HOKKAIDO UNIVERSITY

Title	Demographic Aspects of the Jewish Population in Smolensk Province, 1870s-1914
Author(s)	Hickey, Michael C.
Citation	Acta Slavica Iaponica, 19, 84-116
Issue Date	2002
Doc URL	https://hdl.handle.net/2115/39383
Type	departmental bulletin paper
File Information	ASI19_004.pdf

Hokkaido University Collection of Scholarly and Academic Papers : HUSCAP

Demographic Aspects of the Jewish Population in Smolensk Province, 1870s-1914*

Michael C. Hickey

While many studies of Jewish communities in Late Imperial Russia focus on the Pale of Settlement (the Empire's fifteen western provinces), we know almost nothing about Jewish life in Russia's interior.[1] In this paper, I present analysis of demographic materials on Jews in Smolensk Province, which lay just beyond the Pale. Smolensk hosted the third largest Jewish population in Russia's interior and its provincial capital was the interior's most "Jewish" city: Jews comprised 9 percent of Smolensk city's population in 1897.[2] Yet Smolensk produced no important Jewish intellectual or religious leaders—it was a place where Jews came to work and trade. This essay addresses sources of ethno-confessional tensions by contrasting demographic and occupational patterns among Jews to those of the general population. It also touches on differences between Jewish life in Smolensk and in the Pale.

In Smolensk, Jews demonstrated distinctly "modern" demographic characteristics that suggest relatively greater improvements in living conditions than their Russian neighbors. This, together with a "disturbingly" large influx of Jewish immigrants to small towns and villages and the economic influence of some Jewish merchants, doubtless contributed to existing ethno-confessional tensions. Yet despite police harassment and rare incidents of violence, Smolensk's Jews created the core of a stable community distinct from that in the Pale of Settlement. Generalizing about all Russian Jews on the basis of data from the Pale, as is common practice, clearly can not give an adequate understanding of life in the interior; this is only possible through further study of local communities.

---

* My thanks to Tadashi Hatakeyama, Tony Allen, and this journal's anonymous readers for their very incisive readings of earlier versions of this essay, and to the staff of the Smolensk Oblast State Archives.

1 An exception is Benjamin Ira Nathans, "Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Russia, 1840-1900" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1995), on St. Petersburg. See also M. Gavlin, "Evreiskoe predprinimatel'stvo v Moskve v 60-90-e gody XIX veka (po materialam gil'deiskogo nalogoblozheniia)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve* 3:16 (1997), pp. 11-26; Mark S. Kupovetskii, "Evreiskoe naselenie Moskvy (XV-XX vv.)," in I. I. Krupnik, ed., *Etnicheskie gruppy v gorodakh evropeiskoi chasti SSSR (formirovanie, rasselenie, dinamika kul'tury)* (Moscow, 1987).

2 In 1897 St. Petersburg and Kharkov provinces had the two largest Jewish populations in Russia's interior. Jews accounted for 3.7 percent of Kharkov city's population and 1.3 percent in St. Petersburg. "Evreiskoe statisticheskoe obshchestvo," *Evreiskoe naselenie Rossii po dannym perepisi 1897 g. i noveishim istochnikam* (Petrograd, 1917).

Limits of the Data

This paper is based upon *metricheskie knigi* (birth, death, marriage, and divorce records) kept by the Smolensk Public Rabbi (*Smolenskii obshchestvennyi ravvin*), correspondence of the Provincial Governor's Chancellery regarding Jewish residence in Smolensk, and 1897 census materials. Together, these sources provide rich data on the Jewish community.[3] But they also pose a number of difficulties.

One problem is that Jews had reason to evade enumeration. In the Pale, being counted meant being listed on tax roles and becoming susceptible to military conscription; in the interior provinces, it exposed those Jews who lacked residence permits or who claimed fictitious occupations to almost certain expulsion.[4] (The persistence of illegal Jewish residence, and the importance that the state administration attached to the problem, are manifest in correspondence of the Provincial Governor's Chancellery.)[5] Given the threat of expulsion, some "illegal" Jews probably avoided the Public Rabbi, who technically was a state official, and do not appear in rabbinical records. Similarly, some may have evaded police and census enumerators, rendering Jewish population statistics problematic.[6] Moreover, changed enumeration procedures could yield markedly different figures; for example, Smolensk's January 1897 census recorded 30 percent more Jews than had the annual police count in 1896.[7] Because population figures provide the base for calculating demographic statistics, many of the statistics that I present in this essay must be considered best-possible estimates.[8]

3 Statistics in this essay are based upon *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naselenie Rossiiskoi imperii, 1897 g.,* vol. 40, *Smolenskaia guberniia* (SPb., 1904); *Obzor Smolenskoi gubernii* (1884-1913); Gosudarstvennoe arkhiv Smolenskoi oblasti (hereafter GASO), f. 125, *Smolenskii obshchestvennyi ravvin, gor. Smolenske*. I also make frequent reference to GASO f. 1, *Kantseliaria Smolenskogo gubernatora*. On Public Rabbis, see Michael Stanislawski, *Tsar Nicholas I and the Jews: The Transformation of Jewish Society in Russia, 1825-1855* (Philadelphia, 1983), pp. 133-137.

4 On conditions under which Jews could apply for residence in the interior, see GASO f. 1, op. 3, 1877, d. 356, ll. 1-5 ob; op. 7, 1895, d. 830, l. 16; 1907, d. 2; Alexis Goldenweiser, "Legal Status of Jews in Russia," in Jacob Frumkin et al., *Russian Jewry (1860-1917)* (New York, 1966), p. 100.

5 Jews often appealed expulsion orders to the Provincial Governor. See GASO f. 1, op. 3, 1877, d. 356; op. 6, 1904, d. 2; op. 7, 1899, d. 573. *Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* warned tradesmen "having applied for documents, wait for permission before entering S[molensk]." *Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* 14 (SPb., 1908), p. 408.

6 On cultural aspects of Jews' distrust of census takers, see Yaakov Letschinsky, *Dos sovetishe idntum: zayn fargangehayt un kegnwart* (New York, 1941).

7 The provincial *obzor* for 1896 used police data compiled during the calendar year; the 1897 census conducted 28 days into the following year found 3,023 more Jews.

8 As migration among Jews renders estimated life tables and projected marital fertility levels by age group unreliable, I have used "crude" rates. In contrast, see Jacques Silber, "Some Demographic Characteristics of the Jewish Population in Russia at the End of the Nineteenth Century," *Jewish Social Studies* 42:3-4 (1980), pp. 271-273, 274; Ansley J. Coale, Barbara A. Anderson, and Erna Harm, *Human Fertility in Russia since the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, 1979), Appendix A.

Using the 1897 census poses other difficulties. First, census materials use two overlapping categories for Jews—members of the Jewish confessional community and those who defined Yiddish as their native language. In Smolensk, virtually all Jews identified themselves as Yiddish speakers (98 percent).[9] Second, some data—e.g., on family size—were not cross-tabulated by language or religion. Third, the census provides details on inhabitants of specific towns but not for specific villages. Finally, the occupational information Jews provided to census keepers is somewhat suspect; Jews engaged in trades other than those specified on their residence permits could be expelled to the Pale, and so had reason to misinform census takers.[10]

THE ANXIETY OF NUMBERS

In 1897, Russia's Jews numbered just over 5.2 million and accounted for 4 percent of the Empire's population. The vast majority (94 percent) lived in the Polish Provinces and in the Pale of Settlement, to which Tsarist law had restricted them and where they constituted between 9 and 15 percent of the population. In contrast to the overwhelmingly rural Russian population, Jews in the Pale were urban: nearly half lived in cities and large towns and another third lived in *shtetlakh* [townlets]. They were hard pressed by state-imposed restrictions, rapid structural economic change, and sharp population growth. The 1882 May Laws had outlawed new rural settlements and assorted legal disabilities stunted the development of a Jewish middle-class, while industrialization and capitalist competition hastened the process of proletarianization. Impoverishment was such that some 20 percent depended upon communal charity. Compounding these social and economic pressures, the Jewish population had also grown by 20 percent since the early 1880s, despite mass emigration. Nearly two million Jews seeking relief from conditions in the Pale emigrated westward, but hundreds of thousands migrated within the Empire. Most moved within the Pale, particularly to the less densely populated Southwestern and Southern provinces where relatively greater employment opportunities existed. A much smaller number—tens of thousands—ventured into Russia's interior, to places like Smolensk.[11]

Jews had lived in Smolensk almost continuously since the fifteenth century, but their numbers had always been quite small. In 1857 only 229 Jewish

---

9 In Smolensk, very few Jews converted to Christianity. Local archival records reveal only two cases, both from the1850s. GASO f. 1, op. 3, 1848, d. 563; 1857, d. 656.

10 Nathans, "Beyond the Pale," pp. 123-128.

11 *Evreiskoe naselenie Rossii*, passim; I. Michael Aronson, *Troubled Waters: The Origins of the 1881 Anti-Jewish Pogroms in Russia* (Pittsburgh, 1990), chapter 2; Alexander Orbach, "The Development of the Russian Jewish Community, 1881-1903" in John Klier and Shlomo Lambrozo, eds., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 138-143; Silber, "Some Demographic Characteristics," pp. 269-280; Yaakov Lestschitsky, *La Situation Econommique des Juifs depuis la guerre mondiale* (Paris, 1934).

men resided (legally) in Smolensk's towns and there were no Jews in rural districts.[12] The local Jewish population began rising dramatically in the 1870s, as social pressures in the Pale coincided with a provincial economic revival. In 1880 it reached 3579, two-thirds of whom lived in towns and the rest in villages. They had come to work and trade: nearly two-thirds were registered as artisans, and there were a dozen Jewish First Guild merchants in the city of Smolensk alone.[13]

The influx of Jews clearly unsettled local Russian elites.[14] In June 1880 the editor of *Smolenskii vestnik* claimed that Jews given residence rights as artisans were setting up shop as moneylenders, tavern keepers, and fencers of stolen goods. He compared Jews to kulaks and accused them of being transients with no local roots or loyalties.[15] The Ministry of Internal Affairs had just called for greater vigilance in expelling illegal Jewish residents and local police were clearing Jews out of the province's smaller towns. In June 1881, a special commission of the Smolensk City Duma concluded that the presence of large numbers of Jews aggravated the housing shortage and fomented antagonisms and disorder; the duma then called on the police to carry out mass expulsions. Leaders of the Smolensk Jewish community appealed to the provincial governor, but in vain; the governor endorsed the duma's decision in August 1881.[16] But within weeks the Provincial Trades Board began issuing new residence documents to Jewish artisans, and by the end of that year the size of the local Jewish population had actually increased.[17] As the number of Jews in Smolensk rose, the tone of anti-Jewish complaints became more strident. In May 1893 *Smolenskii vestnik* described Jews as a form of social pollution and blamed then for ruining the city neighborhoods.[18]

While theses charges reflected the rise of a new, politically informed anti-Semitism, it is important to understand the social realities that may have lay behind such expressions of anxiety.[19] In 1884, Smolensk's 4587 Jews represent-

---

12 GASO f. 1, op. 3, 1845, dd. 226-231; 1847, d. 392; 1848, d. 558; op. 7, 1845, d. 48. Statistics from the 1840s and 1850s counted only Jewish men.

13 *Evreiskaia entsiklopediia*, p. 402.

14 See Daniel R. Brower, *The Russian City between Tradition and Modernity, 1850-1900* (Berkeley, 1990), pp. 83-84.

15 *Smolenskii vestnik*, 20 June 1880; John Klier, *Imperial Russia's Jewish Question, 1855-1881* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 325. City tax records note no Jewish tavern owners. GASO f. 65, *Smolenskaia gorodskaia uprava*, op. 2, d. 1793.

16 For the ministry's April 1880 circular and a 6 May 1880 secret directive on expulsions from Smolensk's Governor, see GASO f. 1, op. 3, 1877, ll. 6-9ob. On provincial towns in 1881, see GASO f. 1, op. 3, 1878, d. 352, ll. 314-327. On the controversy over expulsion of Jews from Smolensk in 1881, see GASO f. 1, op. 7, 1881, d. 489.

