

## Appendix A: Sources and Methodology for Section 2

### General

For the purposes of this paper we cite the most commonly accepted estimates of the Jewish and total populations found in secondary sources. Following the paper, we refer to two geographical areas that we call Germany-Austria (GA) and Poland-Lithuania (PL), and the 430 years are divided into two periods, 1500-1800 and 1800-1930. For the first period (1500-1800) GA corresponds to the Holy Roman Empire and PL corresponds to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (see map 1 below). For the second period (1800-1936), GA consists of the territories of the *Kaiserreich* excluding Posen and West Prussia. It also includes the Habsburg Empire including Austria, Bohemia and Moravia but we exclude Galicia and Hungary. PL for the second period consists of Congress Poland, Posen, West Prussia, Galicia and those provinces of the Pale of Settlement that belonged to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth before the 18<sup>th</sup> century partitions, i.e. Vilna, Vitebsk, Grodno, Kovno, Minsk, Mogilev, Podolia, Volhynia and Kiev (see map 2 below).

**Map 1 Germany-Austria and Poland-Lithuania in 17<sup>th</sup> century**



**Map 2 Germany-Austria and Poland-Lithuania in the 19<sup>th</sup> century**



**A1: Jewish and total population in GA 1500-1750 (sources for Table 1)**

**Table 1: The Jewish and total populations of Germany-Austria (GA): 1500-1750**

Year	Jews (in thousands)	Total (in thousands)	Share of Jews (%)	Annual growth rate of Jews (%)	Annual growth rate of total (%)
1500	40	16,000	0.25		
1600	35-40	18,000-20,000	0.2	0.00	0.11 to 0.22
1650	60	16,000-17,000	0.35	0.81	-0.23 to -0.32

1700	110	19,000-20,000	0.55	1.21	0.34
1750	128	26,265 <sup>a</sup>	0.49	0.30	0.32-0.38

a) In 1786

Sources: **1500** Jews: Guggenheim (1989, pp. 130-31); Toch (2003 (1), p. 13); Total: Rabe (1989, p. 27); Whaley (2012 vol. 1, p. 50); **1600** Jews & Total: Battenberg (2001, p.10); **1650** Jews: Battenberg (2001, p. 33); Bell (2008, p. 48); Total: Schormann (2001, p.269); Whaley (2012, vol. 1 p. 633); **1700** Jews: Israel (1985, p. 170); Battenberg (1990, part 2, pp. 1-2); also see Battenberg (2001, pp. 32 ff); Total: Battenberg (2001, pp. 32 ff); **1750** Jews: Israel (1985, p. 303); Thon (1908, p. 5 for the year 1776); Hartmann (1995, p. 348 for the year 1796). Total: Kolb (1875, p. 36 for the year 1786); Hartmann (1995, p. 348 for the year 1796).

We estimate that in 1500 there were approximately 40,000 Jews (or perhaps somewhat less) within a total population of 16 million in GA (Map 1). This is based on Guggenheim (1989) who estimated that there were approximately 7,000-8,000 Jewish families, equivalent to about 40,000 individuals, in GA. This estimate applies to the period between the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup>.<sup>1</sup> More recently, Toch (2003) accepted Guggenheim's estimate of 40,000 Jews (7,000-8,000 families) in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century and allowed for the possibility that this number even shrank by the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. He does not agree with the excessive estimate of 80,000 Jews (in 1490) suggested by Salo Baron (1971) and cited by Stow (1992).<sup>2</sup> He also concurred with Guggenheim's estimate that Jews constituted about 0.25% of the total population.<sup>3</sup>

We follow Guggenheim's and Toch's estimate of the Jewish population because this is currently the only data-based estimate found in literature. It is based on research on individual localities in which Jews resided. Information on localities in which the Jews are reported to have resided is embodied in the volumes of *Germania Judaica* which provide information on over 1,000 such communities. For the period 1350 to ca. 1530, Toch estimates that there were 1022 locations with a Jewish presence.<sup>4</sup> For about half of these, there is some indication of the size of the Jewish population. Toch divided the communities according to size based on number of families. His diagram indicates that in the majority of locations there were only one or two Jewish families, in some there were between three and nine families and in only a small number were there communities of 30+ families.<sup>5</sup> Analysis of this data by Guggenheim and Toch does not allow such a high estimate as the one provided by Baron and cited by Stow. Neither Baron nor Stow insisted on the accuracy of the estimate of 80,000 Jews. They only used it as a provisional "guesstimate".

We estimate the total population to be 16 million based on Rabe (1989)'s estimate for 1500. His estimate includes Netherlands (2 million) and the Swiss Confederation (550,000 to 600,000) but excludes parts of the Italian territory that were part of the GA at that time (see Map 4.1).<sup>6</sup> Whaley (2012), in his recent History of the Holy Roman Empire follows the same estimate of Rabe's. We are not aware of a different estimate of the Empire's population in 1500.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Guggenheim (1989, pp. 130-31).

<sup>2</sup> Toch (2003 (1), p. 13); Stow (1992, p.7, table 1.1); Baron (repr. 2007).

<sup>3</sup> Toch (ibid, p.13).

<sup>4</sup> Toch (ibid, p. 12).

<sup>5</sup> Toch (2003 (1), p.12); (2003 (2) XIV, pp.81-83, fig. 5.4).

<sup>6</sup> Rabe (1989, p. 27).

<sup>7</sup> Whaley (2012, vol. 1, p. 50).

