## Jewish Population in the United States, 1984

THE JEWISH POPULATION in the United States in 1984 is estimated to be 5.817 million.

While the 1984 figure is approximately 88,000 more than the estimate given for 1983, this does not reflect the operation of any intrinsic demographic factors leading to population increase. (For data supporting the view that these factors have a negative rather than a positive impact on population growth, see the article by Gary A. Tobin and Alvin Chenkin elsewhere in this volume.) Rather, an explanation is to be found in the procedures of population reporting. There has been a continuing shift of Jewish population to the Sunbelt region, and as part of this process higher numbers have been reported by receiving communities before losses recorded by communities of origin. The preparation of Jewish population estimates in individual communities is a discontinuous process, and this often leads to a situation in which a change in numbers is divorced from a population shift currently taking place. (New York City's estimate, for example, has been changed upward by 7,700, but this is simply a recomputation of figures derived from a 1981 population study.)

In almost every instance local estimates refer to "Jewish households," i.e., households in which one or more Jews reside. As a consequence, non-Jews are included in the count, their percentage of the total being estimated (based on the 1970 National Jewish Population Study and a number of current studies) as between six and seven per cent. Assuming this proportion, the number of individuals in "Jewish households" who identify themselves as Jewish in 1984 would be between 5.410 and 5.468 million.

The state and regional totals shown in Table 1 and Table 2 are derived by summing individual community estimates, shown in Table 3, and then making three adjustments. First, communities of less than 100 are added. Second, duplications within states are eliminated. Third, communities falling within two or more states (e.g., Washington, D.C. and Kansas City, Missouri) are distributed accordingly.

The trend toward geographical redistribution of the Jewish population continues. While the proportions of Jews residing in the Northeast and North Central regions still add up to nearly two-thirds of the national total, there is some decline from the proportions registered in 1983. The South, in contrast, shows a gain of one percentage point.

In 1984 nine states have Jewish proportions exceeding the national average of 2.5 per cent, with three states—Florida, New Jersey, and New York—exceeding five per cent. At the other end of the spectrum, there are 20 states with Jewish proportions of less than one half of one per cent.

## APPENDIX

TABLE 1. JEWISH POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1984

	Estimated		Estimated Jewish
	Jewish	Total	Per Cent
State	Population _	Population*	Of Total
Alabama	9,560	3,959,000	0.2
Alaska	960	479,000	0.2
Arizona	53,285	2,963,000	1.8
Arkansas	3,175	2,328,000	0.1
California	792,515	25,174,000	3.2
Colorado	44,365	3,139,000	1.4
Connecticut	107,575	3,138,000	3.4
Delaware	9,500	606,000	1.6
District of Columbia	24,285	623,000	3.9
Florida	558,820	10,680,000	5.2
Georgia	42,155	5,732,000	0.7
Hawaii	5,550	1,023,000	0.5
Idaho	535	989,000	0.1
Illinois	261,320	11,486,000	2.3
Indiana	21,360	5,479,000	0.4
Iowa	7,760	2,905,000	0.3
Kansas	11,450	2,425,000	0.5
Kentucky	12,910	3,714,000	0.4
Louisiana	17,340	4,438,000	0.4
Maine	9,850	1,146,000	0.9
Maryland	199,415	4,304,000	4.6
Massachusetts	248,395	5,767,000	4.3
Michigan	85,275	9,069,000	0.9
Minnesota	32,040	4,144,000	0.8
Mississippi	3,080	2,587,000	0.1
Missouri	64,770	4,970,000	1.3
Montana	640	817,000	0.1
Nebraska	7,850	1,597,000	0.5
Nevada	18,200	891,000	2.0
New Hampshire	5,980	959,000	0.6
New Jersey	433,475	7,468,000	5.8
New Mexico	5,155	1,399,000	0.4
New York	1,879,955	17,667,000	10.6