17 Jews accounted for 2933 of Smolensk city's 33890 residents in October 1881. D. I. Budaev, "Maloizvesnye istochniki po istorii Smolenska i ego okrestnostei (do nachala XX veka)," in *Smolensk i Gnezdovo v istorii Rossii* (Smolensk, 1999), p. 83.

18 *Smolenskii vestnik*, 16 May 1893.

19 See Albert S. Lindemann, *Esau's Tears: Modern Anti-Semitism and the Rise of the Jews* (Cam-

ed only 0.36 percent of the provincial population; by 1913, their numbers had increased to 17920, or 0.84 percent of the population (see Table I). In objective terms, they remained a tiny minority. Comparing indices of population growth, though, provides a different perspective (see Graph I). In the 1880s an observer might have perceived Jewish population growth as equivalent to that of the general population. From the mid-1890s, though, it would have seemed to soar relative to that of non-Jews; between 1884 and 1913 it increased by a factor of 3.75 compared to 1.5 for the general population.

Smolensk's "official" Jewish population fluctuated erratically, with sudden dramatic rises and drops. Its rise generally correlates with the expansion of the local labor market, which made the province more attractive to Jews and Jews more attractive to the Provincial Trades Board. Years in which Jewish population figures declined most sharply do not seem to correlate with contractions in the local economy, pogrom years, or outbreaks of epidemic illness.[20] And there is no clear correlation between years in which official Jewish population figures declined and campaigns to expel illegal Jewish residents.

SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION

Anxieties over the Jewish presence stemmed as much from the spatial distribution of the Jewish population as from its absolute growth. Smolensk was an overwhelmingly rural province with a small urban population, so that even a few hundred Jews might constitute a significant minority of a town's population. In 1897, Jews accounted for 6 percent of Smolensk's urban population, including 9 percent in the provincial capital (see Table II). Jews who lived in rural districts (*uezdy*) became lost statistically in a sea of Russian Orthodox peasants. They had settled, however, in only a few villages, where they made up a notable minority of the population.

Jewish migrants to Russia's interior are generally thought to have settled in towns and market villages along the railroad lines that carried them out of the Pale, preferably close to their home provinces. The percentage of Jews in Smolensk's population decreased as one moved further from the Pale, and most migrants seem to have come from districts directly bordering on Smolensk province. But their spatial distribution was complex, as we find if we consider the number of Jews in different locales (see Table III). Most towns with larger Jewish populations were in *uezdy* bordering the Pale (e.g., Smolenskii, Roslavl'skii, and Porechskii), but the third largest, Viaz'ma, was in the province's interior. Most towns with minimal Jewish populations were near the Eastern border, but two were in the interior (Dorogobuzh and Dukhovshchina). Distribution

---

bridge, 1997); Heinz-Dietrich Löwe, *The Tsars and the Jews: Reform, Reaction and Anti-Semitism in Imperial Russia 1772-1917* (Chur, 1993).

20 Smolensk Province experienced three pogroms in 1904-1905. *American Jewish Yearbook* (1906-07), p. 40; GASO f. 1, op. 6, 1905, dd. 37, 48; *Die Judenpogrome in Russland* 2 (Köln and Leipzig, 1910), pp. 530-533.

of Jews in rural districts had similar anomalies. Moreover, some areas with no direct railroad access had relatively large Jewish populations and some with good rail access had very small numbers of Jews. The spacial distribution of Jewish immigrants appears to have been based upon a number of factors, including proximity to the Pale, access to transportation, and—perhaps most significantly—the labor market and economic opportunities in each specific location.[21]

Migration, Age Structure, and Family Status

The Jewish population of Smolensk was based upon economic migration. Recorded Jewish population increase exceeded the natural increase in all but four of the years for which I have data (see Table IV). Lists of Jewish residents compiled by local police, Jewish marriages, and 1897 census data all speak to the influx of Jews specifically from Mogilev and Vitebsk provinces.[22]

The impact of migration is clear in several categories of demographic statistics. Despite several years of gender parity or near parity, for instance, the ratio of men to women was generally higher among Jews than among the general population; this reflected high levels of labor migration (see Table V). Similarly, in 1897 men between the ages of 20 and 29—the prime age for labor migration—made up the largest cohort of Jewish males in the province, while boys aged 1-9 made up the largest male cohort in the general population (see Table VI and Graphs II and III).[23] The bulge in the "migrant" cohort for both male and female Jews was greatest in the towns and Smolensk city. In the towns, the age structure and the sudden flattening of sex ratios for those over thirty suggests that most young men returned to the Pale and that those who remained established families locally. The rural Jewish male population may have been less transient than its urban counterpart, as suggested by the roughly equal size of the 1-9, 10-19, and 20-29 cohorts and the fact that the 30-39 cohort was only slightly smaller. Among rural Jews, men significantly outnumbered women in the 20-29 and 30-39 cohorts, suggesting that unmarried Jewish women in their twenties usually left the villages, which offered them few opportunities to earn wages, study, or find husbands.

Census data on family status indicate significant differences between Jews and the general population (see Table VII).[24] A considerably higher percentage

---

21 No religious infrastructure (synagogues, Jewish schools, or private Jewish teachers [*melamedim*]) existed to attract Jews to specific locales until the late 1890s.

22 In 1911, 5 of 6 marriages involved a Mogilev or Vitebsk migrant. GASO f. 125, d. 131.

23 Robert Johnson, *Peasant and Proletarian: The Working Class of Moscow in the Late Nineteenth Century* (New Brunswick, 1979); Joseph Bradley, *Muzhik and Muscovite: Uranization in Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley, 1985), pp. 134-136; James H. Bater, *St. Petersburg: Industrialization and Change* (Montreal, 1976), pp. 314-315.

24 The census lacks data on Jewish household size. We can estimate household size using the following (problematic) assumptions: 1) all married women lived with their husbands and

of Jews—particularly females—went unmarried. Of those aged ten or older, 43 percent of Jews were married, compared to 53.5 percent in the general population.[25] The relatively lower rate of Jewish marriage stemmed in part from the migrant basis of the community: most young Jews who came to work in Smolensk's towns returned to the Pale to establish families, while the children of migrants technically lost their residence rights upon reaching adulthood and were required to return to the Pale.[26] In Smolensk's villages, however, the adult Jewish male population was divided between those who had settled locally and established families and a cohort of relatively older married men whose families remained in the Pale. Married men made up a much larger percentage of Jewish males in the villages than in the towns (43 as opposed to 30 percent), and relatively large numbers of them lived in the countryside without their wives.

NUPTIALITY

Early and almost universal marriage—the "Eastern European pattern"—characterized Russia's population in the Late Imperial era. Nuptiality rates in European Russia, though, did decline between the Great Reforms and the Great War, from 10 to 8.4 marriages per thousand.[27] Among Smolensk's Jews the marriage rate rose during the 1880s from 4 to 9 per thousand, where it remained in the early 1890s (see Table VIII). This essentially paralleled the rate among the general population. But in the late 1890s the Jewish marriage rate began to fall more significantly than did the general marriage rate. And between 1900 and 1913, local Jewish nuptiality declined to only 4.7.[28] Whether this represented a more general trend among the Empire's Jews is not clear, as no studies address this question, but one might surmise that was a response to Jews' growing vulnerability.[29] In addition to pogroms during the political and economic

---

were counted as dependents; 2) each household contained only one married couple; 3) no single parents headed households; 4) subtracting the number of married women from the number of dependents yields the number of Jewish children; 5) dividing this figure by the number of married couples and adding two yeilds average household size. We arrive at a figure of 5.13 for the province (5.21 in rural districts and 5.1 in the towns).

25 In 1897 in Smolensk Province, the rate among women ages of 15 and 50 was 226 per thousand (137 in the towns, 132 in rural districts). A. G. Rashin, *Naselenie Rossii za 100 let* (Moscow, 1956), pp. 178-179.

26 It also reflects the high peasant marriage rate. Christine D. Worobec, *Peasant Russia: Family and Community in the Post-Emancipation Period* (Princeton, 1991), pp. 128-129

27 Rashin, *Naselenie Rossii*, pp. 171-172; R. E. Johnson, "Family Relations and the Rural-Urban Nexus: Patterns in the Hinterland of Moscow, 1880-1900" in David L. Ransel, ed., *The Family in Imperial Russia: New Lines of Historical Research* (Urbana, 1978), pp. 269-270.

28 Divorce remained rare among Smolensk's Jews during this entire period.

29 Engel attributes increased marriage among Moscow and St. Petersburg workers to their "self assertion" in 1905; conversely, perhaps an increasingly insecure political climate made Jews less willing. Barbara Engel, *Between the Fields and the City: Women, Work, and Family in Russia, 1861-1914* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 128-129, 206-207.

tumult of 1904-1905, Jews faced open harassment from local police officials in the post-revolution decade (although it paled in comparison to that during the First World War).[30]

In their important study of Russian fertility patterns, Coale *et al.*, argue that the average age of marriage among women in European Russia did not change significantly between the 1870s and World War One, that the average marriage age of urban Jews corresponded to that of the surrounding population, and that rural Jews married at notably different ages than did their neighbors. In 1897, the average marriage age for women in the Russian Empire was 20.4. Provincial averages varied, and in Smolensk the average was 23 in towns and 20 in villages. Silber, however, has determined that Jews married at an older age than did Russians and that among Jews the average age at marriage increased for women by two years (from 22 to 24) and for men by three years (from just under 25 to 28) between 1867 and 1902.[31]

My data supports Silber's findings and raises serious questions about Coale's assertions. In Smolensk, the average marriage age among Jewish men and women rose significantly between 1873 and 1913 (see Graph IV). In the 1870s the average marriage age among local Jewish women was 20. It then increased by a year with each decade: 21 in the 1880s; 23 in the 1890s; 24 in 1900-1909; and 25 in 1910-1917. In the 1870s the local average marriage age for Jewish men was 25. It then rose steadily: 26 in the 1880s; 28 in 1890-1909; and 30 in 1910-1917. Age differentials between Jewish couples indicate two other trends: the percentage of couples of the same age decreased significantly and the percentage of couples in which the husband was 5 to 9 years older than the wife increased significantly (see Table IX).

Keeping in mind that most adult Jews in Smolensk did not marry, we can make some generalizations about those who did. When the Jewish community first entered its stage of rapid growth, young men and women migrants close in age married within a year or so of arriving in the city. As the community grew, however, and as conditions in the Pale worsened, men began delaying marriage until they had established themselves more solidly in a trade or profession. Women also delayed marriage and chose husbands who were slightly older and presumably better established. Jews married slightly later in Smolensk than was typical in the Pale, perhaps as a consequence of migration. Their choice to delay marriage suggests a conscious effort to limit fertility. It echoes

---

30 *Soiuz russkogo naroda po materialam chrezvychainoi sledstvennoi komissii vremennogo pravitel'stva 1917 g*. (Moscow-Leningrad, 1929), pp. 364, 374-375; *Di Yidishe Virklikhkeit*, 31 December 1906; *Evreiskaia zhizn'*, 4 October 1915; Lucian Wolf, *The Legal Sufferings of the Jews in Russia* (London, 1912), pp. 60, 69, 72-74; and dozens of surveillance reports in GASO f. 1, op. 6 for 1907-1913, and in records of the Provincial Gendarmes and the District Court (GASO f. 1289, *Smolenskoe gubernskoe zhandarmskoe upravlenie*; GASO f. 884, *Prokuror Smolenskogo okruzhnogo suda*).

31 Coale et al., *Human Fertility*, pp. 150, 153, 156, 158, 163, 164; Worobec, *Peasant Russia*, pp. 125-127; Silber, "Some Demographic Characteristics," pp. 277-278.

demographic behavior of Western and Central European Jews that is often associated with "modernity."[32] Put differently, people who risked leaving the Pale then decided to establish lives in Russia's interior deliberately delayed marriage until they could accumulate financial and social capital. This provided them greater security in an unpredictable environment, allowed them to devote greater attention to their private and professional lives, and reduced the number of children born so that they could dedicate more resources to each. This is a great deal of weight to hang on marriage statistics, but other social statistics support the assertion that Smolensk's Jews adopted modern demographic behaviors.