Based on Battenberg (2001), we estimate that the Jewish population of GA was about 35,000-40,000 in 1600 while the total population grew to about 18-20 million. Thus, the Jews constituted a mere 0.2% of the total population.<sup>8</sup> In the southeastern part of GA, the Jewish population was about 15,000.<sup>9</sup> The largest communities were in Prague (10,000-15,000 in 1600),<sup>10</sup> Vienna (2,400 in 1624)<sup>11</sup> and Nikolsburg (1,000 in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>12</sup> In the north and northwestern parts of GA (including the Netherlands), there were perhaps some 3,000 Jews.<sup>13</sup> In the mid-western part, there were some 15,000 Jews with the largest communities in Frankfurt (2,200 in 1600 and 3,000 in 1610), Friedberg (around 600 in 1600), Worms (over 600 Jews in 1610-1619), and Fulda (about 450 Jews in 1633).<sup>14</sup> In the southwestern part, there were some 3,000 Jews, with a large community in Metz (about 400 Jews in 1620).<sup>15</sup>

The Jewish population in GA is estimated to have reached about 60,000 in 1650 out of a total population of 16-17 million. Battenberg (2001) provides this estimate as of the end of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) and Bell follows his estimate.<sup>16</sup> This is the only estimate that we are aware of from recent historical research. For the total population, we follow Schormann (2001)'s estimate.<sup>17</sup> Schormann (2001) estimates a 15-20% decrease in the early modern Reich's population, from 20 million to 16-17 million.<sup>18</sup> Whaley (2012) cites Schormann as well while admitting that "hard statistical evidence is [...] difficult to come by."<sup>19</sup> The growth of the Jewish population of GA was less affected, according to Battenberg. This is partly because there was some migration of Jews from PL to GA in the wake of the Khmel'nitsky Uprising.<sup>20</sup>

In 1700, we estimate that the Jewish population in GA was about 110,000 and the total population was of 19-20 million. These figures are based primarily on Battenberg (2001), who followed Jonathan Israel in estimating that there were about 50,000 Jews in Bohemia and Moravia out of a total population of about 4 million and about 60,000 in the rest of GA out of a total population of 15 million.<sup>21</sup> The numbers for Bohemia and Moravia may have been somewhat lower since according to Vobecka (2013)'s research the Jewish population only reached 50,000 in 1726.<sup>22</sup>

In 1750, we estimate the Jewish population of GA was about 128,000 and the total population was about 26 million. These figures are based on Israel (1985) who provided an estimate of 70,000 Jews in Germany in 1750 and on Thon,

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<sup>8</sup> Battenberg (2001, p.10).

<sup>9</sup> Battenberg (ibid p. 10-11).

<sup>10</sup> Vobecka, following Brosche, estimated that there were 10,000-15,000 Jewish residents in 1600 (2013, p. 20).

<sup>11</sup> Battenberg (2001, p.10).

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Battenberg (Ibid, pp.11-12).

<sup>14</sup> Battenberg (Ibid, pp.12-13).

<sup>15</sup> Battenberg (Ibid1, p. 13).

<sup>16</sup> Battenberg (Ibid, p. 33); Bell (2008, p. 48).

<sup>17</sup> Schormann (2001, p.269).

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Whaley (2012, vol. 1 p. 633). Whaley mentions that the estimates depend on the geographical focus of the demographic studies, i.e. whether the focus is on the German borders of 1871-1914 (the Second Reich) or on those of the early Reich. Schormann's estimate (fn. 26) refers to the early Reich.

<sup>20</sup> Battenberg (2001, pp. 32-33).

<sup>21</sup> Israel (1985, p. 170); Battenberg (1990, part 2, pp. 1-2); see also Battenberg (2001, pp. 32 ff).

<sup>22</sup> Vobecka (2013, p. 22).

whose estimates for 1776 suggest that there were about 58,000 Jews in Austria (in which we include Bohemia and Moravia but exclude Galicia).<sup>23</sup> A less recent study by Kolb (1875) provides an estimate of 26,265,000 for the total population of GA in 1786.<sup>24</sup>

Hartmann (1995) provides an analysis of the population of GA at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and estimates the total population was 27,499,678 in 1796.<sup>25</sup> He also analyzed the confessional breakdown of the GA's population; however, he was mainly interested in the Catholic and Protestant communities and the information he provides on Jews is only partial. Nevertheless, he claimed that Jews comprised 1% of the total population (i.e. they numbered approximately 275,000) by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>26</sup> This estimate is close to our estimate of the Jewish population in Germany and Austria in 1816.

## A2: Jewish and total population in Germany 1800-1930 (Sources for Table 2)

**Table 2: Jewish and total population of Germany: 1816-1930\***

Year	Jews (in thousands)	Total (in thousands)	Share of Jews (%)	Annual growth rate of Jews (%)	Annual growth rate of total (%)
1816	214	21,989	0.97		
1825	245	24,804	0.99	1.50	1.34
1834	270	27,064	1.00	1.08	0.97
1843	309	29,748	1.04	1.50	1.05
1852	329	31,693	1.04	0.70	0.70
1861	353	33,652	1.05	0.78	0.67
1871	383	36,323	1.05	0.82	0.76
1880	437	40,218	1.09	1.50	1.13
1890	467	44,639	1.04	0.67	1.04
1900	497	50,626	0.98	0.62	1.26
1910	539	58,451	0.92	0.81	1.44
1925	564	63,181	0.90	0.30	0.52
1933	503	66,022	0.76	-1.43	0.55

\*For the borders of Germany see Appendix A and Map 3.2. Sources: Blau (unpublished manuscript, p. 276, table 54); Bennathan (1932, p. 95, table 5).

Starting from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century regular censuses were conducted in German states. For the most part censuses were conducted every three years until the Unification of Germany in 1871 at which point censuses were conducted every five years. Probably the most elaborate research on Jewish demography in the German lands in 1800-1945 was done by

<sup>23</sup> Israel (1995, p. 303); Thon (1908, p. 5).

<sup>24</sup> Kolb (1875, p. 36). Kolb also provides a breakdown of the population of the Reich by region (ibid.). His figures are also quoted by Dann (1996, pp. 401-3, table 1).

<sup>25</sup> Hartmann (1995, p. 348).

<sup>26</sup> Hartmann (1995, p. 369, diagram 6).