	Estimated		Estimated Jewish
	Jewish	Total	Per Cent
State	Population	Population*	Of Total
North Carolina	14,945	6,082,000	0.3
North Dakota	1,080	680,000	0.2
Ohio	140,435	10,746,000	1.3
Oklahoma	6,960	3,298,000	0.2
Oregon	10,940	2,662,000	0.4
Pennsylvania	412,210	11,895,000	3.5
Rhode Island	22,000	955,000	2.3
South Carolina	8,615	3,264,000	0.3
South Dakota	610	700,000	0.1
Tennessee	18,465	4,685,000	0.4
Texas	78,470	15,724,000	0.5
Utah	2,600	1,619,000	0.2
Vermont	2,465	525,000	0.5
Virginia	60,820	5,550,000	1.1
Washington	22,060	4,300,000	0.5
West Virginia	4,265	1,965,000	0.2
Wisconsin	31,495	4,751,000	0.7
Wyoming		514,000	0.1
U.S. TOTAL	**5,817,235	233,981,000	2.5

N.B. Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

<sup>\*</sup>Resident population, July 1, 1983, provisional. (Source: Provisional Estimates of the Resident Population of States, by Age: July 1, 1983, bureau of the census, series P-25, No. 951, May 1984.)

<sup>\*\*</sup>Exclusive of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, which previously reported Jewish populations of 1,800 and 510, respectively.

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF U.S. JEWISH POPULATION BY REGIONS, 1984

Region	Total Population	Per Cent Distribution	Jewish Population	Per Cent Distribution
Northeast:	49,519,000	21.2	3,121,905	53.7
New England	12,489,000	5.3	396,265	6.8
Middle Atlantic	37,029,000	15.8	2,725,640	46.9
North Central:	58,953,000	25.2	665,440	11.4
East North Central	41,531,000	17.8	539,885	9.3
West North Central	17,422,000	7.5	125,555	2.2
South:	79,539,000	34.0	1,072,775	18.4
South Atlantic	38,805,000	16.6	922,820	15.9
East South Central	14,946,000	6.4	44,015	0.8
West South Central	25,788,000	11.0	105,940	1.8
West:	45,970,000	19.7	957,120	16.5
Mountain	12,331,000	5.3	125,090	2.2
Pacific		14.4	832,030	14.3
TOTALS	233,981,000	100.0	5,817,235	100.0

N.B. Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

TABLE 3. COMMUNITIES WITH JEWISH POPULATIONS OF 100 OR MORE, 1984 (ESTIMATED)

(CSTIMATED)			
Jewish	Jewish	Jewish	
State and City Population	State and City Population	State and City Population	
ALABAMA	Eureka 250	Tulare & Kings County	
Anniston 100	Fontana 165	(incl. in Fresno)	
**Birmingham 4,500	**Fresno 2,000	Vallejo 400	
Dothan	Kern County 850	Ventura County . 6,000	
Gadsden 180	Lancaster (incl. in		
Huntsville 550	Antelope Valley)	COLORADO	
*Mobile 1,250	*Long Beach 13,500	Colorado Springs 1,000	
*Montgomery 1,800	*Los Angeles Metropoli-	**Denver 42,600	
Selma 210	tan Area 500,870	Pueblo 375	
Tri-Cities 150	Merced		
Tuscaloosa315	Modesto 260	CONNECTICUT	
	Monterey 1,500	**Bridgeport 18,000	
ALASKA	Oakland (incl. in	Bristol 250	
Anchorage 600	Alameda & Contra	Colchester 525	
Fairbanks210	Costa Counties)	*Danbury (incl. New Mil-	
	Ontario (incl. in Pomona	ford) 3,500	
ARIZONA	Valley)	Greenwich 4,000	
**Phoenix 35,000	Orange County . 60,000	*Hartford (incl. New	
**Tucson 18,000	*Palm Springs 4,950	Britain) 26,000	
	Pasadena (also incl. in	Lebanon 175	
ARKANSAS	Los Angeles Metropol-	Lower Middlesex	
Fayetteville 120	itan Area) 2,000	County (incl. in	
Ft. Smith 160	Petaluma 800	New London) <sup>d</sup>	
Hot Springs (incl. in	Pomona Valley 3,500	Manchester (incl. in	
Little Rock)	Riverside 1,200	Hartford)	
*Little Rock 1,600	*Sacramento 7,000	Meriden 1,400	
Pine Bluff 175	Salinas 350	Middletown 1,300	
Southeast	San Bernardino 1,900	Milford (incl. in	
Arkansas <sup>b</sup> 140	*San Diego 34,000	New Haven)	
Wynne-Forest	*San Francisco 80,000	Moodus 150	
City 110	**San Jose 18,000	*New Haven 22,000	
-	San Luis Obispo 450	New London 3,500	
CALIFORNIA	San Pedro 300	Newtown (incl. in	
**Alameda & Contra	Santa Barbara 3,800	Danbury)	
Costa Counties 35,000	Santa Cruz 1,000	*Norwalk 4,000	
Antelope Valley 375	Santa Maria 200	Norwich 2,500	
Bakersfield (incl. in Kern	Santa Monica 8,000	Putnam 110	
County)	Santa Rosa 750	Rockville (incl. in	
El Centro 125	*Stockton 1,300	Hartford)	
Elsinore 250	Sun City 800	*Stamford 12,000	