BIRTH RATES, INFANT MORTALITY, AND DEATH RATES

Between the Great Reforms and World War One, the birth rate in European Russia averaged 48.9 per thousand. It had hovered at 50 from the 1860 through the 1880s then slowly declined to 43.9 by the onset of World War One. Fertility patterns revealed cultural variations: Jews in general had a lower birth rate, yet in the towns their fertility was greater than that of the general urban population.[33]

In Smolensk, the Jewish birth rate rose significantly in the 1880s and reached a zenith of 46.7 in 1889 (see Table X). Even at this peak, it was considerably lower than that of the general population (51.6 for the period 1861-1913).[34] The Jewish birth rate then declined much more dramatically than did that of the general population: over the period 1886-1913, it fell by 46 percent while the general birth rate declined by 9.5 percent. The trajectory of birth rates among Smolensk's Jews therefore correlates with changes in marriage age and nuptiality as well as with declining infant mortality (see Table XI and Graph V).

Although in 1860-1913 infant mortality among ethnic Russians decreased by some 15 percent, approximately a third of all Russian infants still died in their first year.[35] Infant mortality rates were lower among non-Russians, particularly among Jews, and probably declined more significantly as well.[36] This

32 M. Hickey, "Jews and Anti-Semitism," in Peter Stearns, ed., *Encyclopedia of European Social History* 1 (New York, 2001), pp. 433-447.

33 Bradley, *Muzhik and Muscovite*, p. 21; Rashin, *Naselenie Rossii*, pp. 165, 168; Coale et al., *Human Fertility*, pp. 47-51, 78-80; Aronson, *Troubled Waters*, 242; Silber, "Some Demographic Characteristics," pp. 276.

34 Rashin, *Naselenie Rossii*, pp. 165, 168.

35 In European Russia, the rate was 274 per thousand in 1871-1880 and 252 in 1901-1910. Silber estimates the 1897 Jewish rate at 128. Rashin, *Naselenie Rossii*, p. 194; Silber, "Some Demographic Characteristics," p. 273.

36 Coale, et al., argue that infant mortality was lowest where "western nationalities" made up at least 2 percent of the population but declined little over time, and that statistics underestimate Jewish infant mortality because Jews avoided registering deaths with the Orthodox Church. But the church did not record Jewish deaths—the Public Rabbi did. And since Jews hiding an infant's death to avoid enumeration would have avoided registering the

was most certainly true in Smolensk. Infant mortality among the general population actually increased in the late nineteenth century, to 322 per thousand.[37] By 1908-1910 it had declined by only 3 percent, to 313. Among Jews, though, the infant mortality rate was much lower and fell much more sharply (see Table XII).[38] In the 1870s there were 188 infant deaths per every thousand live births; this declined in the 1880s to 156 and in the 1890s to 136. In 1900-1909 the rate was 126 per thousand, and over the next eight years it fell to 82. In other words, in the course of two generations infant mortality among local Jews had declined by 50 percent, so that it was only a quarter that of the general population. Factors demographers associate with declining infant mortality include rising rates of female literacy (which we shall discuss below) as well as improvements in nutrition, sanitary conditions, and medical care. Improved diet, sanitation, and health care also help explain declining death rates.

In European Russia, an average of 34 per thousand people died each year in 1861-1913; in Smolensk Province the rate was higher—37.9. The Empire's death rate generally decline during this period; in Smolensk, it had fallen to 26.6 in 1911-1913.[39] The Jewish death rate in Russia, as in the rest of Europe, was lower than that of the general population.[40] In Smolensk, the death rate for Jews was two-thirds lower than that of general population (see Table XIII).[41] It fluctuated from year to year, but the trend was steady decrease: 12.8 per thousand in the 1880s; 10.8 in the 1890s; 8.3 in 1901-1910; and 5.6 in 1911-1913. In other words, on the eve of the war the Jewish death rate was a fifth that of the general population. This indicates considerable improvements in living conditions for Jews. If, as some historians have argued, living standards were improving in Late Imperial Russia, then it would appear that Jews benefited more than did the general population in Smolensk.

---

child's birth for similar reasons, the ratio of deaths to live births recorded would remain unaffected. Coale et al., *Human Fertility*, p. 67; David L. Ransel, *Mothers of Misery: Child Abandonment in Russia* (Princeton, 1988), pp. 266-267, and "Infant-Care Cultures in the Russian Empire," in Barbara Evans Clements, Barbara Alpern Engel, and Christine D. Worobec, eds., *Russia's Women: Accommodation, Resistance, Transformation* (Berkeley, 1991), pp. 114-115.

37 In Smolensk, 310 in 1867-1881; 322 in 1886-1897. Rashin, *Naselenie Rossii*, p. 194.

38 According to Ransel, most Russian births occurred in summer, making new-borns particularly susceptible to bacterial and viral infections (more dangerous given unsanitary feeding practices). In Smolensk, most Jewish births occurred in winter (72 percent), which with greater concern with hygiene and longer breast-feeding helps explain lower mortality. Ransel, "Infant Care Cultures," pp. 116-118 and passim; GASO f. 125, op. 145.

39 The European Russian rate fluctuated between 37 and 34 per thousand in the 1870s-1890s, then dropped to 27 in 1911-1913. Rashin, *Naselenie Rossii*, p. 186. On Smolensk Province, see Rashin, *Naselenie Rossii*, pp. 188, 190.

40 Silber, "Some Demographic Characteristics," pp. 275-276.

41 In 1888-1897, the Jewish and provincial death rates were respectively 39.2 and 12.2 per thousand; in 1891-1895, they were 34.5 and 11.7.

SOURCES OF POPULATION GROWTH AND EMERGENCE OF A STABLE POPULATION

Vital statistics bring us back to the relative contributions of natural increase and migration to Smolensk's Jewish population. Among local Jews births always exceeded deaths, although the degree to which they did so varied from year to year (see Table XIV). The rate of natural increase essentially paralleled the birth rate: it averaged 23.4 per thousand in the 1880s, decreased to 20.2 in the 1890s, plummeted to 11.5 in 1901-1910, and fell to 9.3 in 1911-1913.[42] Therefore in Smolensk, as in Europe as a whole, the phenomenal Jewish growth rate had begun to subside even before the First World War.[43]

Although in 1880-1913 among Smolensk's Jews births outnumbered deaths by 5059, their recorded population increased by 14341 (see Table XVI). Presumably, the remaining increase of 9282 was the product of immigration. Since the number of residence permits granted each year is not recorded in the archives, we may at best estimate the minimum number by which immigrants exceeded emigrants (by subtracting the natural increase in population from the recorded increase). The results suggest that the relationship between natural growth and migration was by no means constant and that migration flowed both into and out of the province.

One interesting aspect of Jewish immigration to Smolensk is that female migrants appear to have outnumbered males quite frequently, which contradicts the little we know about Jewish internal migration.[44] Most females accompanied male family members who had been granted residence permits. But a significant number of young Jewish women had migrated to Smolensk for work; extrapolated census data suggests that as many as 400 single Jewish women were employed in Smolensk in 1897.[45] And rabbinical records from the turn of the century suggest a growing number of female labor migrants were marrying and establishing families in Smolensk.

Several forms of evidence indicate that Smolensk's Jews were developing the foundations of relatively stable, "indigenous" communities by the turn of the century, despite high levels of migration and transience. Extrapolated cen-

---

42 The ratio of the natural increase among the Jewish to that of the general population reversed during this period (see Table XV); in 1886-1900 it was 1.75 to 1; in 1911-1913, it was 1 to 1.97. Over the period 1880-1913, though, natural increase among Jews was greater than that of the general population—15.7 per thousand compared to 13.1.

43 Uriah Zevi Engleman, *The Rise of the Jew in the Western World: A Social and Economic History of the Jewish People of Europe* (New York, 1973).

44 Silber, "Some Demographic Characteristics," p. 270; Jewish Colonization Association, *Recuil de Matériaux sur la situation économique des Israélites de Russie* 1 (Paris, 1906); B. Goldberg, "Zur Statistik der jüdischen Bevolerung in Russland," in A. Nossig, ed., *Jüdische Statistik* (Berlin, 1903).

45 In Smolensk, few Jewish females under age 20 married; we can subtract them from the total number of single females to get an approximate number of single adult females in 1897—410, or roughly half of the number of Yiddish-speaking female income earners.

sus data suggests that married couples may have accounted for as much as 53 percent of the adult Jewish population and that perhaps 70 percent of all Jews in the province lived in family groups.[46] Rural Jewish communities may have been even more stable: while the percentage of the Jewish adult population composed by married couples appears to have been virtually identical in the towns and in the villages, households seem to have accounted for a slightly larger portion of the rural Jewish population.[47] From 1900 the ratio of males to females declined, which also suggests a more stable community than one might expect given high levels of migration.[48] The archives of the Governor's Chancellery for the period 1905-1914 contain a number of petitions from young Jewish adults who had been born in Smolensk but faced expulsion for lack of residence permits; such petitioners identified themselves as "born and raised" in Smolensk and stressed that they had no ties at all to the Pale.[49] By 1913 as much as a third of the Jewish population may have been born locally.[50]

From the late 1890s, Smolensk's Jews established the fundaments of a community institutional infrastructure. This included basic Jewish religious institutions: by 1914 Smolensk city had three synagogues and at least six private Jewish schools, and the Jewish communities in Roslavl', Iartsevo, Viaz'ma, El'nia, and Dorogobuzh had each established prayer houses. It also included Jewish charitable and self-help institutions: Jews in the city of Smolensk established a Talmud-Torah society to help pay for the religious education of poor children in 1896 and Society for the Aid of Poor Jews two years later; the city also had a small Jewish library.[51]

Literacy, Education, and Language

Under Alexander III and Nicholas II, well-known restrictions imposed on Jews stunted but did not halt the expansion of secular education and Russian-

46 If we again assume that all married Jewish women (1526) lived with their husbands, then 3052 Jews lived as married couples, accounting for 53 percent of Jewish adults in 1897. Adding the number of men presumed to be living with their wives (1526) to the number of dependents (6299) results in a probable number of Jews living in household groups: 7825, or 70 percent of the province's 11,144 Jews.

47 Following the procedure outlined in the previous note yields the following results for 1897: married couples accounted for 52 percent of Jewish adults in rural districts and 53 percent in the towns; household groups accounted for 73 percent of the Jewish population in rural districts and 69 percent in the towns.

48 Russian labor migrants formed "bifurcated households," in which dependants remained in their home villages, which was reflected in urban gender ratios. In 1897 in Smolensk city, the ratio of men to women was 130 to 100 in general and 125 to 100 for Jews. For the ten-year period 1901-1910, it was 104 to 100 in general and 105 to 100 for Jews.

49 GASO f. 1, op. 6, 1905, d. 10, ll. 22-22 ob.; GASO f. 1, op. 6, 1907, d. 8, l. 5.

50 This is based on the ratio of total natural increase to total population growth (5059/ 14341), which I recognize as problematic.

51 *Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, p. 402; GASO f. 1, op. 6, 1905, d. 13; 1913, d. 172; 1914, d. 135; GASO f. 125, d. 138; GASO f. 1, op. 6, 1908, d. 47.

language literacy.[52] Whether Russian literacy and education meant assimilation is debatable, but a rising number of Jews were certainly becoming acculturated into Russian society. The 1897 census reports that 97 percent of the Empire's Jews identified Yiddish as their native language, but also that 32 percent of all Jewish males and 17.5 percent of all Jewish females claimed to be literate in Russian. In Russia's interior an even greater portion of the Jewish population identified itself as literate in Russian—43 percent of all males and 31.5 percent of all females.[53]

Data from the 1897 census provides a similar picture for Smolensk (see Table XVII). In 1897, 48 percent of all Yiddish-speaking males and 31 percent all Yiddish-speaking females there described themselves as literate in Russian.[54] They were respectively two and five times more likely to claim literacy in Russian than were males and females in the general population. In the towns the percentage of Jews who claimed literacy in Russian was almost identical to that of the general population—47 percent of males and 32 percent of females, compared to 49 and 30 percent in the general population. But in rural areas Jews were far more likely to be literate than was the general population: 49 percent of Jewish males and 27 percent of females asserted that they could read Russian, compared to only 24 and 4 percent among the general population. In rural districts Jews were also more likely than the general population to have received post-primary education, whereas the opposite held true in the towns (and especially in the city of Smolensk).

