

## **A Tale of Two Colleges: Jews and Baptist Institutions in Maine during the Interwar Years**

by David M. Freidenreich and Desiree Shayer '12<sup>1</sup>  
presented at the annual conference of the Association for Jewish Studies, Dec. 21, 2010

Bates and Colby colleges are similar in many respects. Founded to serve the people of interior Maine, both maintained strong ties to the Northern Baptist Convention until after World War II. Bates and Colby were among the earliest liberal arts colleges to admit men and women alike, and these schools take pride in their support of abolitionism and other progressive causes. Their respective hometowns, Lewiston and Waterville, both became significant manufacturing centers by the early 20th century, and each attracted a small but noticeable community of Eastern European Jewish immigrants. When it came to the admission of Jewish students, however, Colby and Bates took very different paths.

Relations between Maine's Jews and its Baptist institutions during the interwar years were shaped by a profound power imbalance. The colleges were free to establish whatever admissions policies they deemed appropriate, and the opportunities of prospective Jewish students were constrained by those decisions. Bates, like so many colleges and universities during the '20s and '30s, sought to limit the presence of Jews on its campus. Colby, in contrast, imposed no such restrictions. The similarities between these colleges enable us to profitably explore the factors that account for this difference in attitudes toward prospective Jewish students. Data gathered through archival research and oral history interviews reflects the impact of Bates and Colby admissions policies on prospective Jewish students. This data also sheds light on the impact of college education on the careers of those Jews who were fortunate enough to be admitted.

The interwar years witnessed a boom in American college enrollment, and for the first time elite universities were able to turn away academically qualified applicants. In an effort to preserve the WASP ethos of their campuses, college administrators developed admissions policies designed to limit the number of Jewish students. Application forms evolved to include photographs as well as information about the applicant's religious affiliation and ancestry, all intended to help in identifying Jews and, thus, in excluding them.

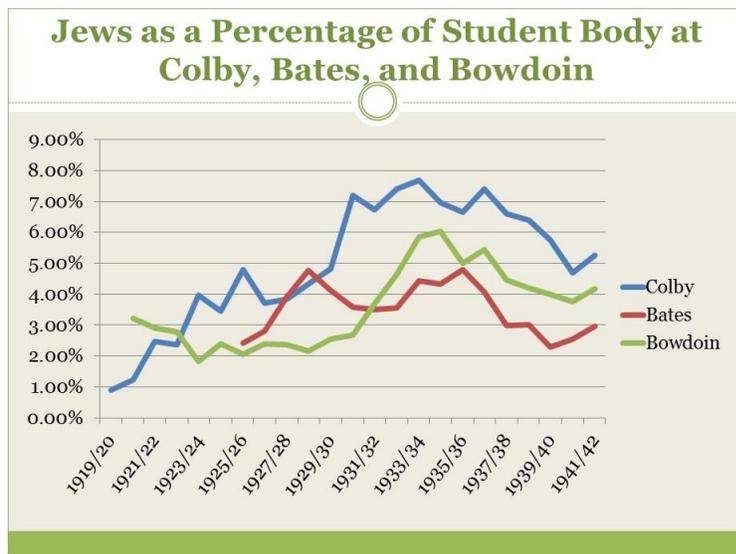
Harvard President A. Lawrence Lowell famously argued in the early '20s that limitation of the number of Jewish students was in fact good for Jewish students, who would be subject to less antisemitism and therefore better able to assimilate. Most college presidents, however, did not publicly acknowledge their efforts to keep out prospective Jewish students. These policies, they often explained, were simply intended to prevent overcrowding on campus and enhance the geographic diversity of the student body.<sup>2</sup>



Most scholarship on anti-Jewish admissions policies has focused on the Ivies, but these policies were also commonplace at Northeastern liberal arts colleges during the interwar years. Bowdoin College is typical in this respect. The so-called “Harvard of

Maine” enrolled only about 13 Jewish students during each year of the 1920s, even as its total enrollment rose from 400 students to 550; overcrowding clearly wasn't a factor shaping Bowdoin's admissions policies during this era. At Colgate, a Baptist college, it was common for

only five of each year's 200–300 Jewish applicants to be accepted. President Harry A. Garfield of Williams College asserted that the exceptionally low number of Jewish students at his institution resulted entirely from the fact that few Jews applied. Jews, he explained, weren't attracted to Christian colleges in remote locations with hostile fraternity environments and no pre-professional courses.<sup>3</sup> Garfield's description of Williams also applies to Colby; the fact that so many Jews attended Colby nevertheless calls Garfield's assessment into question.

