumstances the newcomers become able to add such things that are more than necessities. Friends and relatives helped; those refugees who had any skills for woodwork, painting, sewing etc, were greatly stimulated to improving their homes by material and directions offered so abundantly in this country for such activities.

To have their own home means the satisfaction of one of the most elementary needs of the refugee. After having lost home and country, the home in the country of refuge is the place from which roots are sent into the new ground, the place in which peace and comfort compensate for an otherwise rather severe struggle. Having one's own home is the strongest symbol that migration, hated by most home-loving German refugees, is at an end.

Refugees settling in Louisville, especially when they came here after having stayed in New York for a period, in their comments about the beginning, never fail to mention their delight that they were helped to get their own homes. I recall the report of a family, young people, man, woman, a boy of ten. They had just told the chairman of the Committee that they were going to find a furnished room when to their amazement, he answered that they should look for an apartment and that it would be furnished for them. So it was done; after a few weeks the woman reported to her parents that they did not only have their own home, but that she was even given an old electric sewing machine, which she needed badly. Her father wrote back: "I

would not be astonished if you should write me the next time that the Louisville Committee sent you a Packard." The joke was certainly not justified by the very modest furniture they had got, but after a rather gypsy-like existence for some years in New York, the whole family felt with great gratitude that a real attempt was made to start them on a sound basis and that there was a genuine concern for their physical and mental welfare.

Should the reader wonder about a possible inclination to dependency engendered by help on a broad scale, we want to point to our figures which show that this concern is without a basis. In the above mentioned case, the family never needed nor got a cent of relief after their establishment in Louisville, as both man and wife have worked ever since.

The advice of the experienced woman in charge of this program in matters of housekeeping has been valuable to many; it was available to all the refugees, including those who were self-supporting from the beginning.

d. The same group within the Council carries through a program of friendly visiting, which is a great boon to refugees who do not have close relatives in Louisville. The idea is that the American woman who is introduced to the refugee family takes a lasting interest in the family; gives advice, provides some entertainment, is at hand when there is trouble in the family, and in every way takes the place of a true friend. Sometimes the American woman is also the English teacher. The significance of this program can hardly be too much stressed. Immigrants

leave friends and neighbors of a lifetime behind them. They go into a strange country, often without knowing or being able to learn the language; the older ones are often beyond the age in which friendships are established, and even when they are economically settled, this loneliness and the lack of enjoyable things gives a note of sadness to their lives. The writer remembers the tale of a middle-aged woman who told about "the first beautiful day" she had had in America. For two years she and her family sat outside the house in the evening in a drab and ugly neighborhood. They had had a very hard struggle to pull through a period of unemployment of the man. And now that an American acquaintance had taken her out to swim and to a picnic, she could not find enough words to tell how she had enjoyed it and what this day had meant and opened up to her. It was not only the outing, it was the friendliness, the experience of having found somebody who took a warm interest in her and her family.

In a number of cases the friendly visiting program has had similar results and has worked out very well; in those cases it has been a real contribution to the adjustment of the refugee family. But it seems to have been quite difficult to find enough women who were interested in this work and able to do it. There was the language difficulty, cultural differences between the American and the German persons, and then it may sometimes be quite difficult for the average American woman to understand the problems, experiences and the outlook of the refugees.

Of course, this program has its maximum importance during the immigrant's first months in the country, as later on spontaneous social contacts will most likely develop. On account of the discontinuation of immigration this service has not been as important lately as it was in the years from 1938 to 1940, but it will have its old significance again if immigration occurs on a larger scale after the war. In that case, a course acquainting Americans with the problems of the refugee may be successful in interesting a greater group in this work.

e. Its interest in the refugee women for whom the Council had assumed a special responsibility, led to the opening of a workshop. Its purpose is to provide work for women who are not able to do work outside of the home on account of their household duties, but who are able and anxious to earn some money at home. The workshop made a successful effort to train the hands and organize the skills of these women, to get the orders, to sell the products, to buy the material and to train the women to do the work as required in this country. A highly skilled Council member directs the shop; a remarkable feature of it is that all the work has to show perfect workmanship. Most of the orders are obtained by exhibiting the work in clubs, temples, churches. There are hardly any expenses for running the shop, as the services of the director are volunteered. There is no cost for rent, as the meetings are held in the Y.M.H.A. By this set-up the workshop is able to avoid to some degree the danger of all homework - that it is miserably paid.

The money paid for the article, except for the cost of the material, goes to the worker. The prices are so calculated that the women should be able to make about twenty-five cents an hour (in 1942). This, however, is not reached by many less skilled women. Many of the women can devote only a very limited amount of time to their sewing and so often are not able to accept all the orders they could get.

The Council started this work with a gift from the estate of one of its members and later on the fund was increased by the Council. But there is so little capital available for this work that it is not possible to pay the women for their work before the articles are sold. Quite often this takes considerable time, certainly an unfavorable arrangement, as it does not allow the women working for the shop to figure the money they make as part of their regular income. The lack of funds makes it impossible to buy the material wholesale, which leads to a price disadvantage, either making the price higher than that of the commercially offered object or curtailing the wages paid.

The merit of this project is that most women working in it would have not been able to utilize their skills if they would have had to rely on themselves: they were not familiar with American styles, many sewed for home consumption only and had to be trained, get directions, patterns, and develop new techniques in order to be able to earn money that way. A special effort was made on the part of the Council to design such articles as could be made by less or partially skilled women

and to help the workers specialize in such articles where they did particularly well. The workshop did not try to enable women to make their living with the work it furnished. Wherever women in Louisville had to earn a living, they were helped to find jobs and found them, but as a way for housewives to make some pocket money while doing their own housework, to buy the shoes for the children, to pay the dentist bill, etc., the workshop was welcomed by many refugee women. This is a courageous, zealous and fine undertaking on the part of the Council.

The limitations of such a project are given in the above. It is bound to have a small range. During the whole period it has been in operation, eighteen women have worked for the shop, the greatest number of women working at one time was fourteen. At the present time (summer 1942) there were eight. This is apparently due to the improved employment situation; some of the women gave up the work because their husbands made more money, others found part-time jobs which, as a rule, are preferred to homework.

f. The nursery school, (N.S.) a project started together by the Louisville Section, NCJW, and the JWF in February 1940, though not exclusively for newcomers, was nevertheless undertaken with a special eye on the needs of the newcomer families. It was meant to serve children of refugees who had suffered by the insecurity of the parents and of the home, and who would have difficulties in learning the English language in a German talking home. The intention was to take both American

and refugee children. The enrollment was:

	<u>American</u>	<u>Refugee Children</u>
Summer 1942	12	3
November 1942	15	3
January 1943	17	1

That a refugee kindergarten teacher with German training, but a period of training in American nursery school work, was available, fitted well into the Council program.

The N.S. is self-supporting; from a fund established by the Council, scholarships are given to children whose parents can not pay the modest fee. The school was permitted to use two spacious rooms and the yard of the Jewish Children's Home,¹ which also prepares the meals for the N.S. The actual expenses for the food are paid by the N.S. to the Home. Regular fees for the N.S. are ten dollars per month per child (for tuition, lunch and two small meals per day).

The policies of the N.S. are determined by a board, comprised of Council members and representatives of the Jewish Welfare Federation. Supervision is given by JWF.

The N.S. has had a definite value for the children that attended it and all the expected results for the refugee children. It has become more and more one of the general resources of the community and gradually grown away from the specific interest in refugee children. At the present time its extension into a day nursery following war time necessities is under consideration.

This short description shows that Louisville Section,

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An institution belonging to JWF.

NCJW, has pursued an active, well-rounded program to assist refugees in their adjustment to the new scene. It has been a real factor in this regard and its activities are well known to all Louisville refugees.

That the Council invited all the refugee women to its meetings and luncheons has contributed to making them feel at home and "belong." It was taken as an indication that the newcomers were regarded as active members of their new community and interested in the latter's concerns; the women responded strongly to this appeal.¹

3. The Jewish Welfare Federation has in the course of time, without a definite arrangement with the KRS and the Council, attended more and more to the cases where services were necessary after the immediate start. About the financial arrangement see above. The policy of the JWF in regard to refugee cases is the same as to the rest of its clientele. It follows case work thinking, principles and methods; these imply that the specific situation of the refugee is taken into consideration.

The small range of the work in a city the size of Louisville permits the work of these different organizations to go on without much duplication, though there is no definite agreement as to their responsibilities in a given case or generally. This has been due to the close and smooth relationship

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Other women's organizations as the sisterhoods of the temples have done likewise, and one regrets that there are no comparable organizations of men.

between the organizations and persons concerned; a quick understanding has always been possible between the persons acting for the respective organizations which was more necessary in the beginning when refugees came in great numbers. As already described, the raising of funds and the handling of financial assistance is centralized in KRS.

Newcomers settling in Louisville turn first to KRS, be it that they were resettled by NRS, or that they come on their own; they get advice and assistance in making out their first papers and in other legal matters. Work plans are discussed; contacts with employers are made. The general plan for the life of the family in this city is being formulated.

The services of the JWF for refugees are as manifold as the services of a general family agency are. At the present time (summer 1942), twenty-seven refugee cases are active in this agency, among them are:

- 3 relief cases
- 8 cases of medical care
- 10 cases of employment service, vocational plans
- 2 economic problems
- 2 domestic problems
- 6 school, educational problems
- 2 personality problems
- 2 old-age problems 1

The worker of the JWF is called in by the Chairman of the Committee before, at, or immediately after the arrival of a family who needs assistance of any kind. Later on, the cases are carried on by the JWF under its own responsibility, new relief plans, however, are discussed with the Chairman of KRS and

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Services of different kinds in one and the same family are common.

approved by him. All financial support of refugees by JWF is reimbursed by KRS.

The task of helping refugees in getting established, differs in many respects from the usual work of a family agency. As described above, the families often have to be established completely (see "Resettlement"); also, where the cases were not technically resettlement cases, the same aspects were frequently prevailing. The problem is a much more total one than is ordinarily true in case work. New questions of policy come up. Which standard would one help a family to get established on and to maintain? This has not been considered in its more general aspects in Louisville, but has been decided as the case came up. With refugees who were resettled the agencies concerned had to assume a greater responsibility than is usual in case work. One has, however, tried to give the refugees as much responsibility and freedom of decision as possible. In the cases the writer has seen, the client family had always a voice in deciding the choice of residence, though orientation and direction may have been given by the agency.¹ When furniture was bought, the client was always present and wishes and preferences were considered as far as possible, though KRS had the total financial responsibility. Though everything was bought with greatest regard to economy, mostly second-hand furniture, there was an attempt to help the refugee to an

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It seems that in the beginning of immigration, residence had been rented and furnished before the immigrant arrived in Louisville.

attractive home (see pp. 70, 71). It was found that as a rule refugees were sensible in appreciating what was provided and did not ask any more than was necessary. KRS has not asked refugees to pay back what was spent for a family in the beginning, except when the circumstances changed drastically later on.