Jewish State and City Population	Jewish State and City Population	Jewish State and City Population
Torrington 450	Tallahassee 1,000	*Quad Cities* 1,800
Valley Area <sup>c</sup> 700	**Tampa 10,500	Quincy 200
Wallingford 440	-	Rock Island (incl. in
*Waterbury 2,800	GEORGIA	Quad Cities)
Westport 2,800	Albany 525	*Rockford 975
Willimantic 400	*Athens 250	**Southern Illinois <sup>h</sup> 1,200
Winsted 110	**Atlanta 33,500	**Springfield 1,100
	Augusta 1,500	Sterling-Dixon110
DELAWARE	Brunswick 120	Waukegan 1,200
*Wilmington (incl. rest of	*Columbus 1,000	
state) 9,500	Dalton 235	INDIANA
	Fitzgerald-Cordele . 125	Anderson 105
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	Macon 900	Bloomington 300
**Greater Washing-	*Savannah 2,600	Elkhart (incl. in
ton' 157,335	Valdosta 145	South Bend)
		Evansville 1,200
FLORIDA	HAWAII	*Ft. Wayne 1,200
**Boca Raton-	Hilo 100	Gary (incl. in Northwest
Delray 40,000	Honolulu 5,000	Indiana-Calumet
Brevard County . 2,250	Kona	Region)
*Daytona Beach 2,000	Kuaii 100	*Indianapolis 10,000
**Fort	Maui	Lafayette 600
Lauderdale 100,000		Marion170
Fort Pierce 270	IDAHO	Michigan City 425
Gainesville 1,000	Boise 120	Muncie 175
**Hollywood 60,000		*Northwest
**Jacksonville 6,800	ILLINOIS	Indiana-Calumet
Key West 170	Aurora 400	Region' 4,000
Lakeland 800	Bloomington 125	Richmond 110
Lee County (incl. Ft.	*Champaign-	Shelbyville 140
Meyers) 2,500	Urbana 2,000	*South Bend 1,900
Lehigh Acres 125	*Chicago Metropolitan	Terre Haute 450
Miami 253,340	Area 248,000	10110 111000111111111111111111111111111
Orlando 15,000	Danville 240	IOWA
*Palm Beach County	*Decatur 350	Cedar Rapids 330
(excl. Boca	East St. Louis (incl.	Council Bluffs 245
Raton) 45,000	in So. Ill.)	Davenport (incl. in Quad
Pensacola725	Elgin 830	Cities, Ill.)
Port Charlotte 150	Galesburg (incl. in	*Des Moines 3,500
*Sarasota 7,500	Peoria)	Dubuque 105
St. Augustine 100	Joliet 800	Fort Dodge 115
**St. Petersburg (incl.	Капкакее 260	Iowa City 750
Clearwater) 9,500	Peoria	
Cicai water) 3,300	1 CO11a 1,500	Mason City 110