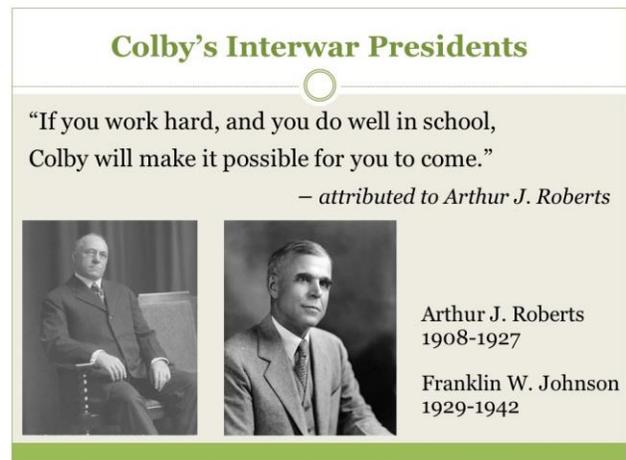


Colby's admissions policies from this period stand out as particularly open to Jewish students. In the 1930's, an average of 7 percent of Colby students were Jewish, while at Bowdoin and Bates Jews constituted only about 4.5 and 3.5 percent of the student body, respectively.<sup>4</sup> Colby, unlike its institutional peers, did not ask for religious affiliation on its application form, and did not limit the number of Jewish students allowed to attend. As a result, Jewish enrollment at Colby increased at more than five times the rate of total annual enrollment between 1919 and 1941.

During the interwar years, the presidents of small colleges commonly handled admissions personally. Colby's open admissions policy reflects the progressive educational values of its presidents. Arthur J. Roberts, who served from 1908 to 1927, was known for his commitment to increasing enrollment at Colby and his practice of personally recruiting individuals in whom he saw potential, regardless of their background. Colby's Baptist historian, Ernest Marriner,

recounts that President Roberts took three trains to visit a small town in Western Maine just to recruit a single student who needed significant financial aid, namely Marriner himself. Roberts devoted similar efforts to recruiting Jewish students, including Lewis Lester Levine, the poor boy from Waterville who sold him his Sunday newspaper. As Levine's daughter recalls, her father explained to the president that while he'd like to go to college, his parents had no money to pay for his education. Roberts simply replied, "If you work hard, and you do well in school, Colby will make it possible for you to come." Julius Sussman, a Jewish native of Lynn, Massachusetts, also fondly recalls the individualized attention he received from Roberts.<sup>5</sup> To President Roberts, what mattered was personal effort and accomplishment.

Colby's next president, Franklin W. Johnson, continued the college's policy of welcoming Jewish students even as he instituted a cap on total enrollment. Johnson, who took office in 1929, served previously as principal of an ethnically diverse high school in Chicago. In that capacity, Johnson



insisted that students be judged as individuals, not on the basis of their ethnicity. "It is not always Isaac Goldstein or Pietro Luigi who is caught with the plunder," Johnson observed in an essay on high school morality, "but quite as often those whose names have a more patrician ring."<sup>6</sup> Johnson brought to Colby his interest in teaching qualified students of all backgrounds. Under his administration Jewish enrollment increased significantly, especially among students from out-of-state.