As, by and large, assistance was not necessary beyond the initial stage, there was not much material about experiences with relief for refugees and their reaction to it. They were usually not accustomed to social agencies, and it was not easy for them - this is the writer's experience - to accept social work procedures, as for instance, giving account about expenses and regulating them according to minimum standards. A slight trend to depending on outside help was noticeable in very rare cases where people felt that they had been expropriated and that help was due to them, especially when it seemed impossible for them to find a remunerative job. Interpretation of the American philosophy behind relief giving has, however, been readily accepted, and this attitude was corrected anyhow by those who harbored it, with the improvement of the economic situation. For many refugees accepting help by relatives seemed harder than getting it from an agency; sometimes it was made painful by the relatives who were anxious to get rid of this liability, and perhaps impatient with the tempo of adjustment, in other cases the refugees felt embarrassed to impose on relatives who had already done much for them. The social service given had to strike a subtle balance between the

generally pursued policy of holding sponsors and relatives responsible and to relieve relatives when their further assistance would seem to tax the relationship too heavily. Another difficult matter was the expenses for sickness. Germans had been accustomed to health insurance for many years, and all those insured had not figured with expenses for sickness as part of their budget. Those independent in business had private doctors, but expenses for medical, nursing, hospital care and medicines were much lower than in the United States, so that even for people with a moderate income medical expenses did not represent the problem they do in America. It was hard for many refugees to understand and to accept that free medical care is, as a rule, provided by social agencies only when a person's own resources (including help of relatives) are exhausted. To be a ward patient, as necessary in the case of free hospital care, with the loss of privacy that is involved, has been nearly unacceptable to refugees who had never before been in that situation. The discrepancy between the ways of middle class people and those of an economically destitute group has perhaps been most keenly felt in the case of sickness. Fortunately, it did not happen too often that refugees had to have medical aid provided. It is quite characteristic that they, as soon as they saw fit, entered a hospitalization scheme or took out health insurance; others were soon able to pay medical expenses, especially as many Louisville doctors have been very accommodating to refugees.

Though the JWF is of greatest importance in the field

of organized help for refugees in Louisville, we can not go into details here, as this would lead into a case analysis which either is not pertinent here,¹ or is given in the different parts of this paper. The case material contained in this paper is nearly always from the records of JWF.

4. The Young Men's Hebrew Association (YMHA) has in different ways considered refugee needs in its program. As a hospitable Jewish Center, it has opened its doors to refugees, to all the classes for refugees, a club formed by newcomers and to refugees as individuals who are invited to the activities of the YMHA. It has included refugee children in its camping program and given special attention to their problems of adjustment; camp experiences have been a great direct help for some of the children, and the observations and reports of the camp staff have been helpful to the workers of JWF in understanding and guiding the newly arrived youngsters.²

Some of the refugee children have regularly participated in all YMHA activities.

The YMHA has housed and run the English classes, as already mentioned.

5. A Student Refugee Committee was founded by the initiative of its chairman, who became interested

1 An interesting study of case work with refugees is given in Jennie Wilensky's, "German Refugees as Clients of a Family Agency," Smith College Studies in Social Work, Volume IX, (Northampton, Massachusetts: Smith College School for Social Work), 1938.

2 Recommendation for a camp time without pay or participating in YMHA activities free of charge have been made by JWF; within the last two years more and more refugee families have become able to pay part of the camp expenses.

in the refugee situation by personal friends. The committee planned to help a Protestant, a Catholic, and a Jewish student¹ to go through college or to complete their studies. They interested various groups in their project and found a good response at the University of Louisville which established two refugee scholarships. The committee found free homes for the two students whom they sponsored at one time and raised money to take care of pocket money and medical care. In one case where a post-graduate student made her home in Louisville, the committee paid for her tuition for one year. On the whole, four students have been sponsored, two of them have graduated, two will graduate in 1943. Some of the students have been recommended by the national committee; at the present time the Louisville committee considers sponsoring a girl who has graduated from a Louisville high school, another who plans to finish her college work. The money has been raised by private collections; later the United Jewish Campaign matched the amount collected by the committee.

The work of this committee is non-sectarian.

Reviewing the work for refugees in Louisville, it seems to us that there was a very fine spirit of cooperation with all the agencies concerned. In spite of the lack of an arrangement in some instances, there was hardly any friction, and on the whole a vigorous and successful effort to help the newcomers in such questions where organized community activity was

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This could not be carried out as the Catholic group could not be interested in this project.

indicated, has been maintained.

We have only described the activities of those organizations that took a continuous interest and a responsibility in one of the aspects of the problem. There were other organizations interested in the refugee question, which, when approached or on their own accord, were quite helpful. These were the sisterhood of one of the temples, different religious organizations, Christian churches, the YWCA, the Boys' Scouts, and the Girl Scouts.

The smooth functioning of the agencies concerned with the help for refugees, the practical, broad-minded and warm-hearted work of KRS has paved the way for many Louisville refugees; KRS was to many like a good friend who helped along when everything looked strange and threatening. In the same way the relatives and friends of others functioned. It was encouragement, sound practical help, by which many shortcomings of the "greenhorn" were avoided, it conveyed to the newcomer a feeling of belonging to a community which welcomed him as one of its members.

CHAPTER VI

VOCATIONAL STATUS OF THE LOUISVILLE GROUP IN 1942

The analysis of the vocational status of a refugee group is a fascinating study. Will training and experience acquired in Europe have to be discarded as not applicable in the new world? Which skills are transferable, which not? Is there to be an emigration from the profession as an additional experience of discontinuation beside the emigration from the native country?

According to our material and experience, the vocational situation is the dominant factor of the general adjustment of the refugee. When in his daily work he meets Americans, if he has contact with the essentials of American life, and his work allows him to take a constructive part in it, when he can put his abilities to good use and, last but not least, when he makes a living whereby he can adequately provide for his family, then the main part of the adjustment is accomplished.

We want to cite our figures first. We are fortunate here. By pooling the material contained in the questionnaires, the knowledge of the committee, and some follow-up visits, the figures concerning the vocations of Louisville refugees could be obtained completely. The following is the picture as of
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July 1942.

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Of the group see page 33. As in the general statistics, changes in the refugee population between October 1941 and July 1942 have been disregarded. Vocational status is given as of July 1942; in cases where people left the city before July 1942, their last occupation since October 1941 has been stated.

Table XI

Vocational Status of Refugees in Louisville
as of July 1942. a

Vocation	Number
Total	^b 162
Agriculture	1
Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries	47
Transportation and Communication	2
Trade	63
Professional Services	14
Domestic and Personal Services	10
Clerical	15
Students	5
Odd Jobs	5

a For vocational status by sex see Appendix.

b There were fourteen helpers, thirteen in commercial enterprises, one in agriculture, mostly the wives. They are not contained in this table.

If we look at the gainfully employed group, not figuring the helping family members, the percentage of those working is 54.9% (162 out of 295). In the group answering the questionnaires, the figure is 53.4% (62 out of 116).¹

1 A detailed breakdown of the vocational status is placed in appendix. It contains figures concerning the vocational status by sex, the distribution of refugees over the various industries and trades, an analysis of the group trade, the type of businesses owned by refugees and a breakdown of the professional group.

To everybody who has a knowledge of the vocational structure of the Jewish population in the countries of Western civilization, the figures given above and in the appendix present a familiar picture. Its most striking feature is the prevalence of the commercial occupations in which 43.2% of the German refugees in Louisville were engaged; manufacturing and mechanical industries with 26.7% followed as the next important field, then clerical (8.5%), and professional (8%) occupations.¹

We do not feel entitled to compare conditions of such a small group as the Louisville refugees with the general American figures. Just as illustration, we want to set the figures of this study beside the United States vocational figures.

	Per Cent	
	U.S.A. (1930)	<u>Louisville</u> <u>Refugee Group</u>
Agriculture	21.4	1.1
Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries	28.9	26.7
Trade	12.5	43.2
Professional Services	6.7	8.1
Domestic and Personal Services	10.1	5.7
Clerical Occupation	8.2	8.5

^a United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Abstract of the 15th Census of the United States 1930, (Washington: United States Government Printing Office), 1930.

¹ The helpers are included in the percentages.

That there is but one farmer is, of course, due to the fact that we are dealing with an urban area,¹ but there is every reason for the assumption that the participation of the German-Jewish immigrants in farming and gardening is negligible.²

To a certain degree the Louisville figures indicate that the vocational retraining movement, started with great vigor and militant idealism in Germany after the Nazis' seizure of power, left but superficial traces in the German-Jewish immigration to America. This retraining program pointed to the necessity to train merchants, commercial employees, clerks, and professional people as farmers and mechanics as a preparation for emigration; this was especially emphasized for the emigration to Palestine, where only by such a vocational reorientation the immigrant could hope to fit himself into the economic pattern of the country. There was not the same emphasis on retraining for the emigration to other countries, especially to North America, and this in spite of the fact that this retraining movement was not only a practical device but a program of regeneration of the Jewish people. Its leaders in middle Europe had become greatly concerned with the unwholesome

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The farm is situated in Indiana; the case has been accepted by KRS because this city is closest to the farm.

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According to the 1943 report of the Jewish Agricultural Society, they have financially assisted 443 refugee farmers in becoming settled on farms, since the beginning of the Nazi regime. In ten years the total number of refugees coming to the society for consultation was 4,044.

vocational structure of the Jewish population in Western Europe. With a program of retraining of young and middle-aged people for agriculture and manual work, one hoped to promote the well-being of the individual but the more important aim was the regeneration of the Jewish people. There was a new awareness that the elementary vitality and simplicity resulting from work on the land and from manual work, is a significant factor for the future of the Jewish people, besides being a practical necessity for the settlers in the Jewish homeland.

Though a "return to the soil" would from this point of view have been highly desirable for the immigrants to America too, one easily finds the obstacles to such a trend. Farming is done on one's own land or as a farm hand. The acquisition of a farm was possible in exceptional cases only, where the immigrant had been able to transfer some money or where relatives had a farm which they were willing to give to him.¹ There is a central organization, the Jewish Agricultural Society, which assists farmers in acquiring land, but the terms are such that only a person with some means can benefit from this program. Work on a farm would in most cases be a far way to economic security. While a farmer's life and work would have been attractive to a good many immigrants who had lived in rural areas and had semi-agricultural occupations, working as a farm hand was out of line for people with the background and traditions of German Jews.

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This was the case of the farmer belonging to the Louisville group.

An idealistic movement of vocational reorientation can only be successful if in accordance with socio-economic trends. It is typical of all the capitalistic countries that the farming population has constantly decreased (in 1920, 32.5% of the gainfully employed of the United States had agricultural occupations; in 1930, only 21.4%). From an economically and socially weak group, as immigrants are, it can hardly be expected that they would swim against the strong current of economic development.

If the new immigrants came with some tradition of farm or garden work, it seems that the influence of America frequently alienated them from such occupation. There are among the Louisville refugees quite a few who, in Germany, had semi-agricultural vocations (cattle dealers, small farming in connection with running a store in a village); by joining their children or settling where their American relatives were, became city dwellers and consequently took on city occupations in America. We also know of a case where a young boy, son of an upper middle-class family in Germany, took training as a gardener in the old country and did not find a way to practice gardening in America.

In contrast to agricultural occupations, the Louisville figures indicate that a comparatively large group is working in some line of mechanical and manual work (26.7%).¹ It is natural that there is a marked participation in the main local industries,

¹ Compare Table B in Appendix C.

distilling plants, and woodworking industry; that fourteen persons are working in different branches of the clothing industry, which is not a major industry in Louisville, is due to the fact that some of the immigrants had related skills, and also that they could enter factories of relatives and acquire the skills there.