Bruno Blau in his unpublished manuscript *Die Entwicklung der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Deutschland von 1800-1945*.<sup>27</sup> Bruno Blau summarizes the data he gathered from the 19<sup>th</sup> century censuses for both the Jewish and the total populations. Bruno Blau's summary is presented in table 3.2. Very similar data is found in Esra Bennathan (1966)'s article as well as in Schmelz (1982)'s book.<sup>28</sup>

We have also consulted other valuable sources that are worth mentioning here. The census data for the Jewish population is conveniently summarized in the publications of the Bureau of Jewish Statistics (Bureau für Demographie und Statistik der Juden) in the beginning of the 20th century, especially in *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*. In the same publication total population figures are often provided as well. Census data is also found in *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*,<sup>29</sup> *Statistisches Jahrbuch für den Preussischen Staat* and *Statistisches Handbuch für den preussischen Staat*.<sup>30</sup>

### A3: Jewish and total population of Austria (sources for Table 3)

**Table 3: Jewish and total population of Austria: 1784 -1930\***

Year	Jews (in thousands)	Total (in thousands)	Share of Jews (%)	Annual growth rate of (%)	Annual growth rate of total (%)
1785	70	7,724	0.90		
1830	106	11,065	0.96	0.92	0.80
1857	172	13,006	1.32	1.79	0.60
1869	246	14,128	1.74	2.98	0.69
1880	319	15,180	2.10	2.36	0.65
1890	371	16,144	2.30	1.51	0.62
1900	413	17,587	2.35	1.07	0.86
1910	442	20,546	2.15	0.68	1.55
1934*	308	17,433	1.77		

\*Includes the Austrian republic (post WWI country), Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia (part of Czechoslovakia). See Appendix A and Map 2 for the borders on Austria.

Source: 1785-1900: Thon (1908, pp. 5-6, 8 table 1); 1910 Jews: Haas (1912, p. 149); Total: *Österreichische Statistik*, Neue Folge (1910-1915, vol 1 (1), p. 36); 1934: *American Jewish Year Book* (Vol. 37 (1935-1936), p.360, table 8); Vobecka (2013, for Bohemia, p. 47, table 4.1; for Moravia p. 219).

In the Austrian Empire comprehensive censuses began in 1869 and were conducted once in ten years until the dissolution of Austria-Hungary. For the Jewish and total populations of Austria we mainly used Jacob Thon (1908)'s book in which the author compiled data from various Austrian censuses and which has served as a reference book for demographic

<sup>27</sup> The manuscript is available online on The Center for Jewish Research website: <http://search.cjh.org>.

<sup>28</sup> Bennathan, Esra. "Die demographische und wirtschaftliche Struktur der Juden." In *Entscheidungsjahr, 1932*, ed. Werner Mosse, 87–131. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, p. 94 table 5. Schmelz, Uziel Oskar. *Die demographische Entwicklung der Juden in Deutschland von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis 1933*. H. Boldt, 1982.

<sup>29</sup> Available online at: <https://www.digizeitschriften.de/dms/toc/?PID=PPN514401303>.

<sup>30</sup> Available in part at: <https://archive.org>.

historians ever since it was published by Bureau für Demographie und Statistik der Juden. The book provides data on the total as well as Jewish population. For the early 20th century we have used a number of secondary sources the main of which are *Österreichische Statistik* and *American Jewish Year Book*.

#### A4: Jewish and total population in Poland-Lithuania 1500-1764 (sources for Table 4)

**Table 4: Jewish and total population in Poland-Lithuania 1500-1764**

Year	Jews (in thousands)	Total (in thousands)	Share of Jews (%)	Annual growth rate of Jews (%)	Annual growth rate of total (%)
1500 <sup>a</sup>	10-15	7,500	0.13	--	--
1550	55	8,500 <sup>b</sup>	0.65	2.6-3.4	0.25
1648	185	11,000	1.68	1.24	0.26
1660	163	8,000 or 9,000	1.81-2.03	-1.05	-2.0
1764 <sup>c</sup>	750	14,000	5.36	1.5	0.4-0.5

a) The date is approximate. The estimate is for the end of the 15th century. (b) Second half of the 16th century. (c) 1764/1765. Sources: Jews: Weinryb (1972 p. 320); Stampfer (1997, pp. 263-67). Kupovetsky, YIVO (2010, October 12); Total: 1500, 1648, 1772 Gieysztorowa (1968, table 1, n.p.); (1981, p. 430, table 1); Jezierski & Leszczyńska (2003, p. 41, table 2.1); 1550: Łukasiewicz et al. (2014, p.49, table 2); 1660: based on Kuklo (2009, p. 212).

The figures for 1500 are according to the estimates of Weinryb (1972), Stampfer (1997) and Kupovetsky (2010) which are mostly based on limited fiscal registers that mention the existing Jewish communities. The earliest of them is the Coronation tax register of 1507, which lists 54 communities: 29 in Great Poland, 10 in Mazovia, 10 in Red Russ and 5 in Lesser Poland.<sup>31</sup> A number of leading scholars have attempted to complement the information in the registers using various methods. Schiper (1932) counted 61 communities in the Kingdom of Poland and estimated that there were 17-18,000 Jews in Poland and 6,000 in Lithuania.<sup>32</sup> Salo Baron (1976) reported 50 communities in the Crown and 4 in Lithuania and estimated the Jewish population at 30,000.<sup>33</sup> In contrast to them, Weinryb (1972) provided a much lower estimate of 6,000-8,800 Jews in the Kingdom of Poland and an unknown number in Lithuania, which amounts to some 10,000 Jews.<sup>34</sup> Stampfer (1997) prefers Weinryb's figure of 10,000 to Salo Baron's figure of 30,000 because the annual

<sup>31</sup> Horn (1974, pp.11-15).

<sup>32</sup> Schiper (1932, p.31). His estimate is based on the hearth (chimney) tax. He calculated that there were 28-38 residents in a brick house charged with a tax of 4 zloty, while there were only 15 residents in a wooden house charged with a tax of 2 zloty.

<sup>33</sup> Baron (1976, p. 207). Among other studies, Smasonowicz (1989, p.36) reported 89 communities (excluding Silesia) and estimated the Jewish population of Poland at 4,500. Guldon (2000) presented the longest list which consisted of 106 Jewish settlements established in Poland before 1507. However, since many of those communities were only temporary, his list is not a reliable basis for calculating population. For a critique of Guldon's list, see, for example, Zaremska (2011, pp. 241-42).