The history of Colby's Jewish fraternity sheds further light on the position of the Roberts and Johnson administrations regarding Jewish students, a position that was at odds with the

general culture of antisemitism at American colleges. In 1919, as Jews were being barred from mainstream fraternities at Colby and across the country, President Roberts and the Board of Trustees approved the formation of Gamma Phi Epsilon, a local fraternity founded by seven Jewish students. Colby's fraternity-dominated Student Council, however, refused to recognize the group. A faculty committee recommended that Gamma Phi be accepted so long as it was, quote, "not founded upon religious or racial lines"; this proposal satisfied Gamma Phi's members but not the Student Council. The Council finally recognized Gamma Phi Epsilon in 1932, thirteen years after its founding. The group then affiliated with the majority-Jewish but non-discriminatory national fraternity Tau Delta Phi. Only Jews, however, sought admission to Gamma Phi or Tau Delt during the years before World War II, while Colby's other fraternities and sororities continued to blackball Jewish candidates. Colby's faculty and administration consistently held that the college and its fraternities should accept students on the basis of individual merit, regardless of race or religion, even though most of Colby's students and institutional peers rejected this position.<sup>7</sup>

Bates College, the institution most similar to Colby, was led by President Clifton D. Gray from 1920 to 1944. In '23, Gray authored a "Statement of Ideals" that lays out his views regarding the college's admissions policies.<sup>8</sup> Bates, Gray observes, was established to serve Mainers and should

therefore give preference to in-state applicants, especially those from Lewiston and its twin city, Auburn. Although it takes pride in being a co-educational institution, Bates must limit the population of women to 40% of the total student body in order to remain attractive to male applicants. "As to races," to quote Gray's statement, "it could not permit so many of one race to

#### Clifton D. Gray, Bates President, 1920-44

"[Bates] could not permit so many of one race to enter, for whom the college was not originally established, as to divert from the purposes which have governed it through the years."

– *Statement of Ideals, 1923*

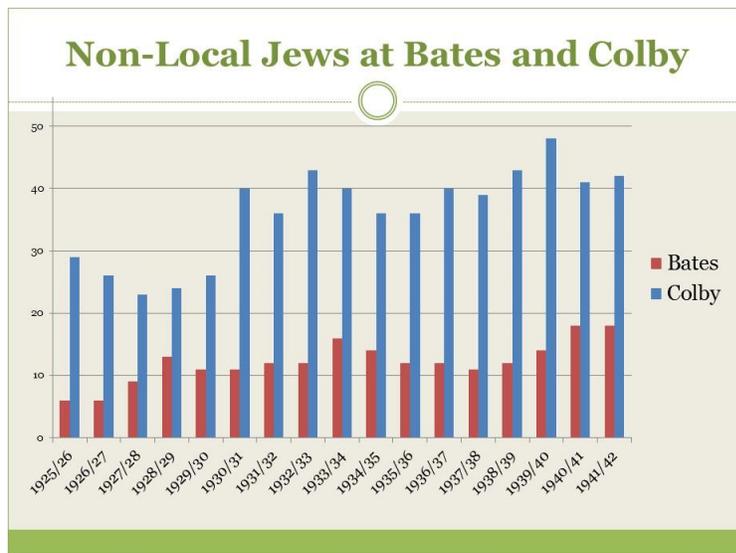


enter, for which the college was not originally established, as to divert from the purposes which have governed it through the years. It will not exclude any individual of any race from its classes, because of race alone, but it may be obliged to limit the numbers of any race, in the interests of all, just as it limits the number of young women to a fixed quota.” Specifically, Gray recommends that no race should exceed 3% of the membership of any class, a percentage he regarded, quote, “as a standard of assimilation, not of discrimination.” Gray never refers explicitly to Jews, but at the time Jews constituted the only so-called race that pursued higher education in large numbers.