Commercial training and experience, the tradition of running a store, of selling in one form or another, account for the great participation of the Louisville refugee group in commercial life. 43.2% of the gainfully employed in the Louisville group worked in the commercial field.¹ A direct transfer of the experiences in a certain line of business was not rare; it is astonishing how persons, sometimes against overwhelming odds, were able to carry on the work which they did formerly.

We are thinking of a traveling agent who knew hardly any English but started out selling textile goods to small stores, walking with his suitcase from one place to the next. Though he had no capital at all and a small merchandise credit only, he was able to do some business from the very first day on. In the course of two years he built up a modest but sound business. Nobody but himself believed that it could be done. What he has today, he owes to his untiring efforts, his diligence, and to his ability as a textile merchant and salesman.

In the beginning there was a marked reluctance to

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In which position is shown in Table C of Appendix C.

employ refugees as clerks in stores; it was thought that a salesman's foreign accent would ruin the trade, be it on account of a prejudice against foreigners or on account of presumed difficulties of understanding. We do not know, however, of a single case where a salesman or salesgirl had to be dismissed due to unfavorable reactions of the public, and we do know that a good many of the Louisville refugees have been highly successful as clerks in stores. This was true before the present urgent demand for help started.

The number of independent businesses¹ is a remarkable feature of the Louisville picture. A business, though small, of his own, being independent again, is the hope and the goal of a great many of the refugees who start out in a subordinate commercial position or with manual work. The capital for an independent business was drawn from one or several of the following sources:

Transfer of money from Germany (official and unofficial), sale of jewelry or other valuable possessions;

Money earned in America;

Loans from relatives;

Loans from KRS.²

If there was bank credit, it was probably given on the signature of well established relatives. No data are available

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Table D in Appendix C.

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These were always given in addition to other resources. In none of our cases a business has been started exclusively or predominantly with such loans.

about the capital with which the firms were started, from which sources - in an individual case - it was derived, and about the financial success of the firms. It is certain that the capital investment varies a good deal, as the enterprises differ in size, character and scope. Some stores are in poor, colored neighborhoods, some in the best districts, some with a small, only gradually expanding stock, some with considerable merchandise. With the possible exception of one that has gone out of business, the stores started by Louisville refugees have been successful; some have rapidly expanded; all seem to work satisfactorily. A factor that contributed largely to the success is that in nearly all cases the wives, and in some cases grown children, helped, thus reducing the expenses for paid help and sharing the responsibility. Older children have also been quite helpful in cases where the language handicap of the parents might have impaired the business.

All but the smallest firms have American employees and had them before the war. At present it did not seem worthwhile to find out how many - it seems we have altogether forgotten that before the war one of the most frequently used, most superficial and most erroneous statements in regard to immigration was that immigrants would take the places and positions of native Americans and increase unemployment. The war has revealed the fallacy of this argument and has pointed to the truth: that every working man and woman is a productive factor and that an economic system is not a static but a dynamic entity. In case the old argument should come up again

(as surely it will), it may be simply stated here that - as elsewhere - refugees have created work for Americans in Louisville.

The comparatively high figure of professional persons is a very gratifying fact, as it proves that in a good many cases skills, learning, and scholarship acquired in Europe could be put to use in America. The Emergency Committee for Displaced German Scholars was instrumental in placing four professors at the University of Louisville; one a professor of fine arts, one of history of music, one of mathematics, and one of pharmacology. The three physicians were all internes in Louisville hospitals. The other professions in which Louisville refugees are represented, are: two chemists, one architectural draftsman, one social worker, one nursery school teacher, one Hebrew teacher, two masseuseſ.

Our material does not show, however, the grave difficulties encountered by so many professional persons among the refugees of getting into work similar to that which they did previously. A high school teacher, highly trained in science, had to accept a small office position offered to him by relatives; another teacher left the city after all his efforts to obtain a teaching position had been frustrated; a former Austrian lawyer holds a bookkeeper's position; a former prominent social worker had to take up a different profession because she could not get the academic credits to go into an American graduate school, in spite of her thorough German training and many years of experience. Kentucky has consistently

refused to give licenses for private practice to non-citizen physicians although they had passed the required examinations in New York State and had all the necessary credentials and even though there is a desperate demand for doctors in rural Kentucky. Several refugee physicians who were interested in practicing in Kentucky had to give this up on account of this attitude of the official agencies,¹ In some of these cases the language difficulties are decisive; sometimes the German training and knowledge is not applicable at all. Often it is the rigidity and formalism of the academic system which bars professional people from Europe from working in their line or even from taking specialized training. Such cases are much more frequent in the larger cities, but we can perceive the same trend in Louisville too.

The percentage of refugees in the group, "Domestic and Personal Services" is small. According to the grouping of the census, we find under this heading besides the household personnel, janitors, cooks in restaurants, persons employed in dry cleaning plants and laundries. In the Louisville group there were three persons employed in private households, two of them were housekeepers in the homes of relatives, one woman helped out occasionally in homes where the housewife was sick or working outside of the home. At the time of the study there was not a single person working as a domestic in a private home of non-relatives on a permanent basis. There are different reasons for this fact which

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Recently - and thus not contained in our statistics - a refugee physician has been engaged for the Public Health Service in Louisville. When this was contested, it was pointed out that he had been chosen because no qualified citizen was available.

may astonish those who are familiar with the vocational structure of the refugees in large cities of the United States. When women are ready to work as domestics, they get better pay in the large cities; the social prejudice according to which domestic work is not respected and is considered degrading to the person who performs it, is stronger and more keenly experienced in a smaller community and in a Southern city; in spite of the preparation in Germany for domestic work and the efforts to make it acceptable to middle-class women, their own former prejudice against it and the very strong feeling of Americans about it, proved to be an insurmountable obstacle¹ for refugees in smaller cities to look out for such work.

Due to the good employment situation for men in Louisville, it was seldom necessary for housewives to work outside of the home, and if they wished to work, they could afford to wait for a desirable job. There are hardly any unattached women in Louisville, the group for which domestic work offers advantages.

Let us draw some conclusions from the Louisville material!

The mechanic faces the least difficulties in his vocational adjustment. When he understands some English, the language handicap does not amount to much. In some instances it is necessary for him to get acquainted with specific American work

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In some instances it was also experienced in a sympathetic form from the employers; they often felt keenly that they could not ask women that belong to the same class as they, to do their housework.

methods, in others he can go to work right away. This could be expected.

A little more surprising is the fact that nearly everybody who is an expert in a field or has a marked ability and knowledge, is able to do something with it. This is true of merchants, salesmen with good commercial training, experience, and marked selling ability. It is also true of some of the professional people when there was a demand for persons with that type of training and housewives who were not employed formerly.

Some examples of this:

A nursery school that had been under discussion for some time was getting established when a refugee teacher became available. A man that had been both an amateur flier and photographer formerly, became engaged in the highly responsible work of an aerial photographer.¹ Housewives were employed as seamstresses, practical nurses, or working for the Council workshop.

A third group, the vocational adjustment of which is no problem at all, are the young people. When they come young enough to attend American schools, there is hardly any difference between their chances and the chances of American young people, (with the only exception that they were usually not employed in defense industries as non-citizens). They have the same education and they are in every-day life not noticeable as foreigners as they, as a rule, do not have a foreign accent.

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Not contained in our statistics as no longer in Louisville on October 1, 1941.

The young people entering the country just above high school age, when they do not take up a training or college work, enter stores or factories with about the same immediate chances as Americans, though perhaps with less chances for the future.

Even where there is no specific skill, and where we deal with middle-aged men and women, we find that intelligent and diligent people, interested in their work and applying themselves to their jobs, have a fairly good chance to find permanent work at adequate pay. This was true before the present boom and is much more true now.

A good example is offered by a man, Mr. M., about fifty-four years of age, who came to Louisville in the hope of finding a position, encouraged by distant refugee relatives, with the knowledge of KRS. For a year he had been completely supported by the Refugee Committee of another city. His wife lived with one of his sons in New York, partly for economic reasons, partly because she needed expert medical care. With the advice and support of KRS, the man got started as a Fuller Brush man in Louisville, did some collecting for the United Jewish Campaign, and odd jobs. Whatever it was, Mr. M. applied himself to his tasks with untiring devotion, diligence, intelligence, and conscientiousness. After four months, with a still rather narrow economic basis for it, his wife joined him in Louisville. Their household was established with the help of KRS. After two more months, Mr. M., again through KRS, found a well paying position as a shipping clerk in a junk yard, in which his reliability, interest and diligence make him an

excellent employee.

This case is at the same time an illustration of sound and unsound methods of social work.

Other groups met considerable difficulties in their vocational adjustment. The situation of the professional people was already shortly described as far as the Louisville experiences go, but they are of a general nature. Most professional people had to take an American training or pass special examinations, as in the case of European physicians. For people without means and in their forties or fifties, and even for younger people, this was very hard. But while the physicians, at least, had acquired the same body of knowledge and just had to refresh their memory of it, besides mastering the language, this was different for the lawyers. Their knowledge of German or Austrian law was not applicable at all, and they would have to start it all over. As far as our knowledge goes, only very few did this. Most German lawyers retrained for another field. High School teachers (of which there were not many) also found it very difficult to find employment in their profession. The reasons for this were complex; their non-citizenship status was a handicap, their foreign accent or difficulty of expressing themselves may have been another, and also, with the exception of science, their subject was often not taught in American High Schools (European, German history, German, Civics).

There were adjustment problems of a different nature with business men who had inherited and run stores in Europe

without having had a thorough training and who had little specific knowledge of business. Without capital, they were not qualified as merchants, and they were not accustomed to do hard manual work either.

From the questionnaire returns we get some insight into the vocational change connected with emigration. We asked what the vocation in Germany was and compared this with the present occupation of the refugee. The results of sixty-two cases are presented in Table XII.

Table XII
Occupations of Sixty-Two Refugees
Related to Former Occupation

Categories	Cases
Total	62
Same occupation as formerly	13
Different occupation, but within same general brackets	19
Occupation after emigration diverging widely from former work	12
Not working formerly	13 ^a
Former occupation unknown	5

^a

In this group were six housewives, and seven persons who were in school before emigration.

The people in the first group have the same occupation as they had formerly; we also counted in this group those cases where a businessman works in a different line as long as he needs and utilizes the same skills and the same training

in his job after emigration.

The second group comprises those cases where some adjustment had to be made but where such adjustments were reasonably satisfactory because the step from the former to the present occupation was not a great one. We listed the case of a man who apparently was not a highly skilled salesman, and who is now working as a laborer; a former cattle dealer occupied as a warehouse man; another as a general laborer; the owner of a textile store who took up decorating. The determining factor in this group is that these people do not have a feeling of frustration and nostalgia, and that on the whole there is no tendency to change their vocational status.

In the third group the occupations in the United States differ widely from those in the old country; in most, not in all cases, the status has been considerably lowered. Some illustrations are: a prosperous wholesaler is working as an unskilled laborer in the hide and wool firm of his relatives; a former broker as a nightwatchman in a factory; a man who was the owner of a department store in a small town runs a bread route; a lady who was manager and co-owner of a chocolate factory became a clerk in a department store. In some of these cases the person cannot consider a change because of age, in others, a change is kept in mind, hoped for and in some instances, already achieved as this is written. There are other cases in this group where the new occupation is satisfactory, as is the case of a young man who was trained as an auto mechanic and who entered the business of relatives as a salesman

or that of a student teacher who became a well paid distillery worker. The characteristic of this group, however, is that the vocational adjustment is a "must," that it is performed on a lowered vocational level, and that the persons of this group are striving to change their jobs and to utilize their ability and experience.