<sup>34</sup> Weinryb (1972, pp. 309-11).

growth proposed by Weinryb (1972) (of about 2%) seems to more closely fit the known data for the later period (18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries).<sup>35</sup>

The total population of Poland-Lithuania was estimated by Gieysztorowa (1968, 1981) to be 7,500,000 people in 1500 (total area of 1,140 km<sup>2</sup>; population density of 6.6 per km<sup>2</sup>).<sup>36</sup> Her estimate was adopted more recently by Jezierski and Leszczyńska (2003).<sup>37</sup>

For the year 1550, we follow Kupovetsky (2010) who estimates the Jewish population to be 55,000.<sup>38</sup> According to Weinryb (1972), the capitation tax (of one zloty per head) collected from the Jews in 1579 in Poland proper totaled 10,000 zloty.<sup>39</sup> In his opinion, the capitation tax may reflect the actual number of Jews in Lithuania but could hardly reflect the actual number of Jews in Poland proper who numbered many more than 10,000 in 1579. Weinryb thinks that the implementation of the capitation tax was lax and in many places it was collected per family and not *per capita*.<sup>40</sup> Kupovetsky does not explain how he arrived at his estimate of 55,000. However, given Weinryb's assessment that the tax was often collected per family, the figure of 55,000 Jews seems to correlate to some extent with the amount of tax collected in Poland proper in 1579 (i.e. 10,000 zloty) and also probably reflects the ongoing migration from the West. The estimated total population of about 8.5 million is adopted by us from *The History of Poland in Numbers* (2014).<sup>41</sup> The territory of Poland in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century was 867,000 km<sup>2</sup> and the average population density increased from 6.6 per km<sup>2</sup> in 1500 to 10 per km<sup>2</sup> in 1550.<sup>42</sup>

For the year 1648, we follow Kupovetsky (2010) who estimates the Jewish population to be 185,000 on the eve of the period of wars that included Khmelnytsky's uprising.<sup>43</sup> He essentially adopts Weinryb (1972)'s original estimates with a slight deviation. Weinryb in turn derives his estimates from Ettinger's study of the Jewish demography of Ukraine and his comparison with the census of 1764.<sup>44</sup> According to Ettinger, there were 51,325 Jews in Ukraine in 1648.<sup>45</sup> In 1764, the Jews constituted 30.7% of the total Jewish population of Crown Poland (excluding Lithuania) which numbered 430,009. Weinryb then applied that proportion to the year 1648 to arrive at the figure of 170,000 for the Jewish population of Poland, excluding Lithuania.<sup>46</sup> Kupovetsky's estimate of 185,000 includes Lithuania.<sup>47</sup>

The total population of Poland-Lithuania in 1648 is estimated by Gieysztorowa (1968; 1981) at 11 million with a density of 11.1 persons per km<sup>2</sup> (based on Poland-Lithuania's territory of 990,000 km<sup>2</sup>).<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Weinryb (1972 p. 320); Stampfer (1997, pp. 263-67).

<sup>36</sup> Gieysztorowa (1968, table 1, n.p.); (1981, p. 430, table 1).

<sup>37</sup> Jezierski & Leszczyńska (2003, p. 41, table 2.1).

<sup>38</sup> Kupovetsky (2010, table 1).

<sup>39</sup> Weinryb (1972, p. 315).

<sup>40</sup> Weinryb (1972, p. 315).

<sup>41</sup> *History of Poland in Numbers* (2014, p.49, table 2).

<sup>42</sup> *History of Poland in Numbers* (2014, p.49, table 2).

<sup>43</sup> Kupovetsky (2010, table 1).

<sup>44</sup> Weinryb (1972, pp.316-18).

<sup>45</sup> Ettinger (1956, p.124).

<sup>46</sup> Weinryb (1972, pp. 316-17). Although her estimate is based on the problematic assumption that the ratio of Jews in Ukraine to the total number of Jews in Poland remained stable during the period 1648-1764, it still provides us with an approximation for 1648.

<sup>47</sup> Kupovetsky (2010, table 1).

<sup>48</sup> Gieysztorowa (1968, n. p. table 1; 1981, p. 430, table 1).

Contrary to the significant decline in the Jewish population reported by contemporary chroniclers as a result of Khmel'nitsky's uprising (over 100,000 killed and hundreds of communities destroyed),<sup>49</sup> Stampfer (2003)'s study shows that the number of Jewish casualties was in fact much lower, most likely in the range of 18,000-20,000.<sup>50</sup> Kupovetsky (2010) follows Stampfer's assessment of the losses and estimates that 163,000 Jews were probably living in Poland-Lithuania after the period of the wars in 1660 (i.e. a decrease of 22,000 since 1648).<sup>51</sup> Thus, the annual rate of population growth was -1.05 % during the period 1648-1660 (see table 4.5).

The decline in the total population of Poland-Lithuania resulting from the multiple wars, the uprising, the loss of eastern territories and famine were estimated by Kuklo (2009) to be 20-30%.<sup>52</sup> Thus, the total population probably dropped from 11 to 8-9 million which implies a negative annual growth of about -2% during the period 1648-1660. Thus, the decline in the Gentile population was much more severe than that in the Jewish population.

As mentioned, the special Jewish census of 1764-5 provides the most important milestone for estimating the Jewish population of Old Poland. The results of the census are reported by Mahler who added 6.35% for children under the age of one who were not included and also increased the figures by a factor of 20% to compensate for the underreporting due to tax evasion.<sup>53</sup> The original census data showed a Jewish population of 587,658 (430,009 in Poland and 157,649 in Lithuania).<sup>54</sup> Following Mahler's corrections, this figure increases to 750,000.<sup>55</sup> Stampfer (1985) feels that Mahler's conclusions are generally accurate since they correspond reasonably well to the data and the annual rate of growth during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>56</sup>

Mahler's corrections of the census results received further support from Judith Kalik's recent book on the Jewish poll tax lists.<sup>57</sup> After examining the newly discovered tax lists for Crown Poland for the period 1717-1764, Kalik concluded that the poll tax was never collected from all of the Jewish communities in every year.<sup>58</sup> Kalik compared the lists with the results of the 1764 census and concluded that the amount paid by each community was never fully detached from the actual number of its members. In order to estimate the total "tax potential" for the year 1764, Kalik complemented the data with numbers for the missing communities from the poll-tax lists for the years prior to the census. The results

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<sup>49</sup> See Weinryb (1972, p. 194). Dubnov seems to accept the enormous scale of losses (1916, vol. 1, pp. 156-7) while Weinryb's estimate is more moderate (1972, p. 197).