Analysis of enrollment data from 1925–1942 reveals that Bates did indeed implement Gray’s ideals. One fifth of Bates students came from Lewiston-Auburn through the mid-1930s, although that number declined to 15 percent in the late ’30s as Bates came to see itself as a New England college rather than one intended specifically for Mainers. The percentage of women at Bates from 1925–1942 fluctuated narrowly, between 38 and 43 percent. The average Jewish population at Bates during these years was 3.5%.<sup>9</sup> Bates continued to evaluate applicants on the basis of their race and religion until 1950.<sup>10</sup>

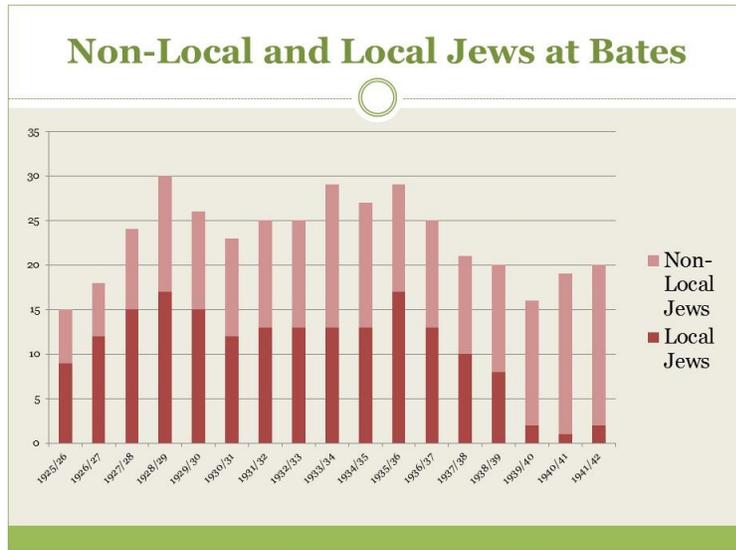
President Gray’s concern about the presence of too many Jews at Bates reflects both the general prejudices of his era and also, it would seem, Gray’s conception of the Christian character of Bates College. Unlike Franklin Johnson, who came to Colby after serving as a high school principal and professor at Teachers College, Clifton Gray’s prior experience was entirely within the church, where he rose to become editor of the Northern Baptist Convention’s newspaper. Gray, an ordained minister, emphasized in his inaugural address the importance of maintaining “a vital Christian atmosphere” at Bates, and in the years that followed he regularly described Bates as “a strongly religious college, a Christian institution.”<sup>11</sup> At about the same

time as he wrote his “Statement of Ideals,” Gray delivered public talks designed to prove Bates’ Christian character.<sup>12</sup> Gray also declared publicly that “a Christian college has no business to appoint as teachers those who do not profess an active sympathy with the Christian religion.”<sup>13</sup> Gray apparently felt that too many Jewish students would similarly divert Bates from its Christian mission. While Colby’s presidents also emphasized the Christian nature of their institution, their rhetoric had no evident impact on either faculty appointments or admissions policies.<sup>14</sup>



The impact of Bates’ restrictions on Jewish students is apparent when one compares the number of out-of-state Jews at Bates and at Colby.<sup>15</sup> Between 1925 and 1942, over 230 Jews from outside of Maine attended Colby. At Bates, the total number

of out-of-state Jews during this period was only about 70. As Bates and Colby were similar schools in similar locations offering similar courses of study, this disparity in numbers must result from Bates’ restrictive admissions policies. Doris Rose Hopengarten, who attended Colby in the late ’30s, offers anecdotal confirmation of this conclusion. She recounts that it was common knowledge among her friends in Boston that Jewish applicants simply weren’t welcome at Bates.



When one examines local enrollment statistics, however, a more nuanced picture of Bates' admissions policies emerges.

Bates enrolled over 60 local Jewish students between 1925 and 1942.