We think the fact that this group is small (12 - 18.5% of those working in the questionnaire group) is an indication of the very good adjustment of the Louisville refugees. These answers give us an understanding of what is involved in the vocational adjustment process.

When we look at the development of individual careers after emigration, we will find a normal, gradual, steady progress in a good many cases; with those independent in business, just in the volume of business and financial success; with those employed, in advancement, increase in salary, steadying of the position. We have quoted some instances before; stock-workers became floor managers, clerical workers got more responsible jobs in the office, mechanics and semi-skilled workers had excellent opportunities recently.

The social worker who is responsible for the work with refugees can perform a particularly gratifying, constructive piece of work here. KRS has sometimes paid the wages for either initial employment or for employment which offered training or valuable work experience, and where the employer would not have accepted the refugee, had this arrangement not been made. KRS has steadily kept the improvement of positions in mind wherever

they were not satisfactory; it never lessened its interest in the employment situation even after a job had been secured.

Not all the positions had to be found through the efforts of KRS, of course. Even at their start, refugees found work through relatives or by their own efforts, and after having become accustomed to America and at home in Louisville, many were able to advance further without the assistance of KRS.

The very satisfactory employment situation found in Louisville is a further testimony to the fact that the cities in the interior of the United States do not encounter difficulties in absorbing the refugees into their social-economic structure. If there is some intelligent support by the local committee, this process of absorption appears to be a natural one; the first step done, the situation in most cases is bound to improve as the refugee will learn to talk English, will get work experience and acquaintance with people and customs, and so will be gradually integrated into the life of the community. The facts we have shown above are a plea to promote the distribution of the refugees over the country to the innumerable communities in which as yet none, or comparatively few refugees have settled, communities in which they can find the solid and firm ground on which to build a new life by work, work according to their ability, work with a chance for improvement, work by which they can take care of their families, work by which they can serve their community and their new country.

CHAPTER VII

ADJUSTMENT WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THE LOUISVILLE GROUPProblems, Goals, Factors of Achieving Adjustment

"Doing new things is hard for us all - harder for some than for others. It is hard to leave home for school. It is hard to sleep away from home for the first time. The adjustment to work, to college, to marriage, has its difficulties. The adjustment to a new country, with a new language, a new home, a new climate, new people, new foods, new traffic regulations, a new job - if there is a job - is a tremendous adjustment for anyone to have to make. When a person voluntarily leaves one country for another, it is a very big adjustment for that person. When, however, a person is forced out of a country and emigrates to another because there is nothing else to do, and in addition loses status and all sense of financial security, this is an adjustment that puts an overwhelming burden on the individual." ¹

This is a true and impressive statement, to which we would like to add some important elements. Emigration means farewell to a familiar culture, to a beloved nature and landscape, to friends, neighbors, the hundreds of figures and faces that populate the social landscape, to the dreams of youth, the plans of adult life. Life in Germany did not consist of the sad and frustrating experiences of the last years, the horrifying hardships of 1938, 1939, 1940 only - it also included the peaceful, often idyllic and in nearly all cases well integrated life before the world war, the tragic years of the war which tied those who lived through it, very closely together, the visions and hopes of a social and democratic Germany. The beauty of the German towns, the lovely countryside, streams,

¹Mann, op. cit., page 19.

meadows, hills, mountains, the great amount of outdoor life, the idealistic note in the educated group, a very individualistic way of living made life in Germany delightful. Even in the years under Hitler this Germany was not obliterated, the beauty of the country seemed even more radiant, human relationships under the danger and threat were more intense than in normal times.

The refugee arrives in America with keenly contrasting feelings in respect to his homeland: affection for the aspects described above, horror and rejection of dictatorship, Nazism, militarism, totalitarianism.

Americans, when they meet the refugee usually think only of his frustrating experiences, and their typical reaction is: "How happy you must be to be here!" The refugee is happy to live in freedom and security, he appreciates the well meant phrase, and yet, "happy" is hardly the appropriate term for one who had to leave so many precious things, all that he had created and acquired behind him, and who walks into a strange land, penniless, apprehensive of what it will hold for him, haunted with the picture of the past, his heart filled with anxiety about his dear ones in Europe who could not come with him.

In view of the ambivalent feelings of the immigrant, one would wonder if the above quotation should not be modified in one respect. It seems that the fact that one was forced out by inexorable circumstances, was a helpful factor though it contained so much bitterness. "Necessity is a strict goddess."

It had to be. There was no choice left, not the choice between staying and leaving, not the choice between different countries of emigration; emigration to America became an inescapable "must." Adaptation to the new circumstances became a matter of common sense, and was at the same time a humble acceptance of an allotted destiny. The real adjustment will occur when this "must" has become a "will," when the pictures of the past fade away and when the true fascination which America has so frequently had for Europeans with an open mind for her specific greatness, takes place. We find this will not happen by a rush into a superficial Americanization, not by a disloyalty to one's own self and to the past, but by taking an active interest in the new country, by an effort to understand its past and present, by sharing its hopes for the future, by the sincere wish to serve the new community and country by thought, work, participation.

The personal factor, that stands to reason, is of paramount importance. There are people who will adjust everywhere and even under unfavorable conditions. Personal charm, attractiveness, brilliance of spirit, achievement and success open hearts and doors, and for people with such qualities adjustment may not be a problem at all. There are others who have difficulties always and everywhere, people with deep-seated emotional disturbances, unhappy individuals with little physical strength and small ability, neurotics of all kinds. Between those who do not have an adjustment problem and those whose problem is adjustment to life, not adjustment to

emigration, are those in which we are interested here. For them, emigration was a hard step and a traumatic experience; at the same time they have strength, ability, and courage to make an adjustment.

What are its factors?

Essentially this adjustment is a process of growth and change that defies exact measurement. It is hard to find any criteria which in themselves would indicate that adjustment has taken place. We have dealt with the important economic factor; but though it may be satisfactory in a given case, there may be maladjustment. A person may not be able to forget his former better circumstances or more satisfactory work; he may suffer from a lowered social status or from domestic trouble. It is a complex process in which the balance of satisfactions takes place with which we deal in Chapter VIII.

Let us look at some examples of this process!

A girl emigrated with her parents in her adolescent years. After a period of great unhappiness, with strong feelings of being rejected or not fully accepted by her American relatives and schoolmates, she adjusted herself in one sudden turn when she was in a girl scout camp. She came back with a different outlook and an entirely positive attitude toward America. The transition from the negative to the positive period of adolescence, described by Charlotte Buehler,¹ was very

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Charlotte Buehler, Das Seelenleben des Jugendlichen, (Jena: G. Fischer, 1929).

marked here and in an interesting way connected with the experience of emigration. A family who found good friends among their neighbors after an unfortunate experience with their American relatives, derived a feeling of "belonging" from this. A travelling salesman who can put to good use his knowledge of his line, likes travelling, getting to know the people and the country. During six discouraging months he had looked for employment in vain, then he established himself in business. He could say of himself that he enjoyed travelling, his work and his business contacts just as much as he had formerly enjoyed it in a business of much wider scope. He was adjusted. A woman, formerly a lady of leisure, has found deep satisfaction in a position where she had to take care of two motherless children. She compares her present life entirely favorably with her former life when she had her own lovely home, a very agreeable standard of living and opportunity to travel extensively.

Two personal qualities are of main importance to accomplish adjustment. They are resourcefulness and flexibility. That resourcefulness in a practical sense is a significant factor - is a commonplace statement. We think here more of inner resourcefulness, of having a well integrated self and harmonious family life, interests and satisfactions that are comparatively independent of circumstances. For those that have been tossed around by a social-political whirlwind and have become an object suddenly thrown into a strange country and culture, it is essential that they have and keep a firm grasp on themselves and

are thus able to make their new experiences from the one center, their own firm, unperturbed self. The person who is completely in accordance with himself, has the capacity to be himself when the exterior supports have fallen, and from this well-centered self will be well able to assimilate himself to the new circumstances, to give himself to others and to make whatever contribution he is able to make to his new community. Flexibility is the other quality, so essential for adjustment. It means being able to think in terms of the "here and now," having an open eye, mind and heart for the new surroundings and the desire and ability to function as a member of the new community. People who are curious, naturally interested in getting to know a new country, "rerum novarum cupidus," are at a great advantage in the venture of immigration.

Adjustment, however, depends on the other hand and to a great degree on the chances open to the newcomer and on the way he is received in his new community. We have dealt at length with the vocational and economic situation and have stressed its paramount significance for the adjustment of the refugee. We consider it the most important single factor and only are not dealing with it here as it has already been presented comprehensively.

We have also pointed to the important part the organizations set up to help refugees in this process are playing, especially at the beginning. There are other natural and environmental factors besides these two which can promote or hinder adjustment. Climate, attractiveness of cities and

scenery are of importance. The climate of Louisville is rather hard on Europeans and has an unfavorable influence on the physical adjustment; this is partly compensated by the parks and scenery, which are greatly enjoyed by many of the Louisville newcomers. Of greater importance is the human atmosphere of the community in which the refugees enter. The warmth and friendliness, the sense of humor, the easy-going ways of Louisville have been sensed by most refugees and have made it easy for them to feel at home. This has been experienced with great gratitude, as a quality of tenseness, rigidity and intolerance has always been a feature of daily life in Germany, and was, of course, very much aggravated in the years of the Hitler regime. Refugees have been very much aware of this friendly atmosphere in every day life as a general attitude of the people to everybody as well as to the newcomers, who often have to rely a little more on patience and tolerance on account of language difficulties. A very important factor of adjustment is the attitude of the relatives on account of whom, as we know, the newcomers settled in Louisville frequently. Where relatives have looked at and welcomed the newcomer as a member of the family this has helped him immensely; it has offered a first foothold in the new community. Not only could the relatives give invaluable help in getting established and oriented, they could also, if they took the newcomer into their social group, give him social status, which he would not easily get otherwise. It is our experience that this has not happened very often. Quite often the relatives did not know the arriving family members

and did not feel that there were any other bonds or obligations besides making out affidavits and perhaps some help in the beginning. Often there were differences in the cultural level, further emphasized by the differences of fashions and appearance in Germany and America, which made an intimate relationship not too enjoyable. There was often, on the side of the Americans, a fear, mostly unjustified, that the newcomers would expect a great deal of financial help and a certain reserve resulted from this. Some remembered their own hard beginnings and thought that their relatives should start the same way, with hard work and a very low standard of living. The discrepancies between their standard of living and that of the newcomer family was not regarded as out of line in such cases.

We know a family where the man had a well-to-do brother and a son in good circumstances in Louisville; they were old people, they needed and got permanent assistance from both, but on a very low level; when extra expenses had to be met, the old people had difficulties. In another case, the wealthy brother of the woman was living in Louisville. The newcomer family needed nothing after the two sons were started, but there was hardly any social relationship between the two families. This is a rather unusual case on account of the close relationship of the American relatives; we have to remember that more frequently the relatives were only first or second cousins. Even where American relatives had visited in Europe and there had been some correspondence, relationship did not get beyond a rather conventional stage, more cordial relations being rather

the exception than the rule. This was more likely to be the case where culturally and socially American and German family members were on the same level.