<sup>50</sup> Stampfer (2003, pp. 218-22).

<sup>51</sup> Kupovetsky (2010, table 1).

<sup>52</sup> Kuklo (2009, p. 212). Kuklo follows Gieysztorowa's study of the three main provinces of Poland (1981, pp. 432-33).

<sup>53</sup> Mahler (1958, ch. 1).

<sup>54</sup> Mahler (1958, pp. 45-46).

<sup>55</sup> Mahler (1958, ch. 1). See discussion in Stampfer (1985).

<sup>56</sup> Stampfer (1985).

<sup>57</sup> Kalik (2009, pp. 4-5).

<sup>58</sup> See Kalik (2009, ch. 3, esp. pp. 44-46, table 1).

show that 521,011 zloty could have been potentially collected in 1764, whereas the census shows 429,589 Jews.<sup>59</sup> The difference of 21.28% is close to the correction factor suggested by Mahler and corroborated by Stampfer.<sup>60</sup>

The total population of Poland in 1772 was estimated by Gieysztorowa (1968; 1981) at 14,000,000 and Poland's territory, after 16% losses during the 17th century, was 733,500 km<sup>2</sup>, so that the population density was 19.1 per km<sup>2</sup>.<sup>61</sup> The Jewish rate of population growth for the period 1660-1764 is calculated to be 1.5% while that of the non-Jewish population is calculated to be 0.5% (Table 4.5).

#### **A5: Poland-Lithuania: Jewish and total population, 1800-1939 (Sources for Table 5)**

The data for the partitioned PL territories has to be collected from the census data of Prussia, Austria, Congress Poland and Russia. The Prussian census data gives us a clear picture of the Jewish and total population growth in Posen and West Prussia. Galician census data is rather unreliable until 1869 and should be taken with caution. Nonetheless, estimates for the period prior to 1869 have been attempted and are presented below. The most important areas of Jewish residence were of course the territories under the Russian control – Congress Poland and the Pale of Settlement (=Belarus and Western Ukraine). The so-called revisions, capitulation censuses in the Russian Empire, started in 1718 under Peter the Great. For the period presented in table 3.5 the relevant revisions are V (1794), VIII (1833) and IX (1850). The data was studied by Kabuzan (1992). The data suffers from severe underreporting in the case of Jews and follow-up counts were initiated by the Russian authorities in order to complement the missing Jews. Below we provide the data as it was corrected by the editors of the Smaller Jewish Encyclopedia (SJE).

**Table 5: Poland-Lithuania: Jewish and total population, 1800-1939**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Jews (in thousands)<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>Old/new total population (in thousands)<sup>b</sup></b>	<b>Share of Jews<sup>c</sup> (%)</b>	<b>Annual growth rate Jews (%)</b>	<b>Annual growth rate Total Population (%)</b>
1800	1,066/9	15,751/19,735	6.77	1.00	0.33
1834	2,176/27	19,198/24,784	11.33	2.09	0.58
1850	2,811/41	21,402/27,740	13.13	1.60	0.68
1865	3,599/??	24,527/32,324	14.67	1.54	0.91
1880	4,702/155	30,520/40,710	15.41	1.78	1.46
1897	5,764/315	39,799/53,106	14.48	1.20	1.56
1926	5,037	64,305	7.83	-0.46	0.66
1939	5,377	75,715	7.10	0.50	1.26

<sup>59</sup> Kalik (2009, p. 46, table 1).

<sup>60</sup> Kalik's data consistently shows a higher tax potential than that indicated by the census results not only for Crown Poland as a whole but also for individual fiscal units (2009, p. 42).

<sup>61</sup> Gieysztorowa (1968, n. p. table 1 and 1981 p. 430, table1).

a) The first figure in this column is the number of Jews on the territories of the former Poland-Lithuania as well as in the “non-Polish” areas of the Pale of Settlement. The second figure after the slash shows the number of Jews in the Russian Empire outside the Pale of Settlement.

b) The "old total" number shows the total population of the pre-partitioned Poland. The "new total" includes the total population of the pre-partitioned Poland as well as the “non-Polish” provinces of the Pale of Settlement. (See below ft. 139).

c) The share of Jews based on the "old total" numbers.