In fact, approximately one fifth of Lewiston-Auburn Jews who

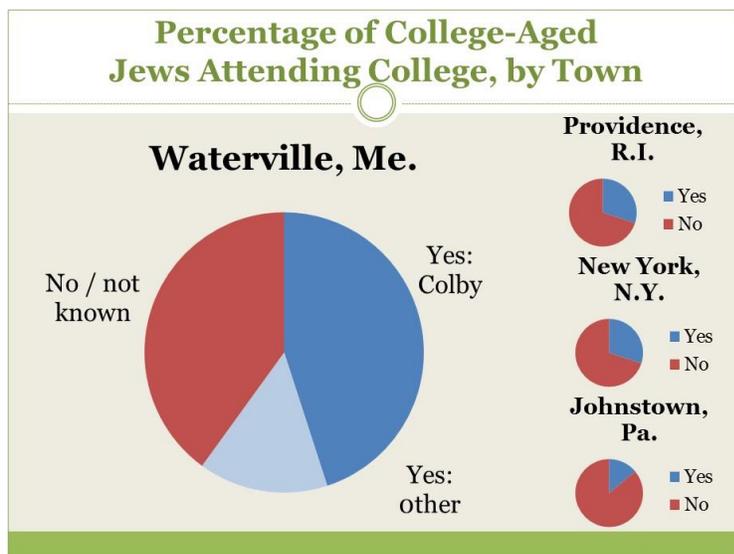
reached college age during this period attended Bates.<sup>16</sup> Local Jews whom we interviewed were surprised to learn of Bates' restrictive admissions policies—every Jewish applicant they knew was accepted. These alumni, moreover, reported no incidents of antisemitism on campus. Libby Goldman of Auburn, who graduated in 1928, recounts that Bates offered her a crucial need-based scholarship and that her professors were happy to accommodate her need to miss class on Yom Kippur.<sup>17</sup> It's too simple to write off Bates as uniformly hostile toward Jewish applicants.

President Gray, it appears, was serious about his commitment to educating local students, including the Jews of Lewiston and Auburn. We lack sufficient data to be sure, but it seems that Bates kept its overall Jewish enrollment in check entirely at the expense of out-of-state applicants. In this respect, the story at Bates is the opposite of that at universities like Columbia and Harvard, which reduced their proportions of local students as a means of decreasing the size of their Jewish populations. The fact that Jews from Lewiston and Auburn commuted to Bates and thus didn't require space in the packed dormitories may have helped secure their admission as well.

Because Bates had no fraternities, those Jews who were fortunate enough to attend the college weren't faced with the kind of social antisemitism that confronted Jews at Colby and

other New England colleges. It's also possible, in keeping with the argument of Harvard's President Lowell, that there was less antisemitism at Bates than at Colby because Jews constituted a much smaller percentage of the student body. Whatever the reason, Bates seems to have adhered to the distinction which President Gray made in his "Statement of Ideals." At the level of individual students, the college tolerated, quote, "no distinctions based on color, race, heritage or social station." Nevertheless, Bates ensured through its admissions policies that the total number of Jewish students (and, similarly, black students) was kept at a suitably low level.

Jews were unable to affect the college admissions policies that shaped their ability to pursue professional aspirations. We found no indication that Jewish alumni or members of local Jewish communities exercised any influence upon the Baptist presidents of Bates or Colby. These presidents set admissions policies in accordance with their own values and their own perceptions of what was best for their Christian institutions. Jews, did, however, exercise agency by taking advantage of the opportunities afforded to them, often to great personal benefit.



The impact of Colby's open admissions policies are especially evident within the Jewish community of Waterville, Colby's hometown. Forty-five percent of Jews who reached college age in Waterville during the interwar years attended Colby, and at least

60% pursued higher education somewhere. These numbers are remarkable. To put them into perspective, Joel Perlmann reports that 30% of Russian Jews in Providence attended college; Ewa Morawska estimates a similar rate of college attendance in New York City and reports that

only 11 to 17% of Jews in Johnstown, an industrial town in Pennsylvania, pursued higher education in the '20s and '30s.<sup>18</sup> The Jewish immigrants who settled in Waterville are similar to those of Johnstown in most respects, but their children had exceptional access to higher education.

Anecdotal evidence indicates that Waterville's Jews were aware of how fortunate they were to live just a few blocks from Colby. Abraham Hains, who served as Waterville's rabbi, passed up opportunities to move to larger congregations because he wanted his six children to get a college education; ultimately, five attended Colby and the sixth went to the local business school.<sup>19</sup> About 20 members of the extended Levine family, the largest Jewish family in Waterville, attended Colby during the interwar years; several of these alumni became life-long Colby boosters and, after World War II, major donors to the college.