We find it a rather frequent experience that the newcomers are more comfortable with neighbors, colleagues and fellow-workers than with their relatives. These are human relationships that grow out of everyday life, the same interests and endeavors, the same convictions and hopes. They are especially gratifying for the refugee, as they are spontaneous and give him the experience of a common ground, transcending the experience of being a stranger as he is at arrival, or being an outsider or outcast as he was in the last years in Germany. We think of several families who had cordial relationships to the landlady or to the next door neighbors and which resulted in an enrichment of their lives, a great deal of joy, friendliness, fun and mutual help, or of the delight of a refugee landlady when the two soldier couples who roomed with her gave her and her whole family a surprise party. Professional people have very natural and satisfactory intercourse with American colleagues in a good many cases. These spontaneous, natural relationships to Americans are a definite advantage which the refugees in a smaller community have before those that established themselves in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago. In this human contact, so gratifying in itself, there is also the very important contact with American life, customs, thoughts, which is subjectively desired by the newcomers and objectively necessary for their adjustment.

Of the forty-four questionnaire returns, thirty-four stated that there were contacts with Americans, eight had none, no answer in two cases. In twenty-four cases it was stated that the children had American friends, (in one case this questions was not answered, in nineteen cases in this group there were no children).

Some clue to the participation of refugees in the organized life of the community is furnished by membership in YMHA and by the contributions to the United Jewish Campaign. We have not been able to compare the membership lists of the congregations.

According to the lists of YMHA twenty persons of the whole group ¹ are members of this organization, forty-five participating in its activities (twenty-five without being members), twelve more have been sent to YMHA camps (on the whole seventeen children of the group have been at camp, five are already counted as participating in YMHA activities generally).

We compared the lists of the United Jewish Campaign (UJC); however, we could only get the lists of 1941 and 1944, which is rather unfavorable for our purposes, as quite a few of the refugees who were in Louisville in October 1941 were there only temporarily and were not solicited for the 1941 UJC, others were there in 1941 and not any more in 1944, some had died in those years. Another difficulty was the accurate identification, as the lists of the UJC contain just the names

¹ See p. 33.

without further identifying data. By careful checking it has been attempted to get as much clarity as possible, but there remained some questions.

Table XIII

Refugee Participation in UJC in 1941 and 1943

	1941	1943
Givers	46	56
Amounts Pledged	\$358.50	\$545.00

That the figures of contributors, as well as the amount pledged, increased noticeably, may be interpreted both as a symptom of integration into the American community life and as an indication of further economic stabilization of the refugees. Yet it appears that active participation in organized community activities is still rather weak. There are different interpretations of this. The main is that most refugees feel that they have no money for the extras in view of their total situation. Membership in YMHA is usually thought as more for the younger people for which the program of YMHA was originally set up; language difficulties may prevent the middle-aged group from active participation. It also seems to present, sometimes, difficulties to refugee children to be fully accepted in YMHA clubs which show rather exclusive tendencies, and again a good many refugees are not interested in YMHA activities and clubs.

Considering the fact that the money collected by UJC goes to a great extent to the distressed Jewish people overseas, to Palestine, and to refugee services, it seems striking

that there is not greater participation on the part of the refugees. A good many of them have so many obligations for relatives who are or will be trying to emigrate, beside the responsibility to provide for the future of their own families, that they feel they cannot yet contribute in any large amount to the general collections. It is also possible that they have not yet been reached by a sufficiently convincing propaganda, and regard the campaign more as a drive supported by the settled and wealthy members of the community.

A club of newcomers has been active for some time and met regularly in YMHA; its purpose was apparently to provide information and entertainment for refugees, especially and more specifically for those for which an integration into the American social life presented difficulties. The writer was not able to get more information about it, but it was obvious that the club did not develop and did not have any essential part in the Louisville immigrants adjustment.

Very important factors of adjustment are the schools. The way in which refugee children, with so many traumatic experiences behind them, and often with little knowledge of English, were received by the teachers and principals of Louisville schools is beyond praise. The result is that the children are happy, healthy and thriving; they do good or excellent work in an astonishing number of cases. Where the children did only fair work or where the relationship to the other children was not a very good one, the teachers have invariably been encouraging, kind, understanding, interested

and helpful. Sometimes the sympathy and the public interest given to intelligent and appealing refugee children went even too far, with a tendency to spoil the children by focusing too much attention on them.

Table XIV

School Records of Thirty-Seven Children
October 1941 a

<u>Classification of School Work</u>	<u>Cases</u>
Total	37
Excellent work	6
Good work	9
Average work	7
Poor work	4
Not known	11

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This has been compiled from the general knowledge of the writer; the school reports were not checked in detail. It is felt that possibly the real outcome would be a little better, as young children who are listed as doing good work, might well distinguish themselves further in the higher grades.

Among the four students doing poor work are two with more serious personality problems.

The happiness of the children in school is a great help in the adjustment of the family in general. The parents quite often know that they cannot look forward to much advancement in their work, that their social contacts will be limited because they do not understand English well enough to associate with Americans, that as there are no financial reserves they will have a hard struggle until such time as the children are grown.

In this trying situation the sound development of the children is the foundation upon which the parents base their realistic hope for the future.

Our description of the conditions making for adjustment would not be complete without mentioning two other factors; the one carried as an experience by the refugee, the other, how the thoughts and ideals that shaped America, have a part in this process of adjustment.

A person who has consciously lived through the years of Nazi persecution will have a new appreciation of the simple, basic, indispensable things for the satisfaction of human needs. He will know what matters and what does not. The indispensability of the basic material necessities has been as keenly experienced as the transience and futility of material goods beyond what is necessary for a dignified and decent life. This means a newcomer, who has experienced scarcity and want, will not take good food, clothing and housing for granted. And yet, this is not what most of those who have reached the haven of America have most bitterly missed, as there was not a serious scarcity of food, etc. in Germany at the time when people could emigrate. What was missing was freedom, security, self-determination, the right to work, and the respect of the dignity of the person. An awareness of the meaning of personal rights by people who have been deprived of them, makes for an astonishing ability to adapt to a changed social and economic situation. The words "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness" will ring very loud and have a new and finer sound in the ears of people who have fled from persecution. In the

atmosphere of a country in which everybody is free, as long as he respects the same freedom of others, the souls of people who have become sick from oppression and iniquity will recover. It is astonishing to what degree refugees were able to forget their former economic and social status as they were made to realize by the course of events, that it is of no avail when personal security and freedom are not guaranteed.

This leads to the other concept. For people with the experience of the German and Jewish refugees, adjustment to the United States is easier than it would be, was, or is, in other countries. There are different reasons for this. The United States of America is a country prepared to admit foreigners; there is a definite immigration policy and a regular procedure for obtaining citizenship. Such is not the case in many other countries. One is accustomed to meeting people with foreign accents and with language difficulties; one knows that foreigners have had an important part in the development of this country; and though certainly the economic struggle is a hard one very often, (it was extremely hard during the depression,) one wants to give the immigrants a chance, and does not resent, rather rejoices at his success, if it occurs. But most significant for the process of adjustment it seems to the writer, was that the ideas on which the American republic is founded, are those to which people with the experience of oppression, dictatorship and arbitrary handling of the rights of the individual are yearning to subscribe. This is a cause which they want to serve and a country of which they want to

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become active, devoted citizens. This has happened with all the previous streams of immigration, but it seems to us it has been more stressed with the recent immigration. They, on an average, had an educational background which allowed them to be aware and appreciative of what America meant in a world of rising Fascism and Nationalism. Some of the great men among the emigres have been able not only to make their creative contribution in their respective fields, but also to throw new light on the American conception of the state, the relationship of the state to the individual and its relationship to other countries. America's greatness, her potential influence on the future state of world affairs, the command she has over the hearts of her citizens because they enjoy freedom and their contribution is a voluntary one - all this has been very keenly noticed and experienced by the new immigrants on the whole, and it has given them a great idealistic impetus to send roots into the soil of the new world, to learn its ways and to serve it with the best that is in them.

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The citizenship record seems to be one hundred per cent. The questionnaire returns showed that in forty-one cases of forty-eight the immigrants had received their first papers in 1941. Of the seven that did not have their papers, six had made applications, one was in the U.S.A. on a visitor visa. (The increased number is due to cases of separate emigration; where the family made applications together, we counted the family units, not the persons).

In the meantime a great many of the Louisville refugees have obtained full citizenship status; with the end of 1944 the majority will have made out applications for second papers. This record is achieved not only because the refugees are anxious to obtain citizenship, but is also a result of the work of KRS and Council who have assisted in matters of citizenship in every respect. (See pp 65 to 78).

CHAPTER VIII

SERVICES TO REFUGEES: AN ANALYSIS

The question as to the kind of help social agencies in this country should give the refugee when he applies for advice or help has been most frequently discussed under the point of view, whether case work service is the answer to the question which the refugee presents to social agencies. Or is "to learn English and to get a job"¹ all that he needs?

Most of the professional social workers come to the conclusion that case work is the answer. They arrive at this by pointing to rather widely differing experiences. Sometimes the emphasis is on serious personality problems found among refugees. Then again, it is pointed out that "many of these Germans have functioned extremely well in the past;" case work skill appears to be necessary in these cases to make a differential diagnosis which implies apparently that in most cases "the client can carry all but the financial responsibility."² The above quoted writer agrees that to learn English and to get a job is what the refugee needs, but insists that for the refugee to find a job is a complicated procedure in which the understanding of a case worker is helpful.³ As generally accepted, we may conceive of case work service as being an individual approach to persons or families in trouble, a

1 Igel, op. cit., p. 29.

2 Mann, op. cit., p. 75.

3 Igel, op. cit., p. 29.

method of helping by conserving, developing, or strengthening the client's own capacities, by enabling him to see himself realistically and to make use of his own and community resources. This service requires a solid body of knowledge and a professional skill in understanding and treating people, based on the human qualities of a spontaneous warm interest in and love for people.

Wherever it has been done professionally, work with refugees has used this approach and method. There was a group that had to come to a social agency under very unusual circumstances; they had predominantly been a self-supporting group with sound family and social relationships. They had been thrown out of this by a drastic change of circumstances completely beyond their control. Their situation might best be compared with that of people hit by a disaster, a landslide or a flood, only more radical than this, as this social landslide did not only destroy all the tangible property, but savings, investments as well. Under such circumstances it seems to us that the above mentioned "differential diagnosis" is of great significance, an attempt to determine at an early date what the nature of the problem presented is. Is it caused by external factors only or complicated by old age, sickness, lack of ability to change one's way of life or more deep-seated personality problems? Is the client's ability to handle his own problems intact or has it been impaired? When we do have a client who is completely able to handle the situation and his problem is just a job, how does his previous training fit

into the American social structure? If it does not, what steps must he take to get into work similar to his previous work or work he desires to do? To what degree does he master the language? What resources are available for him to improve his English if this is essential for his work?