Sources: **1800** Jews: SJE (1994 vol. 7 col. 385, table 7); Rosenfeld (1914, p. 140); Kupovetsky (2010, table 3); Silbergleit (1930, p. 7, table 5; pp. 18-19, table 9); Total: Rashin (1956, pp. 28-9, table 10); Gieysztorowa (1968, table 2); Zamorski (1989, p.45, table 1, p.46, table 2); *Jahrbuch für die amtliche Statistik des Preussischen Staates* (1883, p. 74, table 4). **1834**, SJE (1994 vol. 7 col. 385, table 7); Himka (1999, p. 26, table 1); Silbergleit (1930, pp. 18-19, table 9); Kemlein (1997, p. 58, table 2); Total: Rashin (1956, pp. 28-9, table 10); Guesnet (1998 p. 31 table 1); Zamorski (1989, p.45, table 1, p.46, table 2); *Jahrbuch für die amtliche Statistik des preussischen Staates*, (1883 p. 74, table 4). **1850** Jews: SJE (vol. 7, col. 385, table 7); Himka (1999, p. 26, table 1); Kemlein (1997, p. 58, table 2); Silbergleit (1930, pp. 18-19, table 9); Total: Rashin (1956, pp. 28-29, table 10); Gieysztorowa (1968, table 2); Zamorski (1989, p.45, table 1); *Jahrbuch für die amtliche Statistik des preussischen Staates*, (1883 p. 74, table 4). **1865** Jews: SJE (vol. 7, cols. 385, table 7); Rosenfeld (1914, p. 142); Kemlein (1997, p. 58, table 2); Silbergleit (1930, pp. 18-19, table 9); Total: Rashin (1956, pp. 44-45, table 19); Guesnet (1998 p. 31 table 1); Zamorski (1989, p. 69, table 12A); *Jahrbuch für die amtliche Statistik des preussischen Staates*, (1883 p. 76, table 4); **1880** SJE (vol. 7, cols. 382–90, table 7); Zamorski (1989, p. 69, table 12A); Silbergleit (1930, pp. 18-19, table 9); Total: Rashin (1956, pp. 44-45, table 19); Guesnet (1998, p. 31 table 1); Zamorski (1989, p.45, table 1); *Jahrbuch für die amtliche Statistik des preussischen Staates*, (1883 p. 76, table 4); **1897** Jews: SJE (vol. 7, cols. 382–90, table 7); Zamorski (1989, p. 69, table 12A); Silbergleit (1930, pp. 18-19, table 9); Total: Rashin (1956, pp. 44-45, table 19); Guesnet (1998, p. 31 table 1); Zamorski (1989, p. 69, table 12A); *Jahrbuch für die amtliche Statistik des preussischen Staates*, p. 76, table 4. **1925** Linfield (1931, vol.33, pp. 283, 315); Eberhardt (2003, p. 40, table 2.14); Jezierski (2003, p.357, table 84). **1939** Tolts (YIVO 12 October 2010 table 1); Linfield (1941-1942, p.668); Lorimer (1946, pp. 241-42 table 22A).

Based on the estimates appearing in the Shorter Jewish Encyclopedia (SJE), the Jewish population of the Pale of Settlement (including the Kingdom of Poland) was 811,000 in 1800<sup>62</sup> and there were 9,000 Jews in other parts of Russia outside of the Pale. According to Rosenfeld (who follows Luca), the number of Jews in Galicia was 201,277 in 1803.<sup>63</sup> Lestschinsky provides a similar figure for 1817 (200,277).<sup>64</sup> It is possible that the Jews were underreporting and that the actual number was significantly higher as Stampfer argues.<sup>65</sup> Kupovetsky estimated that there were 45,000 Jews in Posen in 1800.<sup>66</sup>

The calculation for West Prussia is based on the census data provided by Silbergleit, who suggests 12,629 for 1816 and 15,850 in 1825.<sup>67</sup> The growth rate between 1816 and 1825 would therefore be 2.52%. Extrapolating back to 1800, we obtain a Jewish population of 8,442 Jews. Thus, if we now add up the populations of the Pale, Galicia, Posen and West Prussia, we find that the Jewish population of Poland-Lithuania is approximately 1,066,000 in 1800.

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<sup>62</sup> SJE (vol. 7, col. 382–90, table 7).

<sup>63</sup> Rosenfeld (1914, p. 140).

<sup>64</sup> Lestschinsky (1922, p. 87, table XXX).

<sup>65</sup> Stampfer (1989, p. 53).

<sup>66</sup> Kupovetsky (2010, table 3).

<sup>67</sup> Silbergleit (1930, p. 7, table 5; pp. 18-19, table 9).

The second column shows two numbers for the total population until 1897: "Old Total Population" and "New Total Population" (see above). The former includes only those provinces that were part of pre-partition Poland.<sup>68</sup> This figure for the total population in 1800 is based on Rashin (1956)'s data for the population of the Russian provinces. Rashin reports a total population of 8,663,000 for 1811 and 9,278,700 for 1838.<sup>69</sup> These figures generate an annual growth rate of 0.25%. Extrapolating back from 1811 to 1800 yields an estimated population of 8,428,000 in the Russian territory that belonged to Poland before the partitions.

Gieysztorowa estimated the population of the Kingdom of Poland to be 3,520,000 in 1820 and estimated the annual rate of population growth to be 1% during the period 1820-1850.<sup>70</sup> If the same growth rate is applied to the period 1800-1820, we obtain an estimated population for the Kingdom of Poland of approximately 2,882,000 in 1800.<sup>71</sup>

Zamorski estimates the total population of Galicia to be 3,574,410 in 1807 and suggests an annual rate of growth of 1.06% for the period 1780-1807.<sup>72</sup> Therefore, we calculate the total population of Galicia in 1800 to be approximately 3,319,000.

The population of Posen is calculated to be 909,000 in 1820, based on Gieysztorowa's estimates. According to her, the annual growth rate was 1.3% during the period 1820-1850.<sup>73</sup> Extrapolating backwards, we arrive at a population of 701,000 in Posen in 1800. Based on census data, the population of West Prussia is estimated to be 571,081 in 1861 and 804,155 in 1834.<sup>74</sup> These numbers imply an annual growth rate of 1.9%. Extrapolating backwards we arrive at a population of about 421,000 for West Prussia in 1800. The "old total" of 15,751,000 is the sum of the populations of the aforementioned territories.

The "new total population" includes all fifteen provinces in the Pale of Settlement<sup>75</sup> (without the Kingdom of Poland) and is estimated by Rashin to be 13,140,300 in 1811.<sup>76</sup> This figure grew to 15,066,400 in 1838, which implies an annual growth rate of 0.51%. Extrapolating backward, we obtain a population of 12,412,000 in 1800. The numbers for the Kingdom of Poland, Galicia, Posen and West Prussia are stated above. Thus, the "new total population" is 19,735,000. The estimated Jewish population of 1,773,000 in 1834 is based on the numbers given in the SJE for the Pale of Settlement and the Kingdom of Poland for 1834. Outside of the Pale according SJE there were 27,000 Jews.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Rashin (1956, pp. 44-5, table 10). The provinces included in the "old total" are Vilna, Vitebsk, Grodno, Kovno, Minsk, Mogilev, Podolia, Volhynia and Kiev. We also add Courland which had been subject to Poland-Lithuania prior to the partitions.

<sup>69</sup> Rashin (1956, pp. 28-9, table 10).