Analysis of the occupations of Jewish men who graduated from Colby reveals the degree to which their college education shaped their professional life and secured their socioeconomic status. A significant percentage of Jewish alumni went on to become lawyers and doctors, or entered other professions that require a college degree. Almost all of Waterville's Jewish male alumni secured careers that placed them within the top third of the American population, according to Otis Duncan's socioeconomic index of occupations.<sup>20</sup> Among those who didn't take over their fathers' business, the careers of Jewish male alumni from Waterville average 37 points higher than those of their fathers on Duncan's evenly distributed 100-point scale.<sup>21</sup> In short, the decision of so many members of Waterville's Jewish community to take advantage of Colby's open admissions policy resulted in that community's rapid rise into the upper middle class, a rise whose rate is unattested among Jews in other small towns.

We lack sufficient data about the much larger Jewish communities of Lewiston and Auburn to analyze the college attendance patterns in these communities. Why, when 45 percent of Waterville's Jews attended Colby, did only about 20 percent of Lewiston-Auburn Jews attend Bates? The answer may relate to differences in the colleges' attitudes toward Jews, to differences in income among the parents of college-age Jews in these towns, or to other factors. We also lack sufficient data to measure the impact of a Bates education on those Jews who did attend the college, but it seems reasonable to assume that the effect of a liberal arts education was the same whether one attended Bates or Colby. The overall impact of Bates on the Jewish communities of Lewiston and Auburn, however, was significantly smaller than Colby's impact on the Jews of Waterville.

Examination of the interwar admissions policies of Maine's Baptist colleges and their impact on local Jews offers a valuable perspective on the subject of Jewish-Christian relations in New England. In this instance, as in many others, one should not confuse "relationship" with "partnership." The actions of Baptist college administrators and Jewish college applicants are most certainly related, but each party acted independently, in pursuit of its own distinctive agenda. Presidents Roberts and Johnson of Colby acted on their conviction that students should be judged solely as individuals and never as members of ethnic groups; President Gray sought to preserve both the Christian character of Bates and its legacy of educating local students. Young Jews, meanwhile, aspired to secure their place within American society by pursuing career paths dependent upon higher education. Unable to shape the agendas of the colleges during the interwar years, they took advantage of the opportunities they encountered. Jews from Waterville and Lewiston-Auburn were, in this respect, more fortunate than their counterparts in other American towns.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> This research was made possible by a Student-Faculty Collaborative Research Grant from the Goldfarb Center for Public Affairs and Civic Engagement at Colby College. It was aided immeasurably by the assistance we received from Pat Burdick and the staff of the Special Collections department of Colby's Miller Library, Beth Schiller and the staff of Colby's Office of the Registrar, and Pat Webber and Elaine Ardia at the Edmund S. Muskie Archives and Special Collections Library of Bates College. Additional assistance was provided by Sylvia Kennick Brown in the Archives and Special Collections department of Williams College. We are also grateful to Margo Derecktor '10 for her preliminary research into the subject matter of this paper, to Harriet and Philip Freidenreich for their assistance in gathering census data, to Kimi Kossler '12 for her work on Waterville's city directories, and to Alexis Kramer '11 for her examination of records in Colby's College Relations files.

<sup>2</sup> See Harold S. Wechsler, *The Qualified Student: A History of Selective College Admission in America* (New York: Wiley, 1977); Marcia Graham Synnott, *The Half-Opened Door: Discrimination and Admissions at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, 1900–1970* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1979); Dan A. Oren, *Joining the Club: A History of Jews and Yale* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985); David O. Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915–40* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986).