According to our Louisville experiences, in the great majority of cases the problem that the client presents and the result of the differential diagnosis point to one and the same: that a constructive solution of the vocational and economic questions is - subjectively and objectively - the major factor of adjustment. There is, of course, a group with further adjustment problems that may benefit from more intensive case work service, cases where there are problems of management, relief, difficulties in finding or holding jobs, educational problems, health questions, personality difficulties, domestic problems, the questions of the cultural and social adjustment to America where it is difficult. It is our experience that this group presenting personal problems - aside from economic questions - is a small one and considerably smaller still is the number of cases where these personal problems were created or much intensified by emigration. The usual experience is that emigration as a great crisis brings problems out into the open which have existed before, but which under ordinary conditions have been controlled, concealed, less acute, less conscious or less hurtful.

What do we mean when we talk here of "ordinary conditions?" There exist a series of needs and desires which

every human being strives to satisfy: the need to take care of material necessities - to eat, to drink, to be warm and to be sheltered -, to satisfy the thirst for knowledge, to give and receive love, to have attention, recognition, security and to accomplish something in life. The satisfaction arrived at in one field of these drives and aspirations compensates for the lacking satisfaction in another or others. Adjustment of adults is performed on this basis. When there are events that overthrow this balance, problems appear in the life of the individual that have existed before but with a different emphasis, in a different setting and in a different economy of the outer and inner life. We want to illustrate this by some developments in the life of Louisville refugees.

An elderly couple joined their only married daughter, mother of a child of ten, who had emigrated about a year before the parents. The life of the parents, the mother especially, became unbearable by the open hostility of the daughter, a psychopathic character of low intelligence. The relationship had always been a very disturbed one, but formerly both families lived in very comfortable circumstances, in separate households, the older people had a satisfactory social life and social recognition. Here they established themselves in one household not only by the force of economic necessities, but also because they thought, as so many people erroneously do, that such disturbances fade away under the impact of the tragic events forming the background of their emigration. Under "ordinary conditions" the two families would have had

separate households and a good deal of the friction that mars the life of the older people would not have arisen.

A successful physician,¹ well known and highly thought of in his community, had his main satisfaction from work, friends, and nature, as his marriage was not a happy one and he had no children. Emigration for him, who was so attached to the scenery of his homeland which he knew intimately, was a disaster; he was uprooted, homesick and deeply discouraged about his professional future. The relationship to his wife, who is not his equal in intelligence and education, got into a critical stage; he considered a divorce and was extremely unhappy. Previously, with the support of his comfortable financial circumstances, the satisfaction from his professional work, his social life, the enjoyment of nature and scenery, he did not question his marital relationship; these supports gone, he became acutely aware of the emptiness of his marriage, especially at a time when he was more than ever dependent on his inner resources. It is interesting that he decided to hold on to his marriage when he had successfully passed the medical examinations necessary to practice medicine in this country.

A boy of eighteen years, living with his family, found it very hard to make an adjustment. He had been in a Teacher's College in Germany. In America he did unskilled work as he had no other choice, having no practical skills. The young people

1

This is not a Louisville case, but one which is well known to the writer. It is brought here, because it appears especially illustrative.

he met had no problems and no cause to live for. Life did not make sense any more, it seemed to lose its splendour and its fascination. The usual melancholia of adolescence, the drive to find an answer to the great metaphysic questions was here underscored by the trauma of emigration; he had to adjust to mechanical work, to a life without spiritual stimuli, to a commonplace environment after having lived in a community which had to wrestle with extraordinary and demanding circumstances and associated with a group of very alert young people.

A middle-aged couple after thirty-five years of marriage found themselves facing a very drastic outbreak of a domestic struggle that had gone on for many years. Formerly they had carried on a substantial business together, the woman taking an important part in it. This had given her some influence on matters at home and on the education of the children, though the man wanted to be the dominant factor. In Louisville he carried on a small peddling trade. The financial strain, the partial dependency on the daughter who took the side of the mother, brought the chronic tension to an open clash. Without the smoothening influences of home, comfort, tradition, social ties, the woman saw her husband more sharply, more clearly, more critically than before. The daughter would probably have been on the side of the mother under ordinary circumstances too; her influence now was stronger because she took care of the larger part of the budget and because through her connections the parents were able to come to this country.

Besides this type of case, where a problem is stressed and accentuated, changed in quantity and quality by the crisis,

we have cases of deep seated personality problems with which the difficulties of a social adjustment would have occurred under all, even the most favorable circumstances, and for which there is only a change of scene in which the old struggle goes on.

To others who have been hampered and checked by tradition and conventions, who were stunted by unfavorable vocational, social or economic circumstances in the native country, emigration, though forced upon them, has come as a liberator, has offered the chances of a new start and released new strength and capacities. These are the people who live a fuller, richer life in America than they did formerly, even before the Hitler era, to whom America offers a vigorous stimulus, who are often financially better off than they had been. This is especially true of young people for whom the undermining of their very existence by the Hitler government is the predominant experience of their lives. There are also middle-aged and elderly people who have given up a life of leisure and comfort, had to marshal their strength and apply themselves to useful work. Some discovered in this simpler, more disciplined life values and satisfactions unknown hitherto. Others had traditionally continued to run businesses or stores and were now freed and forced at the same time to do work with their hands or minds; they often experience a new sense of accomplishment in this, when formerly life and work had been prepared for them.

We want to emphasize this frequent experience, as so often social agencies and social workers describe only the morbid features of individuals or a social group. In contrast

to social agencies at large, the agencies dealing with refugees, especially in a smaller community such as Louisville is, see these very well adjusted, successful people beside those who need financial assistance or who have personal difficulties and so may get a fuller picture of the group as a whole. They may come to find employment, to get a loan, to make out an affidavit, to get advice about the development of emigration, about local conditions, schooling or vocational possibilities, they may want to get a roomer, and so on.

A main requirement in doing social case work with refugees is a thorough understanding of the process of emigration - immigration, with all its implications and meanings for the normal individual. Nearly every immigrant, especially when he has come to America in and after 1938, will show signs of frayed nerves, a great deal of anxiety and insecurity which could be expected with any immigrant past thirty, much more so with people who had to leave their country under such extreme pressure and strain. Traumatic, as this experience is, an otherwise mature and poised personality will be able to adjust in spite of it, and the pressure symptoms will recede in the course of time and with the normalization of the immigrant's life in America. The experienced helper senses the fears and anxieties and will enable the newcomer client to face his new environment with a free mind, strengthening his confidence in himself by carefully investigating with him which skills and experiences he will be able to use in this country and finding ways for an additional training or acquiring of "American experience" where it is necessary for successful work. He

will be sensitive to the time necessary for reorientation and will know that wasted time is destructive. He knows the differences between European and American society, the differences of the social systems and understands where difficulties of adjustment may be expected. He knows that the best therapy for an uprooted and strained, but basically healthy person is an active life, self-expression and self-investment in productive and satisfactory work. The experienced helper will also know where he can figure with and trust upon the immense power of adaptability of human nature and where pressures and strains are threatening to undermine the strength and confidence of a person. By his knowledge of the cultural and social background he is familiar with the general characteristics, the assets and inner resources of the group to which the individual in front of him belongs.

It is not only very superficial but may be quite harmful to explain every difficulty or problem presented by a refugee with the foregone conclusion: "Think what he had gone through!" as often heard, not only by lay people. Harmful, because it denies or easily shifts responsibilities to transpersonal factors that truly are a personal responsibility, and it is dangerous to efface the subtle borderline between this personal responsibility and the factors and forces beyond one's control.

The other extreme is formed by the expectation that every refugee just because he has to be glad and grateful to have escaped the disaster will lead a "model life." This is

a theme with many variations. It occurs with the underlying meaning that the refugee has to be satisfied with wages or salaries low as they may be, but also when uttered without a selfish interest, this is a very unenlightened view to take. Refugees are people like other people; the fact that they have undergone much hardship will in some release the innermost strength and their noblest qualities; in others, it will bring out resentment, bitterness, a spirit of defeat and a determination to get to one's end without being too choicy in respect to the means - only the few will have been dedicated to greatness and a vastness of outlook. The mass will return to every day life and gradually adjust to the measures, the reactions, and the routine of the society in which they live.

The social worker in America can be an understanding friend and a resourceful helper of the immigrant in adopting the right attitude to his past and to the new realities. Suffering because one is persecuted is an experience of its own; it leaves a different trace in the soul from having suffered by earthquake, flood, fire, or even by war, or poverty. The refugee will have a greater and deeper life when he knows the dignity of suffering and does not push it aside as a haphazard thing that has happened to him; when he is allowed to feel that his fellow men in the new country may be enriched and inspired by his experience, his firmness in resisting and his power to build up a new life. An encouraging and positive attitude, understanding and warm sympathy, so essential with people who have been deliberately hurt, will be most helpful

factors in the process of adjustment; so are in the practical area sober, expert orientation and interpretation, sound, reliable advice.

It seems to the writer that many of the refugee social workers after they have acquainted themselves thoroughly with the American scene and life and with American social work methods, would be very efficient workers in this field. They would have an intimate and perfectly natural understanding of the implications pointed out above, they have shared the destiny of persecution and know what it means. By having suffered the same fate, there will be an identity of experiences that immediately lets the client feel that he is understood and this experience will, with a well trained professional person, exclude a sentimental or romantic approach to the refugee problems.

The refugee social worker will have a readily available and detailed knowledge of the background of the client. The place where the family has lived will give him a valuable clue to the cultural pattern which he is likely to show: Vienna, Munich, Wuerzburg, Fulda, Hamburg, Edelfingen, Mainz, Berlin, Beuthen, - dozens of associations are called up by these names. Where he has had his schooling and vocational training, where he has gone for his vacations, to which congregation he belonged, where he has studied, his vocation and the setting in which it was performed: a wine dealer of the Palatinate, a Berlin lawyer, a Stuttgart manufacturer, a Bavarian cattle dealer, a small town dry goods store owner, a traveling salesman from Frankfurt, a

Vienna doctor - all that is fraught with meaning and furnishes a mental outline into which the individual lines may be drawn. To be able to talk to the refugee in his own language is, of course, a great advantage. It seems to us that the National Refugee Service should have pursued an active policy of securing the able people among the refugee social workers for its central and local agencies which would have been to the great advantage of social work concerned with refugees.

There is a great opportunity for a forward looking agency concerned with refugee work to become a center of information and social service in a broader and more constructive sense than is usually true with social agencies. This refugee group is - on an average - more intelligent, more educated, more resourceful and more disciplined than the average clientele of social agencies. A method based on the intelligent cooperation of the client should have a great chance with them. The task is wider and more comprehensive too. In the very abnormal situation of a refugee coming to a strange American city, a social agency will have tasks and objectives which never occur with persons born in the community, or at least in the country. We have already given instances of this. They range from giving orientation in the community to finding the best suited training or job, from finding a place in which to live and furnishing it to initiating and developing social contacts with individuals, families, community resources, from learning or improving the language to assisting in questions concerning the immigration of family members, all this along with the usual case work services.

The problems presented by the new immigration require for their solution more than work with the individual case. We are referring to two complexes where it seems to us that a more general, centralized program would have been desirable and has not been carried through with as much clarity of purpose as necessary: a program of vocational reorientation and a program of resettlement.