Jewish		Jewish
State and City Population	State and City Population	State and City Population
Muscatine 120	Montgomery and	Southbridge 105
Ottumwa 150	Prince Georges	**Springfield 11,000
*Sioux City 770	County' 99,500	Taunton 1,200
Waterloo 450	Salisbury 300	Webster 125 Worcester 10,000
KANSAS	MASSACHUSETTS	
Topeka500	Amherst750	MICHIGAN
*Wichita 1,000	Athol 110	Ann Arbor (incl. all
	Attleboro 200	Washtenaw
KENTUCKY	Beverly 1,000	County) 3,000
Lexington 1,500	*Boston (incl.	Battle Creek 245
*Louisville 9,200	Brockton) 170,000	Bay City 650
Paducah 175	Fall River 1,780	Benton Harbor 650
	Fitchburg 300	*Detroit 70,000
LOUISIANA	*Framingham 10,000	**Flint 2,200
Alexandria700	Gardner	Grand Rapids 1,500
Baton Rouge 1,200	Gloucester 400	Iron County 160
Lafayette 600	Great Barrington 105	Iron Mountain 105
Lake Charles 250	Greenfield 250	Jackson 375
**Monroe 510	Haverhill 1,650	**Kalamazoo 1,000
New Orleans 12,000	Holyoke 1,100	**Lansing 1,850
**Shreveport 1,250	Hyannis 1,200	Marquette County . 175
	Lawrence 2,550	Mt. Clemens 420
MAINE	Leominster 750	Mt. Pleasant 100
Augusta 215	Lowell 2,000	Muskegon 235
**Bangor 1,300	Lynn (incl. Beverly,	Saginaw 450
Southern Maine (excl.	Peabody, and	South Haven 100
Portland), 950	Salem) 19,000	
Calais	Medway (incl. in Fra-	MINNESOTA 125
**Lewiston-Auburn 1,000	mingham)	Austin 125
**Portland 5,500	Milford (incl. in Fra-	**Duluth 1,100 Hibbing 155
Waterville 300	mingham) Mills (incl. in Framing-	*Minneapolis 22,000
Waterville	ham)	Rochester240
MARYLAND	**New Bedford 2,700	*St. Paul 7,500
Annapolis 2,000	Newburyport 280	Virginia 100
*Baltimore 92,000	North Berkshire 675	viigima
Cumberland 265	Northampton 700	MISSISSIPPI
Easton Park Area 100	Peabody 2,600	Biloxi-Gulfport 100
Frederick 400	Pittsfield (incl. all Berk-	Clarksdale 160
Hagerstown 275	shire County) 3,500	Cleveland180
Hartford County500	Plymouth500	Greenville 500
Howard County . 4,000	Salem 1,150	Greenwood 100
noward County . 4,000	Galeiii 1,150	Cicciiwood

Jewish State and City Population	Jewish State and City Population	Jewish State and City Population
Ithaca	Woodbourne 200	Piqua 120
Jamestown 185	Woodridge300	Portsmouth 120
Kingston 3,000		Sandusky 150
Liberty 2,100	NORTH CAROLINA	Springfield 340
Loch Sheidrake-	*Asheville 1,000	*Steubenville 220
Hurleyville 750	Chapel Hill-	*Toledo 6,300
Monroe 400	Durham 1,955	Warren 500
Monticello 2,400	*Charlotte 4,000	Wooster 200
Mountaindale 150	Fayetteville (incl. all	Youngstown 5,230
**New York City	Cumberland	Zanesville350
Metropolitan	County)500	
Area 1,742,500	Gastonia 220	OKLAHOMA
New Paltz 150	Goldsboro 120	Muskogee 120
Newark 220	**Greensboro 3,000	**Oklahoma City . 2,400
**Newburgh-	Hendersonville 105	Oklahoma City
Middletown 11,000	High Point 400	Zone*
**Niagara Falls 650	Raleigh 1,375	Tulsa 2,900
Norwich 120	Rocky Mount 110	<b></b>
Olean 140	Whiteville Zone* 160	OREGON
Oneonta 175	Wilmington 500	Corvallis 140
Oswego 100	Winston-Salem 440	Eugene 1,500
Parksville140	Winstein Balem	*Portland 8,845
Pawling 105	NORTH DAKOTA	Salem 200
Plattsburg 275	Fargo 500	Bulem 200
Port Jervis 560	Grand Forks 100	PENNSYLVANIA
Potsdam175	Giand Forks	Aliquippa 400
Poughkeepsie 4,900	0110	*Allentown 4,980
<del>*</del> -	оню *Akron 6,000	*Altoona 580
*Rochester 19,600	*Canton 2,850	Ambridge250
Rockland	*Cincinnati 22,000	Beaver (incl. in
County 25,000	-	Pittsburgh)
Rome	*Cleveland 70,000	Beaver Falls 350
Saratoga Springs 500	**Columbus 15,000	
Schenectady 5,400	*Dayton 6,000	Berwick 120 Bethlehem 960
Sharon Springs 165	East Liverpool300	
South Fallsburg. 1,100	Elyria	Braddock 250
*Syracuse 9,000	Hamilton 560	Bradford 150
Troy	**Lima	Brownville 150
**Utica 2,100	Lorain 1,000	**Butler
Walden (incl. in New-	Mansfield 600	Carbon County 125
burgh-Middletown)	Marion	Carnegie100
Warwick 100	Middletown 140	Central Bucks
Watertown250	New Philadelphia 140	County 400
White Lake 425	Newark 105	Chambersburg340