<sup>70</sup> Gieysztorowa (1968, table 2).

<sup>71</sup> Kabuzan provides an estimate of 2,679,000 for 1795, according to the fifth revision data (1992 p. 124, table 4).

<sup>72</sup> Zamorski (1989, p.45, table 1, p.46, table 2).

<sup>73</sup> Gieysztorowa (1968, table 1).

<sup>74</sup> *Jahrbuch für die amtliche Statistik des Preussischen Staates* (1883, p. 74, table 4).

<sup>75</sup> Vilna, Vitebsk, Grodno, Kovno, Minsk, Mogilev, Podolia, Volhynia, Kiev, Chernigov, Poltava, Tavrida, Kherson, Bessarabia and Ekaterinoslav,

<sup>76</sup> Rashin (1956, pp. 28-9, table 10).

<sup>77</sup> SJE (vol. 7, col. 382-90, table 7).

Based on Himka (1999), the Jewish population for Galicia is estimated to be 270,000 in 1825 and based on census data to be 448,973 in 1857.<sup>78</sup> Using the annual growth rate of 1.58% between 1825 and 1857, we can calculate that the Jewish population in Galicia was 311,000 in 1835. Silbergleit (1930) reported that the Jewish population of West Prussia was 17,714 in 1834.<sup>79</sup> For Posen, Kemlein reported a Jewish population of 74,000 in 1835.<sup>80</sup> Adding up all these figures, we obtain a Jewish population of about 2,176,000 in PL in 1834-5.

The "old total population" for 1834-5 is based on Rashin (1956) who estimated that the total population of the relevant provinces was 8,663,000 in 1811 and 9,278,700 in 1838.<sup>81</sup> This yields an annual growth rate of 0.25% and from this we can calculate the population in 1834 as being an estimated 9,176,000. Guesnet estimates the population of the Kingdom of Poland to be 4,059,517 in 1834.<sup>82</sup> Zamorski reports the population of Galicia to be 4,038,101 in 1834.<sup>83</sup> According to census data, the population of Posen was 1,120,000 in 1834 and that of West Prussia was 804,000.<sup>84</sup> Combining the figures for all of the aforementioned regions, we obtain that the "old total population" was about 19,198,000 in 1834.

The "new total population" in 1838 is based on Rashin's estimate of 15,066,000 for the population of the fifteen provinces of the Pale.<sup>85</sup> Extrapolating backwards at the rate of 0.51% (see above) yields a population of 14,762,000 in 1834. Combining the aforementioned estimates, we obtain a "new total population" of 24,784,000 in 1834.

The estimated Jewish population of 2,309,000 in 1850 is based on SJE. This includes the Pale and Congress Poland.<sup>86</sup> The calculation for Galicia is based on Himka (1999) who estimates a figure of 270,000 for 1825 and on the census data for 1857 which reports a Jewish population of 448,973.<sup>87</sup> Using the growth rate of 1.58% that is calculated for the period 1825-1857, we obtain that in 1850 there were about 401,000 Jews in Galicia. In the case of Posen, we follow Kemlein's estimate of 77,000 Jews in 1849.<sup>88</sup> In the case of West Prussia, we follow Silbergleit's estimate of 24,386 Jews in 1852.<sup>89</sup> Therefore, the Jewish population in PL was around 2,811,000 in 1850. The figure of 41,000 is the number of Jews in other parts of Russia in 1850, according to SJE. 90.

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<sup>78</sup> Himka (1999, p. 26, table 1).

<sup>79</sup> Silbergleit (1930, pp. 18-19, table 9).

<sup>80</sup> Kemlein (1997, p. 58, table 2).

<sup>81</sup> Rashin (1956, pp. 28-9, table 10).

<sup>82</sup> Guesnet (1998 p. 31 table 1).

<sup>83</sup> Zamorski (1989, p.45, table 1, p.46, table 2).

<sup>84</sup> *Jahrbuch für die amtliche Statistik des preussischen Staates*, (1883 p. 74, table 4).

<sup>85</sup> Rashin (1956, pp. 28-29, table 10).

<sup>86</sup> SJE (vol. 7, col. 382-90, table 7).

<sup>87</sup> Himka (1999, p. 26, table 1).

<sup>88</sup> Kemlein (1997, p. 58, table 2).

<sup>89</sup> Silbergleit (1930, pp. 18-19, table 9).

<sup>90</sup> SJE (vol. 7, col. 382-90, table 7).

The "old total population" for 1850 is based on Rashin's figure of 9,657,200 for 1851.<sup>91</sup> Gieysztorowa estimates the population of the Kingdom of Poland to be 4,811,000 in 1850.<sup>92</sup> Zamorski estimates the population of Galicia to be 4,555,477 in 1850.<sup>93</sup> According to Gieysztorowa, the population of Posen was 1,353,000 in 1850.<sup>94</sup> According to the *Jahrbuch für die amtliche Statistik des preussischen Staates*, the population of West Prussia was 1,025,713 in 1849.<sup>95</sup> Summing up the aforementioned figures, we arrive at an "old total population" of 21,402,000 in 1850.

Using Rashin's data, we can calculate the "new total population" of the fifteen provinces of the Pale to be 15,995,000 in 1851.<sup>96</sup> Combining this figure with those for the other territories, we obtain a total of 27,740,000.

The estimate of the Jewish population in 1865 is based on the SJE. The Jewish population of the Kingdom of Poland and the Pale of Settlement is 2,309,000 in 1850 and 3,932,000 in 1881.<sup>97</sup> The annual rate of growth during this period is 1.71% which enables us to calculate a Jewish population of about 2,984,000 for 1865. Based on census data, the Jewish population of Galicia is estimated at 448,973 for 1857 and, based on Rosenfeld, at 575,433 for 1869.<sup>98</sup> Using the growth rate of 2.06% during this period yields a Jewish population of 519,000 in 1865 in Galicia. Silbergleit estimates the Jewish population of West Prussia to be 26,730 in 1861 and 26,623 in 1871, thus showing no change during this period.<sup>99</sup> The population of Posen according to Silbergleit is 74,172 in 1861 and 61,982 in 1871 yielding about 69,000 in 1865.<sup>100</sup> Combining these figures, we obtain an estimate of 3,599,000 for the total Jewish population in 1865.