An employment and training program for foreigners is an involved matter. It would have to comprehend:

1. A good and easily accessible collection of the factual material. The basic material would have to be available in the National Refugee Service, New York, but it would not be necessary to have all this in one agency; it could be accomplished with a system of correspondence.
2. A vocational guidance program for which it would be imperative to have counsellors who understand the vocational structure of Germany - Austria and who have a solid knowledge and also some imagination to correlate the previous training and experience of the applicant with the vocational realities in the new country.
3. An efficient placement agency which would have to interest employers of all kinds, the relations to whom should be carefully developed, their advice sought and considered.
4. A training and retraining program, well related to the abilities of the newcomers as well as to the vocational structure of America, tapping and using training possibilities; if necessary, organizing training classes for special

purposes. Training courses will naturally have to be in the larger cities, but a close cooperation between the NRS agencies, central and local, should be reached, which would allow the smaller communities to make use of these training classes for their cases or to have people applying for resettlement trained in a trade, if what they have previously done is not likely to lead to employment at the new place.

Training courses have been arranged in New York and a few other large cities. On the whole it seems to us that this program has been neglected, that the emphasis on the individual case has obstructed the view of this general problem and in frequent cases prevented a sound solution. That so many refugees in New York and other places have unsatisfactory jobs or only accidental occupation of no economic value seems to furnish proof that the above aspects have been overlooked or not been duly stressed. Nor should it be necessary for the individual to investigate the possibilities by himself and to find out in a painful and long drawn out process such facts and helpful advice as could be furnished to him.

It may well be - though we could not be as positive in this regard as in the employment area - that a too individualistic approach prevents the resettlement movement from being as vigorous as we would wish it to be. We realize that there are great obstacles in the way of resettlement on the part of the refugees, as pointed out above. But we think that with a real effort on the side of the NRS many people who have no chances in New York might become interested in resettlement,

if it was made clear that they could establish themselves on a more solid basis in a smaller community. It seems essential to reach a family as early as possible after arrival in New York with this proposition. Emigration and immigration engender such a need for staying and belonging somewhere, that after a short stay in the city of arrival there will be an aversion to migrating again.¹

It seems as if the principle of self-determination - a most constructive case work principle - should in a decision like this be applied in full strength at the end of the process after chances and circumstances of resettlement have been very clearly presented, and also the individual situation has been investigated as to the pros and contras. It seems to us that it would be the responsibility of NRS to point to the unquestionable advantages of resettlement and to the negative aspects of staying in New York though, and because in the beginning staying in New York may appear very attractive to the newcomer. It also would be the responsibility of the adviser to give expert-well-founded and straightforward information about the place of resettlement the agency has to offer or the newcomer would be interested in. It seems important that NRS would facilitate resettlement financially in a liberal way and prepare resettlement most carefully with the local agency. One of the important points is to determine the responsibility of the local agency² and to interpret its function to the

¹ Igel, op. cit., p. 29.

² This has been done in all Louisville resettlement cases known to the writer.

prospective settler.

With this material the newcomer still has to make his own decision, but we feel it is the responsibility of the NRS to use the weight of its knowledge and experience for direct advice in resettlement questions.

These are two important aspects where the refugee question goes definitely beyond the individual case and demands from the agencies concerned careful social planning.

CONCLUSIONS

The immigration set in motion by the rise of Hitler in Germany was seen as the latest chapter in the long history of immigration to America, whose attitude to immigration and laws regulating immigration were briefly reviewed. This new immigration was compared with former patterns of immigration and immigrant groups. The German-Austrian Jewish immigrants are an urban and middle-class group, predominantly occupied in commercial pursuits of all categories, in art, science, music, literature and in the professions. Their emigration was one from economic security into insecurity. They were rooted in the German culture and history and had been closely integrated with the German people.

The question which the paper was to answer was: "What becomes of this persecuted group after immigration? Will America become a home for them, and what is involved in the adjustment to a strange culture, state and way of life? What is their contribution to America?"

A statistical picture of the refugee population of Louisville was given and evaluated. The Louisville group was considered a random sample which would allow us to study the characteristics of the group and the factors of its adjustment. Louisville was chosen in most cases because it was the residence of relatives; other reasons: prospect of a job, friends, studies at the University. There are no political refugees in Louisville, and only a few non-Jewish persons, mostly spouses of Jewish partners. "Resettlement" is a movement for a more

even distribution of the newcomers over the country. Resettlement with the help of KRS in Louisville has been successful and led to a good adjustment of the families concerned.

Help and assistance given by the different agencies interested in refugees and by relatives and friends were a considerable factor in the adjustment process. In spite of the primary obligation of the relatives to help the newcomers until they were established, and though this obligation was discharged in most of the cases under study, the part of KRS and other agencies in helping financially and making the refugees at home in Louisville, was a considerable one. The program of organizations interested in refugees was described in detail. Assistance, in nearly all cases, was necessary in the initial adjustment stage only.

As the solution of the vocational question is of eminent significance for refugee adjustment, this field was thoroughly investigated. 43.2% of the Louisville refugees were engaged in commercial occupations, 26.7% in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 8.5% in clerical and 8% in professional occupations. We found that a good many skills could be "transferred" and that in an individual case a slow, gradual, but often quite marked progress was noticeable. There was a remarkable number of people who had managed to become independent in business, also a rather high percentage of professional people. The mechanic faces the least difficulties in his vocational adjustment, but most anybody who was an expert in a field or has marked ability and knowledge, was able to put these assets to good use. Even where there was no specific skill, it was found

that people that were interested in their work and applied themselves to it, had a fairly good chance to find permanent work at satisfactory pay. The very good work adjustment of Louisville refugees was found to result from their personal qualities, the consistent effort of KRS and JWF to improve the work situation, and finally from the circumstances of a community in which refugees are sparsely settled.

In analyzing its problems and factors, adjustment was recognized to be a complex process in which satisfactions in one area may well compensate for liabilities or frustrations in another. The inner adjustment will occur when the "must" of emigration becomes a "will," when a strong inner contact with the new country, its people, its ideals, its culture is established. The personal and objective factors for adjustment were investigated. Louisville's friendly atmosphere, the circumstances of a smaller city in general seemed to be favorable factors, the individual adjustment depends on resourcefulness and flexibility, beside the all important economic factors; the children's happy school experiences meant a great deal of encouragement to the parents. A new appreciation on the part of the refugees of the elementary, essential values in life, was seen as essential for the adjustment to a country which has formulated a bill of rights to guarantee these values; this has led the refugees to an enthusiastic identification with the ideals on which the American republic has been founded.

The case work method in working with refugees was analyzed, its significance for this more intelligent and resourceful group and in view of the more comprehensive task of

helping refugees was thought through. The group where the adjustment process is complicated by personal difficulties is small. Where there are such problems, they have existed prior to emigration, but often have a different emphasis and, as many compensating satisfactions are missing, a greater urgency than they formerly had. For people with deep-seated personality problems, emigration is probably as immaterial as other external factors. There is also a group to which emigration was a liberator, that was restricted by traditions and conventions in the native country, and who has a richer life than it would have had under former circumstances. A thorough understanding of the process of emigration-immigration is necessary for the social worker dealing with refugees. With a realistic, sympathetic and intelligent approach, an understanding social worker can give a great deal of moral support, encouragement and well planned practical help to those new in the country. A complete shift of the responsibility to transpersonal factors is just as unrealistic as the expectation that refugees, because they were rescued after dire experiences, will lead a model life. It was thought that the refugee social workers would have a good deal of intimate knowledge and natural understanding to offer in the work of American agencies interested in refugees. NRS, we found, would have a great task in developing a comprehensive program of vocational reorientation and a vigorous resettlement program for refugees.

APPENDIX A

Fragebogen

1. Wie gross ist Ihre Familie in Louisville?
Sind Sie zusammen angekommen?
Wenn nicht: wer zuerst?
Grunde fur getrennte Auswanderung:

Wann sind Sie ausgewandert?
Kamen Sie direkt aus Deutschland? Wenn nicht: aus
welchem Land?
Leben Eltern, Kinder, Geschwister von Ihnen and andoren
Orten in U.S.?
2. Alter der Mitglieder Ihres Haushalter:
Mann....Frau....Kind 1....Kind 2....Kind 3....
Wieviele Kinder gehen in die public school?....High School....
College....Berufsausbildung....
3. Von welcher Stadt in Deutschland sind Sie gekommen?
(Mittelpunkt der Familie in den letzten 10 Jahren)

Bevoelkerungszahl Ihrer Heimatgemeinde (rund)
Wie lange ist Ihre Familie dort ansaessig gewesen?
Wo sind Sie geboren? Mann..... Frau.....
Kind 1....Kind 2....Kind 3....
4. Was war Ihr Beruf in Deutschland? (Genaue angabe. z.B.nicht
"Kaufmann," sondern "Inhaber eines Ladengeschaeftes (Textilien)"
"Grosshaendler" mit Angabe der Branche, "Buchhalter" etc)

Durchschnittl.Einkommen in den letzten 10 Jahren in Deutschland:
Hatten Sie Vermoegen?....
a) Geldvermogen, annaeherder Wert 1933:
b) Grundbesitz, ungefaehrer Wert:
Konnten Sie transferieren? Wieviel in \$:
Was war der Transfer-Prozentsatz zur Zeit des Transfers?.....
5. Warum kamen Sie nach Louisville?
6. Wo wohnt Ihr Buerge?
7. Wurden Sie nach Ihrer Ankunft finanziell unterstuetzt?.....
Wenn ja: vom National Refugee Service, N.Y. od. anderen
amerik. Staedten
Committee Louisville
Verwandten Freunden
(Zutreffendes anstreichen. Unterstuetzung von Eltern und
Kindern hier nicht anfuehren).
Wie lange wurden Sie unterstuetzt?
Vollunterstuetzung (Hoehe):
Teilunterstuetzung (Hoehe):
Worin bestand die Unterstuetzung? (Aufnahme im Heim,
Geldunterstuetzg, aertzliche Hilfe, Einrichtung der Wohnung etc)

8. Wie lange nach Ankunft fanden Sie Ihren ersten job? (Frage an den Hauptverdiener der Familie.....
Was fuer Anstellungen haben Sie gehabt, seitdem Sie in Lo. sind? (Vollstaendige Aufzaehlung fuer alle verdienenden Personen Ihres Hausstandes und Angabe, auf walche Weise die Arbeit gefunden wurde) z.B. Verwandte, Committee, Employment Service, Freunde -Amerik. od. Deutsche-, eigne Arbeitsnachfrage, Angebot des Arbeitgebers, Annoncen, selbstaendige Unternehmng)
- | Jobs | Mann | Frau | Kind 1 | Kind 2 | Kind 3 |
|------|------|------|--------|--------|--------|
| 1. | | | | | |
| 2. | | | | | |
| 3. | | | | | |
| 4. | | | | | |
| 5. | | | | | |

- Wie gefunden? Durch Vermittlung von.....
- | Jobs | Mann | Frau | Kind 1 | Kind 2 | Kind 3 |
|------|------|------|--------|--------|--------|
| 1. | | | | | |
| 2. | | | | | |
| 3. | | | | | |
| 4. | | | | | |
| 5. | | | | | |

9. Haben Sie Hilfe von Refugees gehabt (Affidavit, Reisegeld, finanziell in Louisville, Aufnahme in Haus etc)?

Haben Sie selbst refugees geholfen? Womit?

10. Haben Sie Ihre Moebel mitgebracht? Wenn nicht, wie beschafft?

11. Haben Sie Hausbesitz in Louisville?

12. Gegenwaertiger monatl. Verdienst der Personen Ihrer Hausgemeinschaft.

Zahl der Personen.....