<sup>3</sup> Data for Jewish enrollment at Bowdoin appears in the college's annual *Report of the President*, which breaks down total enrollment by church affiliation. Colgate: see David O. Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915–40* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986), 158. Williams: see correspondence of Harry A. Garfield to Charles W. Eliot, Oct. 11, 1922, Williams College President (Garfield) Records, Box 16 Folder 11, "Garfield Correspondence: Harvard University," Archives and Special Collections, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.; other letters in this folder are also of relevance. On Williams, see also Synnott, *Half-Opened Door*, 150–51.

<sup>4</sup> Data for total enrollment at Colby in each of these years comes from the annual *Report of the President*. Jewish students have been identified through analysis of registration records. We count as Jewish those students who list their church affiliation as "Jewish" or who are members of Colby's all-Jewish fraternity. For students with stereotypically Jewish names who cannot be positively identified as Jewish on the basis of registrar records alone, we consulted census records; in most cases, the parents of these students are listed as native speakers of Yiddish. In total, we identified 304 Jewish students who began their Colby careers in the years 1919–1941, 95% of whom are positively identified as Jewish in registrar or census records.

<sup>5</sup> Ernest Marriner, *The History of Colby College* (Waterville, Me.: Colby, 1963), 292–93; Judy Levine Brody, oral history interview; Celia Risen, *Yankee Fiddler: A Man Called Suss* [oral history of Julius G. Sussman] (self-published, 1981), 65–67.

<sup>6</sup> Franklin W. Johnson, "The High-School Boy's Morals," *The School Review* 20 (1912): 82.

<sup>7</sup> Marriner, *History of Colby*, 468–70; Risen, *Yankee Fiddler*, 62–63. For national perspective, see Marianne R. Sanua, *Going Greek: Jewish College Fraternities in the United States, 1895–1945* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003).

<sup>8</sup> "Statement of the Ideals of Bates College," Harry Rowe Collection, Series 1 Box 1, Folder "Bates—Admissions/Statement of Ideals," Edmund S. Muskie Archives and Special Collections Library, Bates College, Lewiston, Me. This statement is unsigned and undated. We concur with Bates' historian, Charles E. Clark, who

observes that the character of the document and its presence in the Rowe Collection (Rowe was President Gray's assistant) point toward authorship by Gray. Clark further observes that the document must have been written between 1921 and 1924 because it justifies the 3% quota by reference to federal immigration restrictions that were only in force during those years. See Clark, *Bates through the Years: An Illustrated History* (Lewiston, Me.: Bates College, 2005), 108 n. 16. Minutes of several faculty meetings from Spring 1923 refer to the creation of a presidential commission charged with modifying admissions policies; at the same time, the faculty expressed interest in the president's views on preserving the Christian character of Bates (Office of the Dean of Faculty, Faculty Minutes, Box 4, minutes of meetings convened on Feb. 27, Apr. 3, Apr. 24, May 14). It seems likely, therefore, that the Statement of Ideals was prepared by Gray and his commission during 1923.

<sup>9</sup> Data about the gender breakdown of the Bates student body comes from the annual Report of the President, which provides this information beginning with academic year 1926–27. Data about local and Jewish enrollment was gathered from annual reports of “Enrollment—Geographical Distribution,” Administrative Series, Box 1, Dean of Admissions Office, General Records, Muskie Archives. Jewish students were identified on the basis of their first and last names and the names of their fathers or guardians, an admittedly imprecise method but one that is useful nevertheless. Records in Bates' Office of the Registrar contain information about the religious affiliation of each student enrolled during this era, but those records are not accessible to researchers.

<sup>10</sup> In 1945, President Charles F. Phillips, Gray's successor, proposed that Bates limit the percentage of Jewish and Negro students in correspondence with the percentage of these groups within the total population of New England (4.5% and 1.2%, respectively). “Composition of Student Body,” memorandum from Phillips to Harry Rowe, Dean Clark, and Dean Lindholm, Feb. 15, 1945, Harry Rowe Collection, Series 1 Box 4, “President Phillips Memoranda,” Muskie Archives. A report to the faculty by its Admissions Policy Committee indicates that admissions policies based on racial and religious distribution were in place in 1947; see Office of the Dean of Faculty, Faculty Meeting Minutes, Box 6, Folder “14 Feb. – 13 Jun. 1947,” Muskie Archives. Dean of Admissions Milton Lindholm, in a letter dated Sept. 14, 1950, states that “Bates is striking out all reference to race, ancestry, place of birth and religion from its application form,” suggesting an end to these policies; see Harry Rowe Collection, Series 1 Box 1, Folder “Bates—Admissions/Statement of Ideals,” Muskie Archives.