One of the most striking contrasts between Jews and non-Jews involved literacy and education among females. Not only did Jewish females have higher Russian literacy rates; they were almost five times more likely than the general female population to have a post-primary education. They were also more likely to have received post-primary schooling than were Jewish males. As noted earlier, demographers see a strong correlation between female literacy and declining fertility and infant mortality rates. Census data on the literacy of various age cohorts suggests that Jewish female literacy increased significantly between the late 1880s and late 1890s, the same period during which birth rates and infant mortality began their marked decline.[55]

---

52 Löwe, *The Tsars and the Jews*, p. 95; Michael Stanislawski, "Russian Jewry, the Russian State, and the Dynamicsof Jewish Emancipation," in Pierre Birnbaum and Ira Katznelson, eds., *Paths of Emancipation: Jews, States, and Citizenship* (Princeton, 1995), p. 275.

53 Percentages were higher if we exclude small children aged 10 or less. Löwe, *The Tsars and the Jews*, p. 95; Stanislawski, "Russian Jewry," p. 275; Nathans, "Beyond the Pale," p. 140. As the census determined literacy by asking informants if they could read, responses do not accurately measure literacy, but do provide insight into informants' subjective sense of knowledge of Russian.

54 Again, figures were higher if we exclude children under the age of ten.

55 The drop off in female literacy after age 29 suggests that young women did not place a heavy premium on learning Russian in the 1870s and 1880s, whereas it became more important to young women in the 1890s.

Data on age cohorts also shows that young Jewish men in the towns were much less likely to claim reading knowledge of Russian than were their rural counterparts, which supports the hypothesis that immigration of young men was more common in towns than in the villages (see Table XVIII). Similarly, data on literacy supports the assertion that Jewish males who remained in Smolensk into their thirties tended to established local "roots"; it is among this age cohort that one finds the highest rates of asserted Russian literacy. Taken together, the claim to read Russian among those aged 30-49 and their children (particularly those aged 10-19) again suggest an increasingly stable population that was growing acculturated to life in Russia's interior.

Census data provides only hints regarding the thorny issues of acculturation and assimilation. Although 41 percent of Smolensk's Jews identified themselves as literate in Russian—which suggests a subjective sense of familiarity (if not comfort) with their local setting—only 2.5 percent identified Russian, Ukrainian, or Belorussian as their native tongues. This suggests that most conceived of themselves primarily as Jews. Unfortunately, census materials provide few clues about Jews who *did not* define themselves as Yiddish speakers. One might speculate that this ostensibly assimilated minority belonged to the local Jewish intelligentsia of lawyers, doctors, teachers, and other professionals: the number of Jewish Russian speakers was slightly smaller than the number of Jewish professionals and their family members.[56]

Legal-Social Designations and Economic Activity

Historians have come to appreciate the complex, problematic nature of legal-social designations in Imperial Russia history; the situation of Jews is in some regards a perfect example of this complexity.[57] Russia's Jews belonged simultaneously to two separate legal-social designations, the Jewish community and a specific estate (*soslovie*). The great majority were *meshchane*, or "townspeople," perhaps the most poorly understood of Russia's *soslovie*. But Jews of means could enroll in the merchant estate or become "honorary citizens," both of which brought special privileges. A relatively small number of Jews belonged to the peasant estate, and an influential handful of Jews had been ennobled.

In Smolensk, too, the overwhelming majority of Jews belonged to the *meshchanstvo*—90 percent in 1897, included 89 percent of Jews in towns and 93 percent in villages. Jews accounted for less than 1 percent of the provincial population but 11 percent of the *meshchane*. The second largest social estate among Smolensk's Jews was the *kupechestvo* (merchants); in 1897 members of the merchant guilds and their families accounted for 5 percent of the Jewish popula-

56 See Orbach, "Development of the Russian Jewish Community," p. 153.

57 See Stanislawski, "Russian Jewry," pp. 265-267.

tion. Jews accounted for between 11 and 40 percent of merchants in most rural districts and 15 percent of all merchants in the towns. In the city of Smolensk, a third of all merchants were Jews.[58] But *soslovie* did not necessarily indicate occupation: nearly half the Jewish members of the Smolensk city *kupechestvo* enrolled simply to ensure residency outside the Pale, while Jewish Honorary Citizens, peasants, and *meshchane* might engage in mercantile activities.[59]

The powerful Jewish merchants, bankers, and industrialists who attracted so much attention in Russia's great cities represented a tiny minority of the Jewish population. Most Jews involved in trade lived just above the margins of poverty, and the process of proletarianization was well advanced in the Jewish community. In general, the Jewish occupational structure virtually inverted that of "peasant" Russia. Only 3 percent of income-earning Jews in the Pale farmed. Another 39 percent engaged in commercial activities and 5 percent practiced law or medicine or were administrators. Of the remaining income earners, 35 percent reportedly worked in factories or artisinal workshops, 7 percent were domestic servants or day laborers, and 5 percent had no fixed occupation. Despite the emergence of a Jewish proletariat, the "alien" and "exploitative" nature of the Jewish community was a centerpiece of anti-Jewish literature, including, as we have seen, in Smolensk.

Jews came to Smolensk to work. Employment among Yiddish- speakers in the province was high in 1897 (43 percent). In general, the ratio of dependent family members to income earners was lower among Jews than among Russians, though in the towns it was considerably higher (see Table XIX).[60] Still, a smaller percentage of Jews reported no occupation, "uncertain" occupation, or worked as prostitutes in Smolensk than in the Pale.[61] And although some families turned to Jewish charities for support, there was no local equivalent to the widespread poverty in the Pale.

Compared to the Pale, in Smolensk a much smaller percentage of Jewish income-earners engaged in commercial and credit activities—25 as opposed to 39 percent (see Table XX). The omnipresent Jewish peddlers of the Pale were conspicuously rare, as they faced difficulties obtaining residence permits.[62] Most

---

58 All data on *soslovie* are from *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis'* 40, pp. 234-247. In 1910 in Smolensk city, Jews accounted for 55 of 59 First Guild and 32 of 74 Second Guild merchants. Aleksandr Il'iukhov, "Smolenskie kuptsy. Ot lotkov do torgovykh domov," *Gostinyi riad* (Smolensk), 9, 23, and 30 April 1997.

59 Honorary citizens accounted for 1 percent of the Jewish population, although Jews made up 5 percent of all honorary citizens in towns.

60 The disparity was greater in St. Petersburg, where in 1897 the ratio was 114 to 100 among Yiddish speakers and 54 to 100 in general, and where it was a staple of anti-Jewish criticisms. Nathans, "Beyond the Pale," pp. 131-132.

61 In 1889 in Smolensk Province, Jews had made up 12.4 percent of all prostitutes; in 1897 there were only 4, accounting for 4.4 percent. *Statistika rossiiskoi imperii*, vol. 13, *Prostitutsia po obsledovaniiu 1-go avgusta 1889 goda* (SPb., 1890), pp. 12, 14, 20-21, 24-25.

62 All data on occupations in 1897 are from *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis'* 40, pp. 164-219.

local Jewish men and women in commerce were petty traders or small shopkeepers. Yiddish speakers represented only tiny fraction of the province's shopkeepers, although they accounted for around 20 percent of grocers and general traders in Roslavl' and Smolensk.

In some cases, though, the significance of Jews in local trade far exceeded their numbers: a handful of Jews accounted for half of the province's "middlemen" (*torgovoe posrednichestvo*). Jewish dominance was most pronounced in the important lumber and construction materials trade (see Table XXI). In 1897, Jews comprised over half the province's lumber traders and the lumber trade constituted the single largest sector of Jewish commerce. In Roslavl', the heart of Smolensk's lumber industry, Yiddish-speaking lumber traders outnumbered Russian speakers three to one. The biggest lumber merchants, like Samuil Zelikin and Naum Shvartz, were modern businessmen with highly diversified investments, who belonged to the boards of most of the region's banks and manufacturing associations. Their only serious competition came from the Tsarist state, which controlled a large share of the local lumber trade.[63]

Although the role of Jews in commerce attracted most public attention, manufacturing in fact provided incomes for the largest segment of Smolensk's Jews. Workers in the manufacturing sector accounted for a larger percentage of income-earning Jews in Smolensk than in the Pale (39.6 compared to 35 percent in 1897). With their families, they constituted 48 percent of the province's Yiddish-speaking population (56 percent if we included servants, transportation workers, and their dependents). While some practiced trades exclusive and essential to the Jewish community (for instance, kosher butchers), most were integrated into the broader local economy. Jewish craftsmen working in small shops and plants occupied a special place among Smolensk's skilled workers.[64] In 1897, a quarter of all printers in the province and almost half of the printers in Smolensk city were Jews. Jews also were particularly important in the local metalworking trades, especially in the villages. Skilled Jews manufactured or repaired watches and precision tools and made up a large minority of the province's woodworkers. But by far the largest sector of Jewish wage earners was tailors and seamstresses. Over 800 Yiddish-speaking men and women worked in the needle trades—almost 8 percent of all Jewish income earners in 1897. In the city of Smolensk, Jews accounted for 21 percent of all needle-trades workers. Jewish workers, then, constituted an important sub-group of the local working class.

Retired soldiers, whose service had given them the privilege of living outside the Pale, had been one of the largest groups of Jews living in Russia's interior in the 1860s. The 1874 Military Reforms, however, revoked their residence

63 Jewish merchants in Smolensk employed various subterfuges to circumvent laws banning their purchase of rural property. GASO f. 1, op. 6, 1914, d. 2.

64 M. Hickey, "Revolution on the Jewish Street: Smolensk, 1917," *Journal of Social History* 31:4 (1998), pp. 823-850.

privileges; as a result, in St. Petersburg their numbers declined from over two thousand in the 1860s to only a few hundred in the 1890s.[65] Jews generally had a reputation for avoiding military service. But 6 percent of all soldiers stationed in Smolensk Province were Jews, who accounted for 14 percent of Yiddish-speaking income-earners in 1897. Virtually all were single men in their twenties who had been stationed in the province's garrison towns.

Although Smolensk produced no famous Jewish writers or theologians, it did have its own small, "Jewish intelligentsia" of doctors, teachers, and other professionals. The number of Jews in the professions was probably greater than indicated by the 1897 census, which did not record the number of self-defined Russian-speaking Jewish professionals. A handful practiced law, despite Tsarist policies discriminating against Jews in the legal professions, and several others supported themselves as artists.[66] Teachers, doctors, and dentists made up the majority of local Jewish professionals: province wide, 69 Yiddish-speaking men and women taught in schools and 66 worked in the medical professions. It is unclear how many Jews taught in state as opposed to Jewish schools in the provincial capital, but Yiddish-speaking teachers in *uezd* towns and rural districts almost certainly taught at state and zemstvo schools. Most Jews in the medical professions practiced in the towns, with the greatest concentration in the city of Smolensk, where there the ratio of Jewish medical professional to Yiddish speakers 1 to 121. Among rural Jews the ratio of doctors to Yiddish speakers was lower (1 to 314), but still remarkable if we consider the general paucity of medical care in the countryside. Doctors, dentists, and teachers provided practical leadership for local Jewish charitable and public organizations, although they often cooperated rather uncomfortably with the community's merchant benefactors.[67] And although the arena of party politics is outside the scope of this paper, it should also be noted that they also played leading roles in liberal and socialist party activity in Smolensk.[68]

CONCLUSIONS

Associating Jewish demographic behavior and economic activity with the sources of ethno-confessional conflict risks being accused of "blaming the victims" and endorsing the claims of contemporary anti-Semites. But beneath the fantasies of anti-Semites like Smolensk Police Chief A. A. Gromyko, who suspected Jewish doctors at the city's bacteriological laboratory of deliberately spreading cholera among the Christian population, some aspects of popular anti-Jewish sentiment may have built upon perceptions of actual behavior.[69]

---

65 Nathans, "Beyond the Pale," pp. 70-73, 116-117.

66 On Jews in the legal profession, see Nathans, "Beyond the Pale," chapter 4.

67 *Pamiatnaia knizhka Smolenskoi gubernii na 1906 god* (Smolensk, 1905), p. 72.