Monatl. Verdienst	Mann	Frau	Kind 1	Kind 2	Kind 3
-------------------	------	------	--------	--------	--------

bis \$ 50

50-75

75-100

100-125

125-150

mehr als 150

(Zutreffendes anstreichen!)

Neben- und Gelegenheitsverdienste von Familienmitgliedern hier in durchschn. Monatsbeträgen angeben, auch Quelle des Nebenverdienstes:.....

.....

Haben Sie Einkommen durch Untervermieten und Kostgeben?

13. Haben Sie Ihre ersten Papiere?

Wenn nicht: wurde Antrag auf first papers gestellt?.....

Haben Sie ihre citizenship Papiere?.....

14. Religionszugehoerigkeit in Deutschland (Jued: orth.od.liberal,
 christl., dissid.):
 Haben Sie sich hier einer relig. Gemeinschaft angeschlossen?
 Wenn ja, welcher?
 (Wesentlich: Besuch des Gottesdienstes, nicht Zahlung!)
15. Nehmen Sie Sprachunterricht? Wenn ja, wo?
16. Ist ein Mitglied Ihrer Familie (Kinder, Geschwister) wieder
 weggezogen?
 Wenn ja, warum?
17. Besteht die Absicht, andere Familienmitglieder nach Louisville
 nachkommen zu lassen?.....Wenn ja:
 Eltern Geschwister Andere Verw.
 von anderen Staedten
 Amerikas
 von Europa
 (Zutreffendes anstreichen!)
18. Haben Sie gesellsch.Verkehr mit Amerikanern? Angeben, ob
 Verwandte, Nachbarn, Freunde, Berufsgenossen!
 Haben Ihre Kinder amerik. Freunde?

Questionnaire

1. How many persons is your family in Louisville made up of?
persons.
 Did you arrive together?
 If not, who came first?
 Reasons for separated emigration:
 When did you emigrate?
 Did you come from Germany directly?
 If not: from which country?
 Do parents, children, sisters and brothers of yours live in
 other places in U.S.?
2. Age of the members of your household:
 Man.....Wife.....Child 1.....Child 2.....Child 3.....
 How many children attend public school?...High School...
 College...Vocational training...
3. From which place in Germany did you come? (Residence of
 family in the last 10 years)
 Size of population of your home town?
 How long has your family been living there?
 Where were you born? Man.....Wife.....Child 1.....
 Child 2.....Child 3.....
4. What was your occupation in Germany? (Exact statement: if
 a merchant, state whether owner of a store or wholesaler
 and state in which line)
 Average income in the last 10 years in Germany.
 Did you have assets?
 a) in money, approximate value in 1933.
 b) property, approximate value.
 Were you able to transfer money? How much in \$? What
 was the transfer quotient?
5. Why did you come to Louisville?
6. Where does your sponsor live?
7. Were you financially assisted after your arrival?
 If so: by KRS, NRS, N. Y. or other cities.
 Relatives Friends
 (Check which: Don't mention support by parents and children).
 For which time did you get assistance?
 Full support (amount)
 Part support (amount)
 What kind of assistance did you get (invitation to a home,
 financial assistance, medical help, furniture, etc.)
8. How long after arrival did you find your first job?
 (Question directed to the person on which the family
 relies for support)
 Which positions did you hold since you have been living in
 Louisiana? (Please list completely the positions of all
 the working persons belonging to your household and add

how they got these positions, e.g. through relatives, KRS, Employment Service, friends Americans or Germans, own efforts, offer of employer, ads, independent in business).

Jobs	Man	Wife	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3
------	-----	------	---------	---------	---------

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

How secured? Through.....

Jobs	Man	Wife	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3
------	-----	------	---------	---------	---------

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

9. Did refugees help you (affidavits, money for trip, financially in Louisville, by hospitality, etc)?
Did you help other refugees?
In which way?
10. Did you take your furniture with you? If not, how was it provided?
11. Do you own a house in Louisville?
12. Monthly earnings of the persons in your household at present.
Number of earning persons.
Monthly earnings Man Wife Child 1 Child 2 Child 3
up to \$50.00.
 \$50.00 to 75.00
 75.00 to 100.00
 100.00 to 125.00
 125.00 to 150.00
 over \$150.00
 (Check which)
- Earnings by odd jobs or occasional work of members of your family. State average monthly amounts, also kind of odd jobs, etc.
- Do you have additional income by subrenting or boarding people?
13. Do you have your first papers?
If not: did you make application for first papers?
Did you get your citizenship papers?
14. Religious affiliation in Germany (Jewish, orthodox, or liberal, Christian, no church).
Did you join a congregation here?
If so, which?
(Not so much based on paying fees, rather on attendance of service).

15. Do you take language lessons?
If so, with whom?
16. Has a member of your family moved away? (Children, sisters,
brothers)
If so, why?
17. Do other members of your family plan to join you in Louis-
ville? If so: parents sisters other
and brothers relatives
From other cities in the U.S.
From Europe
(check which)
18. Do you have social contacts with Americans? Please state
if relatives, neighbors, friends or fellow workers).
Have your children American friends?

APPENDIX B

Information contained in Forty-Four Questionnaires

The questionnaires covered 116 persons, they lived in thirty-two families; twelve persons were unattached. General questionnaire material refers to forty-four parties or 116 persons.

TABLE A

Number of Families	Size of Families	Number of Persons
Total -- 32		116
10	2	20
10	3	30
6	4	24
6	5	30
Unattached	5	12

TABLE B

	Number of Families
Separated emigration	23
Emigration as family unit	<u>9</u>
Total	32

1. This is part of the questionnaire material not embodied in the paper.

TABLE C

Reasons for Separated Emigration

Total	23
Young people to get started first, economic reasons	10
Answering call to University	1
Visa at different times	3
Affidavits for sons only	2
1	
Different quotas	5
Papers for one part insufficient	1
Repatriation of wife	1

TABLE D

Former Place of Residence

Total	44
Cities over 100,000 inhabitants	27
Places under 100,000 inhabitants	17

1. One belongs to the quota of the country of birth. Decisive are the boundaries of the treaty of Versailles. E.g. a person born in the German Eastern provinces, later on forming part of Poland, belonged to the Polish quota.

Among the 116 persons covered by questionnaires, thirty-six had been gainfully employed, nine had been in training.

TABLE E

Vocational Distribution of Thirty-Six
Gainfully Employed Before Emigration

Total	36
Trade	24
Manufacturing	1
Professional Service	8
Clerks	3

TABLE F

Specification of the Group "Trade"

Total	24
Wholesale Dealers	6
Retail Dealers	13
Managers	1
Textile Agent	1
Salesmen	3

TABLE G

Specification of the Group Professions

Total	8
Director Art Society	1
Judge	1
Lawyer	1
Physician	1
Teacher	1
Social Worker	1
Civil Engineer	1
Cantor	1

TABLE H

Employment and Training Before and After Emigration
in the Questionnaire Group (116 persons)

	Before Emigration	After Emigration
Total	45	61
Gainfully Employed	36	58
Training	9	3

TABLE I
Help in Finding Work

Total	58
Relatives	20
Own effort	13
KRS, JWF, NRS	6
Friends, acquaintances	6
Employment Service	4
Former Employer	1
Emergency Committee Displaced German Scholars	1
Not answered	2

TABLE J
¹ Monthly Earnings (Summer 1941)

	Man	Wife ²	Child ² 1	Child ² 2	Others in Family	Total
\$50.00 or less	3	3			1	7
\$51.00 to 75.00	9	3	6	3		21
76.00 to 100.00	5	3	3	1		12
101.00 to 125.00	4	1	1			6
126.00 to 150.00	1					1
Over 150.00	3		2			5
Total	25	10	12	4	1	52 ³

1. Board was part of the income in four cases, value of board was assumed to be \$35.00 per month.
2. Wife and Child 1 are in some cases the only earners (no husband, parents old, etc.)
3. Not answered in six cases.

TABLE K
Financial Support

Total	44
Negative	18
Affirmative	26

TABLE L
Sources of Financial Support

Total	30 ¹
Relatives	12
KRS	10
NRS or local committees in other cities	2
Friends	3
Student Committee	3

1. As two sources of support were given in four questionnaires, these are twenty-six supported parties.

TABLE M
Religious Affiliation in Germany

Total	44
Jewish	38 $\frac{1}{2}$
Protestant	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
No Church	2

TABLE N
Religious Affiliation in Louisville

	Family Units	Persons
Total	44	116
Jewish	23 $\frac{1}{2}$	78
Protestant	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	6
No affiliation ²	17	31
Not answered	1	1

1. In one family man and wife have different religious affiliations.
2. Most of those stating they were not affiliated, had connections with one of the temples, but were not members. Among the unaffiliated is one Christian. A negligible number of this group is actually without any church ties.

TABLE O

Affiliation with Religious Groups or Churches

	Family Units	Persons
Total	23 $\frac{1}{2}$	78
<u>Jews</u>		
Reformed	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	34
Conservative	7	26
Orthodox	5	18
Total	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	6
<u>Protestants</u>		
Baptist	1	3
Lutheran	1	1
Presbyterian	$\frac{1}{2}$	2

TABLE P

Social Contacts with Americans

Total	44
Affirmative	34
Negative	8
Not answered	2

APPENDIX C

TABLE A

Vocational Status of Refugees in Louisville by Sex

Vocation	Total	Male	Female
Total	162	111	51
Agriculture	1	1	
Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries	47	37	10
Transportation and Communication	2	2	
Trade	63	51	12
Professional	14	8	6
Domestic Personal Services	10	4	6
Clerical	15	7	8
Students	5		5
Odd Jobs	5	1	4

TABLE B

Distribution of the Group "Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries" over the Various Trades and Industries.

(Without consideration of position, but not including office workers.)

	Total	Male	Female
Total	47	37	10
Broom Factory	2	2	
Carpenter	1	1	
Clothing Factory	6	5	1
Construction	1	1	
Distillery	9	8	1
Furrier	3	2	1
Metal Industry	4	4	
Milliner	3		3
Roofer	1	1	
Seamstress	4		4
Watchmaker	1	1	
Woodworking Industry	5	5	
Wool and Hides	2	2	
Other	5	5	

TABLE C

Distribution According to Function in the Group "Trade"

	Total	Male	Female	Members of Family Helping
Total	87	56	18	13
Clerks in Stores	16	7	9	
Commercial Travellers	12	10	1	1
Decorators	1	1		
Retail Dealers	31	18	2	11
Stockworkers and Stockmanagers	13	13		
Wholesale Dealers	3	2		1
Clerical Workers ¹	11	5	6	

1. Only those in commercial undertakings are counted here.

TABLE D
Owners of Businesses

<u>Type of Business</u>	<u>Number of Firms</u>	<u>Number of Partners</u>
Total	24	26
<u>Agriculture</u>		
Farm	1	1
<u>Manufacturing</u>		
Broom Factory	1	2
Seamstress	1	1
<u>Trade</u>		
<u>Retail Stores</u>		
Variety Stores	7	7
Cigar Stores	1	1
Dry Goods Stores	1	1
Fabric Stores	2	1
Furniture Stores	4	4
Groceries	1	2
Household Goods	2	2
Restaurant	1	1
Boarding House	1	1
<u>Wholesale Stores</u>		
Furniture	1	2

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