<sup>11</sup> “Bates College Bulletin: Inauguration of Clifton Daggett Gray,” June 23, 1920, p. 32; “Just talks with ‘Prexy,’” *The Bates Student* [weekly newspaper], May 22, 1925, p. 2. See also the Annual Report of the President of 1921–22 (p. 19) and 1922–23 (pp. 18–19).

<sup>12</sup> Clifton D. Gray, “Is Bates a Christian College?,” Alfred Williams Anthony Papers, Series II, Box 2, Folder “Correspondence—Gray, Clifton D.,” Muskie Archives. The motive for these talks seems to have been to defeat an effort within the Maine Baptist Convention to disown both Bates and Colby colleges. These schools were in fact disowned by the state convention in 1924 on account of their secular curricula and heterodox faculty, but the national Northern Baptist Convention continued to recognize and support both institutions.

<sup>13</sup> Clifton D. Gray, “Religion and Higher Education,” abstract of an address delivered at The Conference of the Baptist Leaders of New England, March 14–17, 1921, *The [Newton Theological] Institution Bulletin* 13.2 (1921): 70. On at least one occasion, in 1944, Gray specified in a job announcement that only Protestant applicants would receive consideration. This announcement drew the ire of *The Nation*, Sept. 23, 1944, p. 346. The announcement itself, in the form of a letter to the American Association of University Professors dated Aug. 1, 1944, is preserved in the Harry Rowe Collection, Series I Box 1, Folder “Bates—Correspondence— Clifton D. Gray,” Muskie Archives.

<sup>14</sup> Isaac J. Schoenberg, a Jewish refugee from Nazi Germany, taught mathematics at Colby from 1936–41; several other Colby faculty members during the interwar years have stereotypically Jewish names as well.

<sup>15</sup> The number of non-local in-state Jews enrolled at either Bates or Colby is statistically insignificant.

<sup>16</sup> The college-age Jewish population of Lewiston and Auburn during the period 1925–42 (approximately 300) was estimated on the basis of individuals of Jewish ancestry (i.e., those whose parents' native tongue is Yiddish) aged 7–26 listed in the 1930 manuscript census.

<sup>17</sup> Interviews with Libby Goldman (Bates '28), Irving Isaacson '36, Philip Isaacson '47, and Shep Cortell '50 (whose older siblings attended Bates during the interwar years).

<sup>18</sup> Joel Perlmann, *Ethnic Differences: Schooling and Social Structure among the Irish, Italians, Jews and Blacks in an American City, 1880–1935* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 144 (Table 4.4), 146; Ewa Morawska, *Insecure Prosperity: Small-Town Jews in Industrial America, 1890–1940* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), 72, 85 (Table 3.3).

<sup>19</sup> Information provided by Abraham Hains' grandson, Robert Hains.

<sup>20</sup> Sixteen of 18 alumni, excluding one alumnus for whom we have no occupational information and another who died shortly after graduation. Four became lawyers, three became doctors, six became merchants (taking over their fathers' businesses), and three entered other white-collar occupations. The two alumni who did not secure a place in the middle class (a scrap metal dealer and a railroad food vendor) both graduated in 1921.

<sup>21</sup> Otis D. Duncan, "Socioeconomic Index for Occupations in the Detailed Classification of the Bureau of the Census: 1950," in Albert J. Reiss, Jr., *Occupations and Social Status* (New York: Free Press, 1961), 263–75. On the application of this index to educational data from the interwar years, see Perlmann, *Ethnic Differences*, 30–36.

*David M. Freidenreich is the Pulver Family Assistant Professor of Jewish Studies at Colby College.*