68 Hickey, "Revolution on the Jewish Street."

69 *Smolenskii vestnik*, 30 January and 17 April 1917.

What I have described here as Jews' "modern" demographic characteristics stood in sharp contrast to characteristics of the surrounding population, and Jews' relative success must have elicited considerable envy in the harsh conditions that prevailed in provincial Russia. Like differences in language, religion, and cultural traditions, distinct demographic characteristics contributed to the perception of Jews as alien.

Yet Smolensk's Jews were not simply an "alien" aggregation of migrants, a transient "colony" of the Pale; by the dawn of the twentieth century they had created a self-sustaining local community with its own local characteristics, different from the Jewish communities in the Pale (and, for that matter, from that in St. Petersburg). They had established the rudiments of Jewish life—prayer houses, Jewish schools, kosher butcher shops, etc.—while at the same time their public lives were interwoven in myriad ways with those of the general community. Were they typical of Jewish communities elsewhere in Russia's interior? Answering this question will require further studies of the experiences of those Jews who ventured beyond the Pale.

Tables

Table I
Jewish and General Population of Smolensk Province, 1884-1913

Year	*Provincial Population*				*Jewish Population*		
	Total	Male	Female	As %	Total	Male	Female
1884	1,256,881	634,849	622,032	.36	4,587	2,450	2,137
1885	1,282,558	642,335	640,203	.37	4,859	2,486	2,373
1886	1,308,986	665,143	643,843	.42	5,558	2,771	2,787
1887	1,339,444	684,511	654,933	.44	6,077	3,043	3,034
1888	1,337,553	670,881	666,672	.49	6,563	3,486	3,077
1889	1,380,690	705,764	674,926	.38	5,318	2,865	2,453
1890	1,412,162	724,633	687,499	.40	5,709	3,038	2,671
1891	1,418,901	727,182	691,717	.41	5,851	3,199	2,652
1892	1,461,086	727,182	691,717	.40	5,902	3,264	2,638
1893	n d	n d	n d	nd	n d	n d	n d
1894	1,580,548	812,092	768,456	.42	6,687	3,758	2,929
1895	1,606,686	826,788	779,898	.40	6,452	3,560	2,892
1896	1,632,640	835,178	797,462	.49	8,121	4,272	3,859
1897	1,525,279	720,116	805,163	.73	11,144	6,186	4,958
1898	1,671,001	860,236	810,765	.55	9,281	4,728	4,562
1899	1,659,349	858,033	801,316	.61	10,243	5,105	5,138
1900	1,694,851	862,421	832,430	.63	10,733	5,540	5,193
1901	1,752,317	895,882	856,495	.61	10,761	5,636	5,125
1902	n d	n d	n d	n d	n d	n d	n d
1903	n d	n d	n d	n d	n d	n d	n d
1904	n d	n d	n d	n d	n d	n d	n d
1905	1,833,903	932,730	901,173	.67	12,382	6,266	6,116
1906	1,865,854	944,823	921,031	.66	12,443	6,255	6,188
1907	n d	n d	n d	n d	n d	n d	n d
1908	1,940,347	977,968	926,379	.73	14,191	6,748	7,447
1909	1,976,092	998,694	977,398	.85	16,981	8,834	8,147
1910	2,003,070	1,019,340	983,730	.77	15,467	8,375	7,092
1911	2,042,174	1,043,937	998,237	.80	16,533	9,077	7,456
1912	n d	n d	n d	n d	n d	n d	n d
1913	2,110,384	1,087,957	1,022,427	.84	17,920	9,750	8,170

Sources: *Obzor Smolenskoi gubernii za 1883 g. – 1913 g.* (Smolensk, 1884-1915); *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi imperii, 1897 g.*, vol. 40, *Smolenskaia guberniia* (SPb., 1904), pp. 1, 83.

Note: The provincial *Obzory* for 1893, 1902-04, 1907 do not contain *vedomosti* on population.

Table II
Jews (Defined by Religion) as a Percentage of the Population, 1897

Locality	*# of Jews*	*As %*	*Locality*	*#*	*%*
Province	11144	.7	El'ninskii Uezd	408	.3
Uezdy (no towns)	3852	.3	El'nia	107	4.3
Urban	7292	6.0	Krasninskii Uezd	531	.5
Smolenskii Uezd	378	.3	Krasnyi	158	5.7
Smolensk	4241	9.1	Porechskii Uezd	506	.4
Bel'skii Uezd	273	.2	Porech'e	337	5.9
Belyi	287	4.1	Roslavl'skii Uezd	1267	.7
Viazemskii Uezd	46	.0	Roslavl'	1145	6.4
Viaz'ma	500	3.2	Sychevskii Uezd	18	.0
Gzhatskii Uezd	5	.0	Sychevka	64	1.3
Gzhatsk	152	2.4	Iukhnovskii Uezd	61	.0
Dorogobuzhskii U.	95	.0	Iukhnov	23	2.7
Dorogobuzh	152	2.3			
Dukhovshchinskii U	302	.2			
Dukhovshchina	88	2.8			

Source: *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi imperii, 1897 g.*, vol. 40, *Smolenskaia guberniia* (SPb., 1904), pp. 1, 81.

Table III
Distribution of Jews in Smolensk Province Ranked by Size, 1897

Town	*Number of Jews*	*Uezd*	*Number of Jews*
Smolensk	4241	Roslavl'skii	1267
Roslavl'	1145	Krasninskii	531
Viaz'ma	500	Porechskii	506
Porech'e	337	El'ninskii	408
Belyi	287	Smolenskii	378
Krasnyi	158	Dukhovshchinskii	302
Gzhatsk	152	Bel'skii	273
Dorogobuzh	152	Dorogobuzhskii	95
El'nia	107	Viazemskii	46
Dukhovvshchina	88	Iukhnovskii	61
Sychevka	64	Sychevskii	18
Iukhnov	23	Gzhatskii	5

Source: *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi imperii, 1897 g.*, vol. 40, *Smolenskaia guberniia* (SPb., 1904), pp. 1, 81.

Table IV
Natural and Recorded Increase in Jewish Population in Smolensk Province, 1884-1913 (Expressed in Percentages)

Year	*Natural Increase (Births minus Deaths)*	*Actual Increase over Previous Year*	*Year*	*Natural Increase (Births minus Deaths)*	*Actual Increase over Previous Year*	*Year*	*Natural Increase (Births minus Deaths)*	*Actual Increase over Previous Year*
1884	1%	no data	1894	2%	no data	1904	no data	no data
1885	2%	6%	1895	2%	-3%	1905	1%	no data
1886	2%	14%	1896	2%	26%	1906	1%	0%
1887	3%	9%	1897	1%	37%	1907	no data	no data
1888	3%	8%	1898	2%	-16%	1908	1%	no data
1889	3%	-19%	1899	2%	10%	1909	1%	20%
1890	3%	7%	1900	1%	4%	1910	1%	-9%
1891	3%	2%	1901	1%	0%	1911	1%	7%
1892	3%	1%	1902	no data	no data	1912	no data	no data
1893	no data	no data	1903	no data	no data	1913	1%	no data

Source: Table I and GASO f. 125, dd. 1, 5-7, 14, 17, 21, 25, 29, 32, 36, 40, 44, 48, 53, 59, 62, 66, 70, 74, 75, 79, 83, 86, 89, 95, 110, 111, 115, 117-119, 128, 139-142.

Note: All figures rounded to the nearest whole number.

Table V
Sex Ratios in Smolensk Province, 1884-1913

Year	*Males/Females Jews*	*Males/Females General*	*Year*	*Males/Females Jews*	*Males/Females General*
1884	115/100	102/100	1899	99/100	107/100
1885	105/100	100/100	1900	107/100	104/100
1886	99/100	103/100	1901	110/100	106/100
1887	100/100	104/100	1902	n d	n d
1888	113/100	101/100	1903	n d	n d
1889	117/100	105/100	1904	n d	n d
1890	114/100	105/100	1905	102/100	103/100
1891	121/100	105/100	1906	101/100	103/100
1892	124/100	105/100	1907	n d	n d
1893	n d	n d	1908	91/100	106/100
1894	128/100	106/100	1909	108/100	102/100
1895	123/100	106/100	1910	118/100	104/100
1896	111/100	105/100	1911	122/100	105/100
1897	125/100	89/100	1912	n d	n d
1898	104/100	106/100	1913	119/100	106/100

Source: Table I.

Table VI
Age Cohorts among Jews (Defined by Religion) in Smolensk Province, 1897 (Expressed in Percentages)

Age Cohort	*Province*		*Uezds*		*Towns*		*Smolensk City*	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Under 1 Year	2.7	2.8	2.2	3.0	3.0	2.7	3.0	2.3
1-9 Years	19.9	23.4	19.8	26.1	20.0	22.1	16.8	19.7
10-19 Years	20.5	27.5	19.6	26.0	21.1	28.2	21.3	30.9
20-29 Years	26.4	19.7	19.3	18.1	30.5	20.4	34.6	21.4
30-39 Years	12.8	11.1	16.7	11.4	10.6	11.0	9.7	10.0
40-49 Years	7.6	6.9	10.8	6.8	5.8	6.9	5.8	7.1
50-59 Years	5.2	5.0	6.4	5.9	4.5	4.5	4.4	4.4
60-69 Years	3.4	2.5	3.8	1.8	3.1	2.8	3.1	2.7
70-79 Years	1.1	1.0	1.1	.7	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.2
80-89 Years	.1	.2	<.1	<.1	.1	.2	.1	<.1
90-99 Years	<.1	.1	<.1	0.0	<.1	.1	0.0	.1
100-109 Years	0.0	<.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	<.1	0.0	<.1
110 Years +	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unknown	.1	<.1	.2	<.1	.1	0.0	.1	0.0

Source: *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi imperii, 1897,* vol. 40, *Smolenskaia gubernaia* (SPb., 1904), pp. 248–257.

Table VII
Family Status of Jewish Speakers and the Provincial Population in 1897

	Jews		*Provincial Population*	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Single Total.	63%	63%	57%	51%
Married Total	35%	31%	39%	38%
Widowed Total	1%	5%	3%	9%
Remainder = divorced or un-established status				
Single Rural	53%	63%	56%	51%
Married Rural	43%	33%	39%	39%
Widowed Rural	2%	3%	4%	9%
Remainder =divorced or un-established status				
Single Urban	68%	63%	61%	54%
Married Urban	30%	30%	35%	31%
Widowed Urban	1%	6%	3%	14%
Remainder = divorced or un-established status				

Source: *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi imperii, 1897 g.*, vol. 40, *Smolenskaia guberniia* (SPb., 1904), pp. 28-35, 86,140-141.

Note: I have adjusted figures for marriages among women in the general population to correct a typographical error in the census. See Ansley J. Coale, Barbara A. Anderson, and Erma Harm, *Human Fertility in Russia since the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, 1979), p. 222.