Jewish	Jewish	Jewish
State and City Population	State and City Population	State and City Population
Chester 2,100	**Uniontown 240	*El Paso 4,500
Coatesville 305	Upper Beaver 500	**Ft. Worth 3,600
Connellsville 110	Washington (incl. in	**Galveston630
**Delaware Valley	Pittsburgh)	*Houston 28,000
(Lower Bucks	Wayne County 210	Laredo 420
County), 23,000	West Chester 300	Longview 185
Donora100	*Wilkes-Barre 4,000	Lubbock 350
Easton 1,300	Williamsport 415	McAllen295
Ellwood City110	York 1,600	North Texas Zone 100
**Erie 880		Odessa 150
Farrell 150	RHODE ISLAND	Port Arthur260
Greensburg 300	*Providence (incl. rest of	*San Antonio 9,000
Harrisburg 6,500	state) 22,000	Texarkana 100
Hazleton 481		Tyler 450
Homestead300	SOUTH CAROLINA	*Waco 600
Indiana	*Charleston 3,500	Wharton 170
*Johnstown 550	**Columbia 2,280	Wichita Falls260
Kittanning175	Florence 350	
Lancaster 1,800	Greenville 600	UTAH
Lebanon 425	Orangeburg	Ogden 100
Lock Haven 140	County 105	Salt Lake City 2,500
McKeesport 2,000	Spartanburg 295	
Monessen 100	Sumter 190	VERMONT
Mt. Pleasant 120		Bennington 120
New Castle 400	SOUTH DAKOTA	Burlington 1,800
New Kensington 560	**Sioux Falls130	Rutland 350
**Norristown 1,500		St. Johnsbury 100
North Penn 200	TENNESSEE	
Oil City 165	Chattanooga 2,000	VIRGINIA
Oxford-Kennett	Johnson City <sup>2</sup> 210	**Alexandria (incl. Falls
Square 180	Knoxville 1,350	Church, Arlington
Philadelphia Metropoli-	*Memphis 9,000	County, and urban
tan Area 295,000	**Nashville 5,080	Fairfax County) 33,550
Phoenixville 340	Oak Ridge 240	Arlington (incl. in
**Pittsburgh 50,000		Alexandria)
Pottstown 700	TEXAS	Charlottesville 800
Pottsville 500	Amarillo 300	Danville 180
*Reading 2,800	**Austin 3,600	Fredericksburg 140
Sayre 100	Baytown 300	Hampton (incl. in
**Scranton 3,400	Beaumont 400	Newport News)
Sharon 330	Brownsville 160	Harrisonburg115
State College 450	Corpus Christi . 1,200	Hopewell 140
Stroudsburg 410	*Dallas 22,000	Lynchburg275
Sunbury 200	De Witt County 150	Martinsville 135

Jewish State and City Population	Jewish State and City Population	Jewish State and City Population
*Newport News (incl.	**Spokane 1,000	Fond du Lac 100
Hampton) 2,575	Tacoma 750	Green Bay 280
*Norfolk (incl. Virginia		Kenosha
Beach) 11,000	WEST VIRGINIA	*Madison 4,500
Petersburg 600	Bluefield-Princeton . 250	Manitowoc 115
*Portsmouth (incl.	**Charleston 1,075	*Milwaukee 23,900
Suffolk) 1,100	Clarksburg 205	Oshkosh
**Richmond 8,000	Huntington 450	Racine 405
Roanoke 1,200	Morgantown 200	Sheboygan 250
Williamsburg 120	Parkersburg 155	Superior 165
Winchester110	Weirton 150	Waukesha (incl. in
	Wheeling 650	Milwaukee)
WASHINGTON	ū	Wausau 155
Bellingham 120	WISCONSIN	
Bremerton (incl. in	Appleton 250	WYOMING
Seattle)	Beloit 120	Cheyenne255
*Seattle 19,500	Eau Clair 120	

<sup>\*</sup>Denotes estimates submitted in current year.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Estimates submitted in current year; represents change from previous estimate.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Florence, Sheffield, Tuscumbia.