Table VIII
Registered Marriage Among Jews in Smolensk Province, 1873-1913

Year	*Marriages*	*Per 1000*	*Ave.Age Women*	*Ave.Age Men*	*Year*	*Marriages*	*Per 1000*	*Ave.Age Women*	*Ave.Age Men*
1873	10	nd	19	23	1894	63	9.4	23	27
1874	16	nd	19	29	1895	43	6.7	23	28
1875	13	nd	20	24	1896	52	6.4	24	28
1876	18	nd	23	25	1897	55	4.9	24	30
1877	7	nd	21	24	1898	68	7.3	23	27
1878	16	nd	22	27	1899	76	7.4	24	29
1879	27	nd	20	25	1900	61	5.7	24	28
1880	14	4.0	22	26	1901	69	6.4	24	30
1881	16	nd	20	23	1902	78	nd	24	27
1882	22	nd	22	27	1903	58	nd	25	31
1883	20	nd	21	24	1904	50	nd	25	29
1884	24	5.3	22	26	1905	44	3.5	24	29
1885	24	5.0	23	29	1906	68	5.4	24	29
1886	28	5.1	22	29	1907	58	nd	24	28
1887	46	7.6	22	25	1908	72	5.0	24	27
1888	48	7.4	22	27	1909	57	3.3	25	28
1889	58	10.9	22	28	1910	78	5.0	26	32
1890	53	9.3	22	27	1911	62	3.7	25	30
1891	55	9.4	24	28	1912	50	nd	28	32
1892	48	8.1	24	28	1913	65	3.6	25	30
1893	51	nd	24	30					

Source: GASO f. 125, dd. 2, 5, 6, 10, 18, 22, 33, 37, 41, 45, 49, 52, 60, 63, 67, 71, 76, 80, 84, 90, 92, 96, 104, 112, 116, 120, 122, 126, 131, 143, 144.

Table IX
Marriage Age Differentials Among Jews in Smolensk Province, 1873-1917

Age Differential	*1872-1880*		*1881-1890*		*1891-1900*		*1901-1910*		*1911-1917*	
Number cases/% of all	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Same Age	19	16	26	8	42	7	65	10	30	8
Male Older, 1-4 Years	44	36	133	39	216	38	215	34	114	31
Male Older, 5-9 Years	21	17	86	25	175	31	189	30	106	29
Male Older, 10-15 Years	13	11	31	9	36	6	45	7	35	10
Male Older >15 Years	8	7	19	6	28	5	32	5	17	5
Female Older, 1-4 Years	14	11	40	12	60	10	69	11	44	12
Female Older, 5-9 Years	1	1	4	1	15	3	15	2	15	4
Female Older, 10-15 Yrs	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	.5
Female Older >15 Years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	.5
Total	121	100	339	100	572	100	632	100	363	100

Source: GASO f. 125, dd. 2, 5, 6, 10, 18, 22, 33, 37, 41, 45, 49, 52, 60, 63, 67, 71, 76, 80, 84, 90, 92, 96, 104, 112, 116, 120, 122, 126, 131, 143, 144.

Note: Rounded to the nearest whole number.

Table X
Registered Births Among Jews in Smolensk Province, 1872-1913

Year	*M*	*F*	*Total*	*Year*	*M*	*F*	*Total*
1872	22	9	31	1893	133	85	218
1873	39	15	54	1894	141	82	223
1874	50	28	78	1895	135	96	231
1875	48	36	84	1896	145	90	235
1876	54	41	95	1897	155	112	267
1877	40	33	73	1898	163	109	272
1878	41	35	76	1899	145	130	275
1879	53	34	87	1900	147	98	245
1880	57	41	98	1901	144	123	267
1881	49	40	89	1902	150	134	284
1882	54	41	95	1903	161	147	308
1883	61	45	106	1904	176	141	317
1884	72	63	135	1905	172	106	278
1885	65	59	124	1906	142	103	245
1886	90	62	152	1907	174	120	294
1887	166	105	271	1908	166	90	256
1888	157	114	271	1909	151	123	274
1889	162	86	248	1910	153	91	244
1890	163	99	262	1911	165	117	282
1891	146	83	229	1912	122	91	213
1892	152	81	233	1913	121	107	228

Source: GASO f. 125, op. 1, dd. 1, 5-7, 14, 17, 21, 25, 29, 32, 36, 40, 44, 48, 53, 59, 62, 55, 70, 74, 75, 79, 83, 86, 89, 95, 110, 111, 115, 117, 118, 119, 128, 139-142.

Table XI
Crude Birth and Death Rates Among Jews in Smolensk Province, 1884-1913

Year	*Births per 1000*			*Deaths per 1000*			*Year*	*Births per 1000*			*Deaths per 1000*		
	M	F	total	M	F	total		M	F	total	M	F	total
1884	14.2	12.9	27.1	9.6	8.3	17.9	1899	14.1	12.6	26.7	4.2	2.7	6.9
1885	18.6	12.7	31.3	7.6	4.6	12.2	1900	13.7	9.1	22.8	5.3	4.5	9.8
1886	16.1	11.3	27.4	5.5	5.5	11.0	1901	13.3	11.4	24.7	5.9	5.1	11.0
1887	27.3	17.3	44.6	8.6	6.9	15.5	1902	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
1888	23.9	17.4	41.3	7.0	4.0	11.0	1903	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
1889	30.5	16.2	46.7	6.2	6.4	12.6	1904	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
1890	28.5	17.4	45.9	8.0	6.0	14.0	1905	13.8	8.5	22.3	3.8	3.8	7.6
1891	24.9	14.2	39.1	7.0	6.7	13.7	1906	11.4	8.2	19.6	5.5	3.4	8.9
1892	25.7	13.7	39.4	8.1	5.7	13.8	1907	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
1893	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	1908	11.7	6.3	18.0	3.9	3.4	7.3
1894	21.0	12.2	33.2	5.2	4.5	9.7	1909	8.9	7.2	16.1	3.4	3.1	6.5
1895	20.8	14.8	35.6	7.2	5.1	12.3	1910	9.9	5.8	15.7	3.7	2.6	6.3
1896	17.8	11.0	28.8	8.0	5.0	13.0	1911	10.0	7.0	17.0	3.2	2.2	5.4
1897	13.8	10.0	23.8	5.3	4.6	9.9	1912	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
1898	17.5	11.7	29.2	4.9	2.8	7.7	1913	6.7	6.0	12.7	3.1	2.6	5.7

Source: Table I; GASO f. 125, dd. 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 13, 16, 20, 24, 28, 31, 35,39, 43, 47, 51, 56, 65, 69, 73, 78, 81, 85, 91, 93, 94, 98, 106, 114, 121, 123, 125, 127, 130, 133, 135, 136, 145, 146.

Table XII
Infant Mortality Among Jews in Smolensk Province, 1873-1913

Year	*Live Births*			*Deaths*			*Per 1000 Births*		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
1873	39	15	54	11	11	22	203.5	203.5	407
1874	50	28	78	10	6	16	128	77	205
1875	48	36	84	7	1	8	83	12	95
1876	54	41	95	5	3	8	53	31	84
1877	40	33	73	10	4	14	137	55	192
1878	41	35	76	7	8	15	92	105	197
1879	53	34	87	6	6	12	69	69	138
1880	57	41	98	5	6	11	51	61	112
1881	49	40	89	11	6	17	124	67	191
1882	54	41	95	12	9	21	126	95	221
1883	61	45	106	15	11	26	142	104	246
1884	72	63	135	9	15	24	67	111	178
1885	65	59	124	12	10	22	97	80	177
1886	90	62	152	9	11	20	59	72	131
1887	166	105	271	14	13	27	52	48	100
1888	157	114	271	10	18	28	37	66	103
1889	162	86	248	16	10	26	65	40	105
1890	163	99	262	19	12	31	72	46	118
1891	146	83	229	15	19	34	66	83	149
1892	152	81	233	28	11	39	120	47	167
1893	133	85	218	17	16	33	78	73	151
1894	141	82	223	11	7	18	49	31	80
1895	135	96	231	19	11	30	82	48	130
1896	145	90	235	27	16	43	115	68	183
1897	155	112	267	28	19	47	105	71	176
1898	163	109	272	17	10	27	63	37	99
1899	145	130	275	18	12	30	65	44	109
1900	147	98	245	16	20	36	65	82	147
1901	144	123	267	27	19	46	101	71	172
1902	150	134	284	21	13	34	74	46	120
1903	161	147	308	29	16	45	94	52	146
1904	176	141	317	30	24	54	95	75	170
1905	172	106	278	18	19	37	65	68	133
1906	142	103	245	17	13	30	69	53	122
1907	174	120	294	10	13	23	34	44	78
1908	166	90	256	14	7	21	55	27	82
1909	151	123	274	13	14	27	47	51	98
1910	153	91	244	17	6	23	69	25	94
1911	165	117	282	11	3	14	39	11	50
1912	122	91	213	8	9	17	38	42	80
1913	121	107	228	14	12	26	61	53	114

Sources: GASO f. 125, op. 1, dd. 1, 4-7, 9, 12-14, 16, 17, 20, 21,24, 25, 28, 29, 31, 32, 35, 36, 39, 40, 43, 44, 47, 48, 51, 53, 56, 59, 62, 65, 66, 70, 73, 74, 75, 78, 79, 81, 83, 85, 86, 89, 91, 93-95, 98, 106, 110, 111, 114, 115, 117, 118, 119,121, 123, 125, 127, 128, 130, 133, 135, 36, 139-142, 145, 146.

Note: As not all records express ages in months and days, I have included cases of deaths of one-year olds; thus these figures are perhaps slightly inflated.

Table XIII
Registered Deaths Among Jews in Smolensk Province, 1873-1913

Year	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*	*Year*	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
1873	19	18	37	1893	45	32	77
1874	17	9	26	1894	35	30	65
1875	27	4	31	1895	47	33	80
1876	20	13	33	1896	66	41	107
1877	21	14	35	1897	59	52	111
1878	23	23	45	1898	46	26	72
1879	26	24	50	1899	43	28	71
1880	19	19	38	1900	57	48	105
1881	27	18	45	1901	64	55	119
1882	32	29	61	1902	63	46	109
1883	35	21	56	1903	56	43	99
1884	44	38	82	1904	60	52	112
1885	37	22	59	1905	47	47	94
1886	28	33	61	1906	68	43	111
1887	52	42	94	1907	75	38	113
1888	46	28	72	1908	55	49	104
1889	33	34	67	1909	58	52	110
1890	45	34	79	1910	57	41	98
1891	41	39	80	1911	53	36	89
1892	48	34	82	1912	48	35	83
				1913	56	46	102

Source: GASO f. 125, dd. 4-6, 9, 12, 13, 16, 20, 24, 28, 31, 35, 39, 43, 47, 51, 56, 65, 69, 73, 78, 81, 85, 91, 93-94, 98, 106, 114, 121, 123, 125, 127, 130, 133, 135-6, 145, 146.

Table XIV
Natural Increase in the Jewish Population of Smolensk Province, 1873-1913

Year	*Natural Increase in Numbers*	*Natural Increase per 1000*	*Year*	*Natural Increase in Numbers*	*Natural Increase per 1000*
1873	28	nd	1893	141	nd
1874	52	nd	1894	158	23.5
1875	53	nd	1895	151	23.3
1876	60	nd	1896	128	15.8
1877	38	nd	1897	156	13.9
1878	31	nd	1898	200	21.5
1879	37	nd	1899	204	19.8
1880	60	16.7	1900	140	13.0
1881	44	nd	1901	148	13.7
1882	34	nd	1902	175	nd
1883	50	nd	1903	209	nd
1884	53	9.2	1904	205	nd
1885	65	19.1	1905	184	14.7
1886	91	16.4	1906	134	10.7
1887	177	29.1	1907	181	nd
1888	197	30.3	1908	152	10.7
1889	181	34.1	1909	164	9.6
1890	183	31.9	1910	146	9.4
1891	149	25.4	1911	93	11.6
1892	151	25.6	1912	130	nd
			1913	126	7.0
			Total	5385	

Source: Tables I, X, and XIII.

Table XV
Movement of General And Jewish Population in Smolensk Province, 1886-1913

Years	*Births per 1000*		*Deaths per 1000*		*Natural Increase per 1000*	
	General	Jews	General	Jews	General	Jews
1886-1890	54.4	41.2	38.2	12.8	16.2	28.4
1891-1895	53.5	36.8	38.2	12.4	15.3	24.4
1896-1900	51.4	26.3	36.1	9.5	15.3	16.8
1901-1905	49.7	23.5	35.7	9.3	14.0	14.2
1906-1910	46.6	17.4	31.8	7.3	14.8	10.1
1911-1913	44.9	14.9	26.6	5.6	18.3	9.3

Sources: A. G. Rashin, *Naselenie Rossii za 100 let* (Moscow, 1956), pp. 168, 188; Tables I, X, and XIII.
Note: Dmitrii Zhbankov obtained different figures for the general population for the period 1891-1895: 55.4 births and 39.1 deaths per 1000 (natural increase = 16.3). D. N. Zhbankov, *O dvizhenii naseleniia v Smolensoi gubernii 1885-1895 gg.* (Smolensk, 1896).

Table XVI
Recorded vs Natural Increase Among Jews in Smolensk Province, 1884-1913

Year	*Recorded Increase*			*Natural Increase*			*Recorded Minus Natural*		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
1884	nd	nd	nd	28	25	53	nd	nd	nd
1885	36	236	272	28	37	65	8	199	207
1886	285	414	699	62	29	91	223	385	608
1887	263	247	510	114	63	177	149	184	333
1888	443	43	486	111	86	197	332	-43	289
1889	-600	-624	-1245	129	52	181	-729	-676	-1064
1890	173	218	391	118	65	183	55	153	208
1891	161	-19	142	105	44	149	56	-63	-7
1892	78	-4	74	104	47	151	nd	nd	nd
1893	nd	nd	nd	88	53	141	nd	nd	nd
1894	nd	nd	nd	106	52	158	nd	nd	nd
1895	-192	-27	-219	88	63	151	-280	-90	-370
1896	713	959	1672	79	49	128	634	910	1544
1897	1925	1105	3030	96	60	156	1829	1045	2874
1898	-1464	-398	-1862	117	83	200	-1581	-481	-2062
1899	377	575	952	102	102	204	275	473	748
1900	435	57	492	90	50	140	345	7	352
1901	97	-66	31	80	68	148	17	-134	-117
1902	nd	Nd	nd	87	88	175	nd	nd	nd
1903	nd	Nd	nd	105	104	209	nd	nd	nd
1904	nd	Nd	nd	116	89	205	nd	nd	nd
1905	nd	Nd	nd	125	59	184	nd	nd	nd
1906	-17	67	50	74	60	134	-91	7	-84
1907	nd	nd	nd	99	82	181	nd	nd	nd
1908	nd	nd	nd	111	41	152	nd	nd	nd
1909	2086	700	2786	93	71	164	1993	629	2622
1910	-459	-1055	-1514	96	50	146	-555	-1105	-1660
1911	702	364	1066	112	81	93	590	283	973
1912	nd	nd	nd	74	56	130	nd	nd	nd
1913	nd	nd	nd	65	61	126	nd	nd	nd

Sources: Tables I, X, and XIII.

Table XVII
Literacy in Smolensk Province, 1897

Locality/Literacy	*Yiddish Speakers*		*General Population*	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Province Wide				
In Russian	48%	31%	27%	6%
Other Language	14%	8%	.3%	.2%
Post-Primary Education	2.8%	4.6%	1.3%	1%
Uezds				
In Russian	49%	27%	24%	4%
Other Language	16%	12%	1.7%	.1%
Post-Primary Education	.7%	.8%	.6%	.2%
Towns				
In Russian	47%	32%	49%	30%
Other Language	12%	7%	1.4%	.6%
Post-Primary Education	4%	6%	8%	10%
Smolensk City				
In Russian	49%	36%	45%	33%
Other Language	11%	6%	2%	.9%
Post Primary Education	4%	5%	11%	10%

Source: *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi imperii, 1897 g.*, vol. 40, *Smolenskaia guberniia* (SPb., 1904), pp. 116-139.

Table XVIII
Russian Literacy Among Yiddish Speaking Age Cohorts in Smolensk Province, 1897

Age Cohort	*Province*		*Uezdy*		*Towns*		*Smolensk City*	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-9	11%	9%	9%	8%	15%	10%	16%	9%
10-19	64%	46%	63%	45%	65%	47%	65%	53%
20-29	56%	50%	70%	49%	52%	50%	49%	52%
30-39	66%	33%	62%	22%	70%	38%	70%	39%
40-49	61%	22%	65%	17%	58%	24%	57%	24%
50 and older	47%	14%	39%	10%	50%	16%	59%	20%

Source: *Pervaia vseobshchaia perespis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi imperii, 1897 g.*, vol. 40 , *Smolenskaia guberniia* (SPb., 1904), pp. 116-139.

Table XIX
Income Earning and Dependent Yiddish Speakers and Russian-Speakers in Smolensk Province, 1897

	Income Earners	*Dependents*	*Ratio of Dependents to Earners*
Entire Province			
Yiddish Speakers	4584	6299	137 to 100
Russian Speakers	322081	1075794	334 to 100
Town Population			
Yiddish Speakers	3060	4072	133 to 100
Russian Speakers	52087	52606	101 to 100

Source: *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi imperii, 1897 g.*, vol. 40, *Smolenskaia guberniia* (SPb., 1904), pp. 164-219.

Table XX
Occupations of Yiddish Speakers in Smolensk Province by Sector, 1897

Sector of Economy	*Yiddish Speakers*	*As % of Income-Earning Yiddish Speakers*
Administrative/Intellectual Labor	150	3.3%
Credit and Commerce	1151	25.0%
Investment and Inheritance	117	2.6%
Manufacturing	1832	39.6%
Agriculture	59	1.6%
Servants	457	10.0%
Military Service	640	14.0%
Other	181	3.9%

Source: *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi imperii, 1897 g.*, vol. 40, *Smolenskaia guberniia* (SPb., 1904), pp. 164-219.

Table XXI
Relative Significance of Yiddish Speakers in Select Occupations, 1897

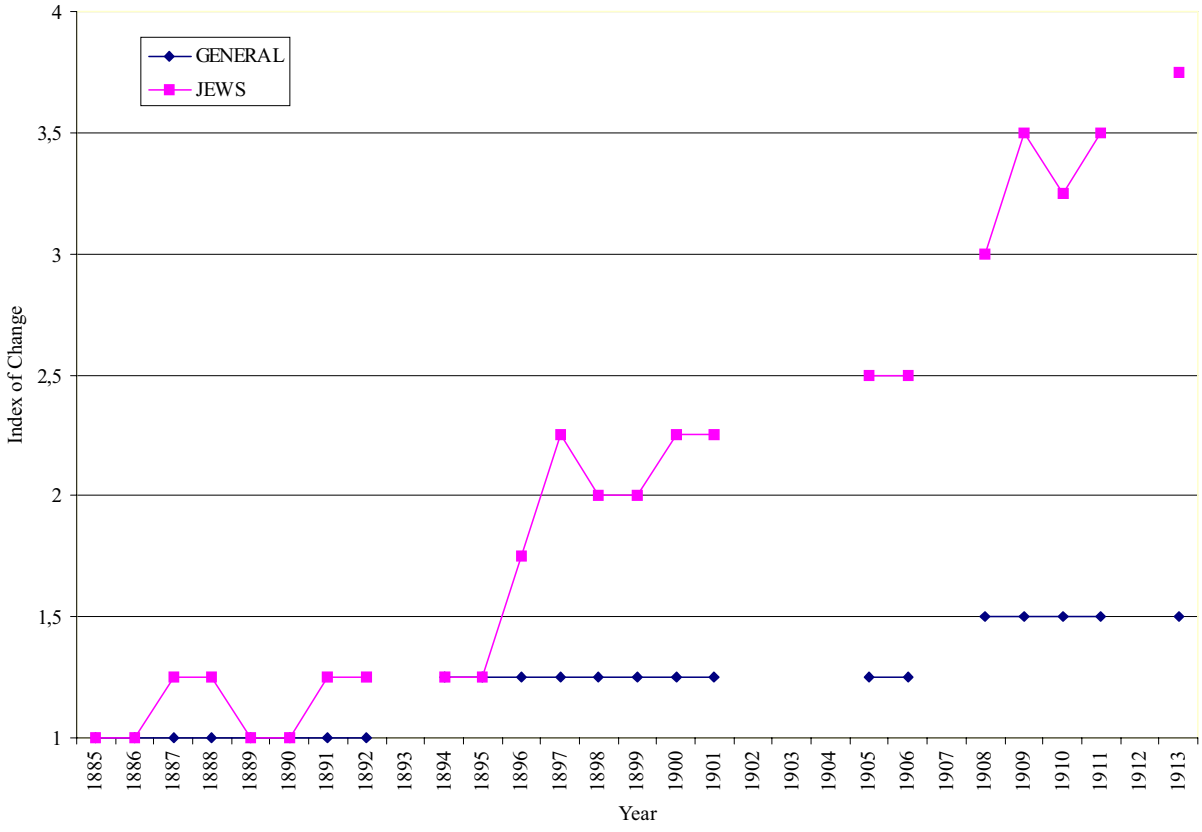
Location	*Economic Activity*	*Yiddish Speakers as % of All*	*As % of Russian Speakers*
Province	Needle Trades	10%	12%
	Middle Men	52%	118%
	Construction Materials	51%	107%
	Leather Trade	16%	20%
	Typography	25%	38%
	General Trade10%	18%	
	Armed Forces	6%	11%
Uezdy	Construction Materials	40%	98%
	General Trade	15%	19%
	Metalworkers	10%	10%
	Needle Trades	6%	6%
Towns	Construction Materials	59%	147%
	General Trade	14%	18%
	Needle Trades	15%	17%
	Armed Forces	6%	11%
	Produce	8%	8%
Smolensk City	Construction Materials	67%	165 %
	Typography	31%	46%
	Needle Trades	21%	30%
	General Trade	19%	24%
	Produce	18%	23%
	Animal Products	17%	20%
	Armed Forces	7%	13%
	Medical Personnel	12%	12%
	Teachers	8%	10%
	Woodworkers	7%	10%
Roslavl'	Middle Men	100%	All Were Jews
	Construction Materials	75%	300%
	Needle Trades	18%	23%
	Produce	16%	18%
	Armed Forces	6%	13%

Source: *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi imperii, 1897 g.,* vol. 40, *Smolenskaia guberniia* (SPb., 1904), pp. 156-219.