Towns in Chicot, Desha, Drew Counties.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Includes Alta Loma, Chino, Claremont, Cucamonga, La Verne, Montclair, Ontario, Pomona, San Dimas, Upland.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup>Centerbrook, Chester, Clinton, Deep River, Essex, Killingworth, Old Lyme, Old Saybrook, Seabrook, Westbrook.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Ansonia, Derby-Shelton, Oxford, Seymour.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Greater Washington includes urbanized portions of Montgomery and Prince Georges Counties, in Maryland; Arlington County, Fairfax County (organized portion), Falls Church, Alexandria, in Virginia.

<sup>\*</sup>Rock Island, Moline (Illinois); Davenport, Bettendorf (Iowa).

Towns in Alexander, Bond, Clay, Clinton, Crawford, Edwards, Effingham, Fayette, Franklin, Gallatin, Hamilton, Hardin, Jackson, Jasper, Jefferson, Jersey, Johnson, Lawrence, Mascoupin, Madison, Marion, Massac, Montgomery, Perry, Pope, Pulaski, Randolph, Richland, St. Clair, Saline, Union, Wabash, Washington, Wayne, White, Williamson Counties.

Includes Crown Point, East Chicago, Gary, Hammond, Munster, Valparaiso, Whiting, and the Greater Calumet region.

Towns in Caroline, Kent, Queen Annes, Talbot Counties.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Allendale, Elmwood Park, Fair Lawn, Franklin Lakes, Oakland, Midland Park, Rochelle Park, Saddle Brook, Wykoff also included in North Jersey estimate.

Includes Camden and Burlington Counties.

"Includes contiguous areas in Hudson, Morris, Somerset, and Union Counties.

"Includes Clayton, Paulsboro, Woodbury Excludes Newfield; see Vineland.

°See footnote (m).

PIncludes Guttenberg, Hudson Heights, North Bergen, North Hudson, Secaucus, Union City, Weehawken, West New York, Woodcliff.

<sup>4</sup>Includes Paterson, Wayne, Hawthorne in Passaic County, and nine towns in Bergen County. See footnote (k).

Includes Perth Amboy, Metuchen, Edison Township (part), Woodbridge.

'Includes in Middlesex County, Cranbury, Dunellen, East Brunswick, Edison Township (part), Jamesburg, Matawan, Middlesex, Monmouth Junction, Old Bridge, Parlin, Piscataway, South River, Spottswood; in Somerset County, Kendall Park, Somerset; in Mercer County, Hightstown.

Excludes Kendall Park and Somerset, which are included in Raritan Valley.

"Includes Mercer County in New Jersey; and Lower Makefield, Morrisville, Newtown, and Yardley in Pennsylvania.

'Includes in Cumberland County, Norma, Rosenheim, Vineland; in Salem County, Elmer; in Gloucester County, Clayton, Newfield; in Cape May County, Woodbine.

\*Elizabethtown, Fairmont, Jacksonville, Lumberton, Tabor City, Wallace, Warsaw, and Loris, S.C.

'Towns in Alfalfa, Beckham, Cadelo, Canadian, Cleveland, Custer, Jackson, Kingfisher, Kiowa, Lincoln, Logan, Oklahoma, Payne, Roger Mills, Tillman, Washita Counties.

Bensalem Township, Bristol, Langhorne, Levittown, New Hope, Newtown, Penndel, Warington, Yardley. Also includes communities listed in footnote (u).

Includes Kingsport and Bristol (including the portion of Bristol in Virginia).

"Includes communities also in Colorado, Fayette, Gonzales, and La Vaca Counties.

bb Denison, Gainesville, Greenville, Paris, Sherman, and Durant (Oklahoma).