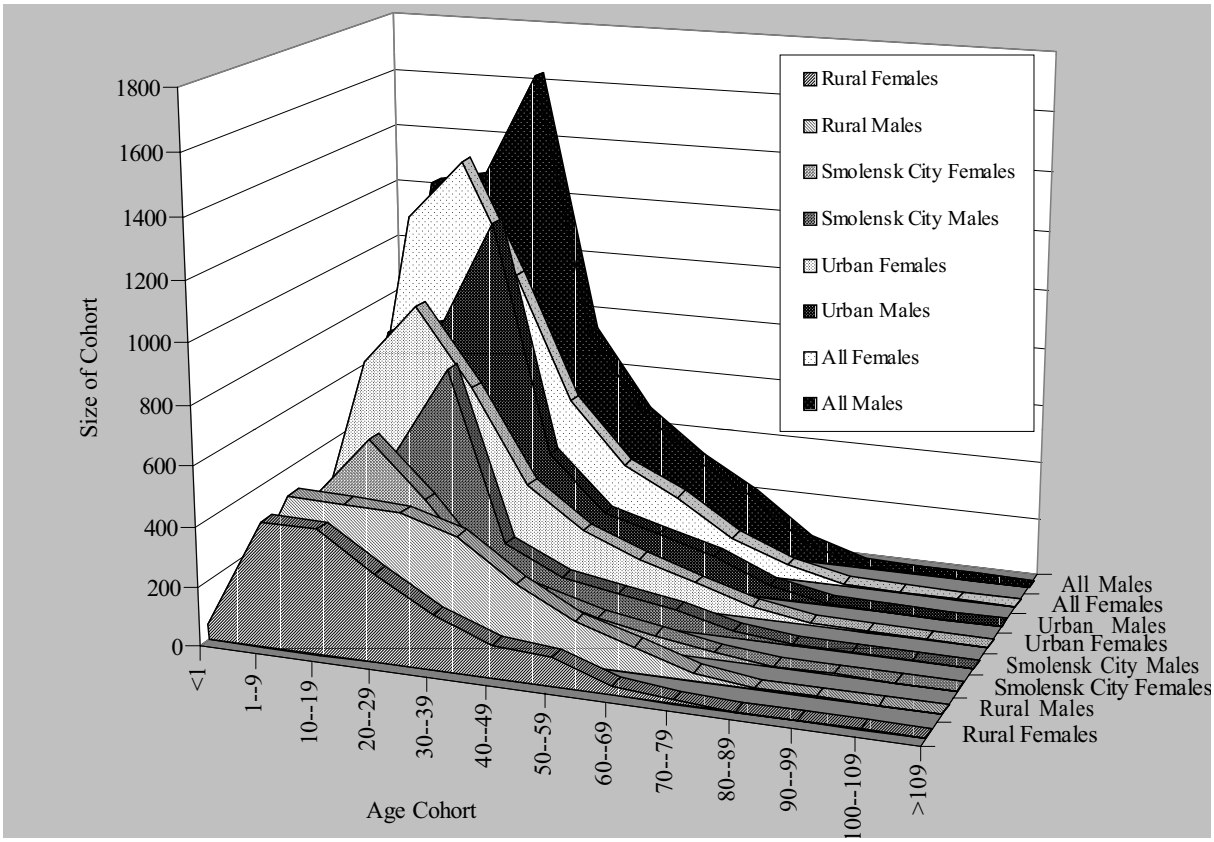
Graphs

Graph I is built from data in Table I
Graphs II and III are from data in *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi imperii, 1897 g.*, vol. 40, *Smolenskaia guberniia* (SPb., 1904), pp. 248-257
Graph IV is from Table VIII
Graph V is from Tables VIII, XI, and XII.

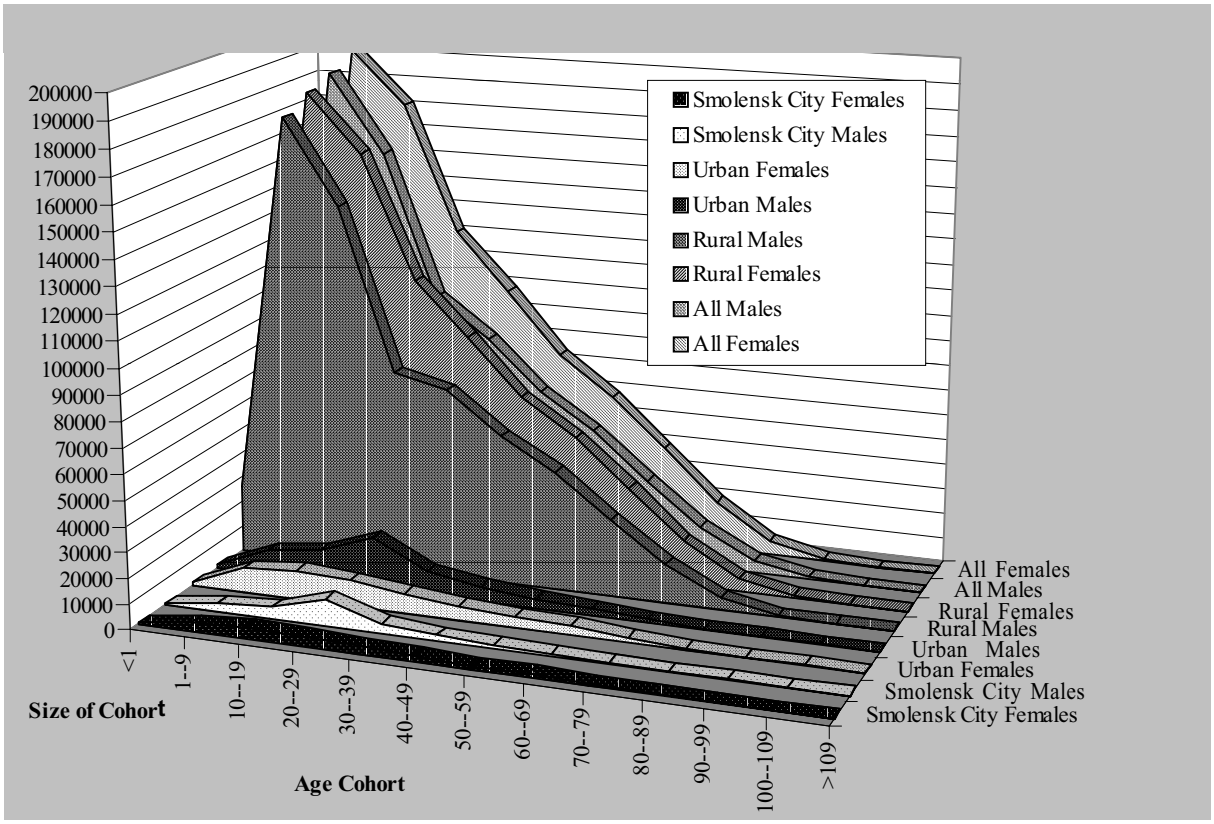
Graph I
Indexed Change in Jewish and General Population in Smolensk Province in 1885-1913 as Base



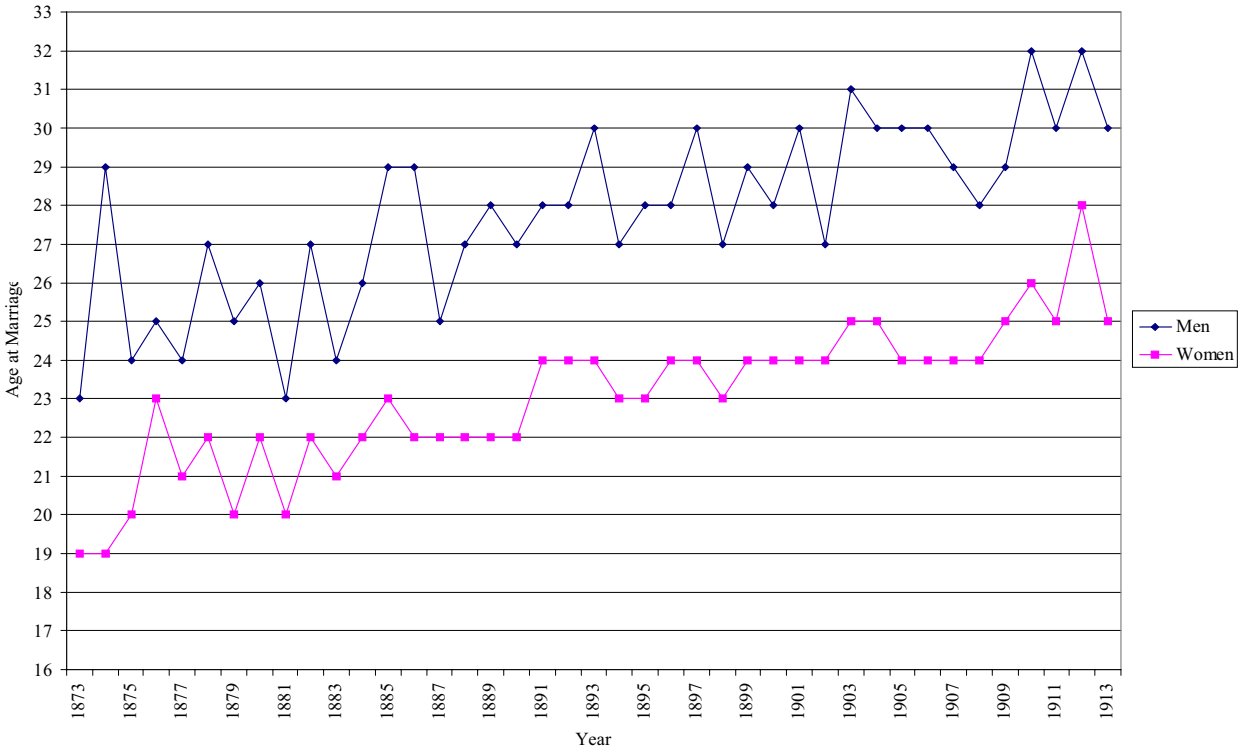
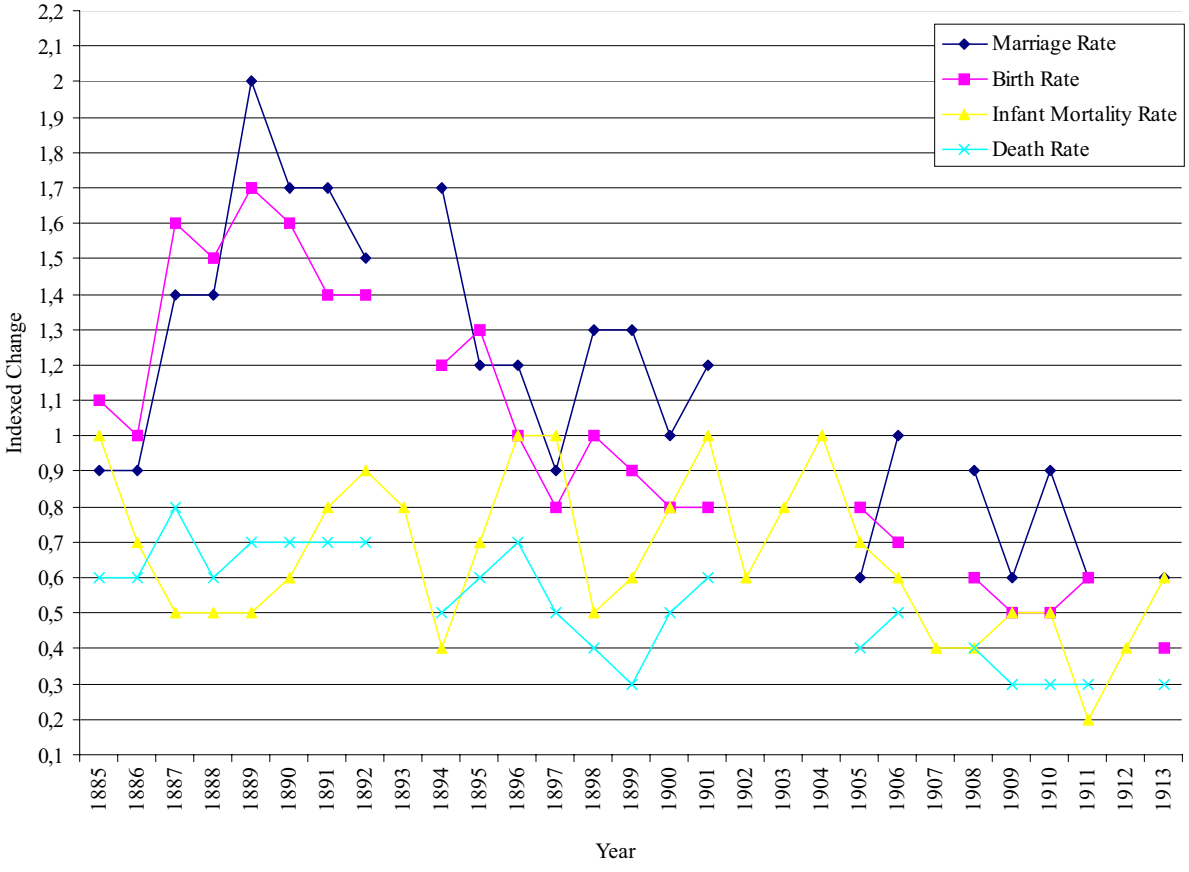
Graph II
Jewish Age Cohorts in Smolensk Province, 1897



Graph III
Age Cohorts Among the General Population in Smolensk Province, 1897



Graph IV
Average Age at Marriage Among Jews in Smolensk Province, 1873-1913



Graph V
Indexed Vital Statistics for Jews in Smolensk Province in 1885-1913, Using 1884 as Base