The figure for the "old total population" in 1865 is calculated from Rashin's estimates of 9,657,200 for the relevant provinces in 1851 and 11,032,200 in 1863.<sup>101</sup> The calculated annual growth rate during this period is 1.1%. Based on that rate, the population was 11,277,000 in 1865. Guesnet reports a figure of 5,336,112 for the population of the Kingdom of Poland in 1865.<sup>102</sup> Zamorski estimates the population of Galicia to be 4,597,470 in 1859 and 5,444,689 in 1869.<sup>103</sup> This implies that the annual growth rate is 1.69%, which yields a population of 5,088,000 in Galicia in 1865. According to census data, the population of Posen was 1,573,129 in 1864 and that of West Prussia was 1,253,118.<sup>104</sup> Adding up these figures yields an "old total population" of 24,523,000.

To calculate the "new total population", we use Rashin's figures for the fifteen provinces of the Pale of 15,995,000 in 1851 and 18,599,000 in 1863.<sup>105</sup> The annual growth rate is calculated to be 1.26% and therefore we can extrapolate

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<sup>91</sup> Rashin (1956, pp. 28-29, table 10).

<sup>92</sup> Gieysztorowa (1968, table 2).

<sup>93</sup> Zamorski (1989, p.45, table 1).

<sup>94</sup> Gieysztorowa (1968, table 2).

<sup>95</sup> *Jahrbuch für die amtliche Statistik des preussischen Staates* (1883 p. 74, table 4).

<sup>96</sup> Rashin (1956, pp. 44-45, table 10).

<sup>97</sup> SJE (vol. 7, cols. 382-90, table 7).

<sup>98</sup> Rosenfeld (1914, p. 142).

<sup>99</sup> Silbergleit (1930, pp. 18-19, table 9).

<sup>100</sup> Silbergleit (1930, pp. 18-19, table 9).

<sup>101</sup> Rashin (1956, pp. 44-45, table 10).

<sup>102</sup> Guesnet (1998 p. 31 table 1).

<sup>103</sup> Zamorski (1989, p. 69, table 12A).

<sup>104</sup> *Jahrbuch für die amtliche Statistik des preussischen Staates* (1883 p. 76, table 4).

<sup>105</sup> Rashin (1956, pp. 28-29, table 10).

ahead to obtain an estimate of 19,074,000 in 1865. Thus, the total population of PL with the addition of the other territories we obtain 32,324,000 for the "new total population".

The estimate for the Jewish population in 1880 is based on the SJE's figure of 3,932,000 for the Jewish population of the Pale of Settlement and the Kingdom of Poland in 1881.<sup>106</sup> The census data for Galicia report a Jewish population of 686,596 in 1880.<sup>107</sup> Silbergleit estimates that there were 56,609 Jews in Posen in 1880<sup>108</sup> and 26,547 Jews in West Prussia.<sup>109</sup> Adding up these figures yields a total Jewish population of about 4,702,000. Outside of the pale there were 155,000 according to SJE.<sup>110</sup>

The figure for the "old total population" in 1880 is based on Rashin's estimate of 11,032,200 in 1863 and 15,622,100 in 1885 for the Russian provinces that were formerly part of Poland.<sup>111</sup> This yields a growth rate of 1.58 %. Based on this the population in 1880 is calculated at 14,431,000. Guesnet's figures for the Kingdom of Poland are 5,336,012 in 1865 and 7,414,656 in 1883.<sup>112</sup> This implies a growth rate of 1.83% and therefore we can calculate the population as being 7,021,511 in 1880. According to Zamorski, the population of Galicia was 5,958,907 in 1880.<sup>113</sup> According to census data, the population of Posen was 1,703,000 in 1880<sup>114</sup> and that of West Prussia was 1,405,000.<sup>115</sup> Adding up these figures yields an "old total population" of 30,520,000 in 1880.

The "new total population" is calculated using Rashin's data which suggests that the population of the fifteen provinces of the Pale was 18,599,000 in 1863 and 26,757,000 in 1885.<sup>116</sup> This yields a growth rate of 1.65%. Based on this the total population in 1880 is calculated at 24,621,000. Combining this estimate with those of the other territories, we obtain a "new total population" of 40,710,000 in 1880.

The data for 1897 are based on the most comprehensive survey of the Russian territories up until that point. The Jewish population in the Pale and in the Kingdom of Poland in 1897 is estimated at 4,899,327 according to Lestschinsky.<sup>117</sup> Zamorski reports that the Jewish population of Galicia was 811,371 in 1900.<sup>118</sup> Silbergleit reports that there were 35,327 Jews in Posen in 1897 and 18,226 in West Prussia.<sup>119</sup> Combining these figures, we arrive at a Jewish population of 5,764,000 in 1897.

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<sup>106</sup> SJE (vol. 7, cols. 382-90, table 7).

<sup>107</sup> Zamorski (1989, p. 69, table 12A).

<sup>108</sup> Silbergleit (1930, pp. 18-19, table 9).

<sup>109</sup> Silbergleit (1930, pp. 18-19, table 9).

<sup>110</sup> SJE (vol. 7, cols. 382-90, table 7).

<sup>111</sup> Rashin (1956, pp. 44-45, table 19).

<sup>112</sup> Guesnet (1998, p. 31 table 1).

<sup>113</sup> Zamorski (1989, p.45, table 1).

<sup>114</sup> *Jahrbuch für die amtliche Statistik des preussischen Staates* (1883 p. 76, table 4).

<sup>115</sup> *Jahrbuch für die amtliche Statistik des preussischen Staates* (1883 p. 76, table 4).

<sup>116</sup> Rashin (1956, pp. 44-45, table 19).

<sup>117</sup> Lestschinsky (1922, p. 40, table XI).

<sup>118</sup> Zamorski (1989, p. 69, table 12A).

<sup>119</sup> Silbergleit (1930, pp. 18-19, table 9).

The "old total population" is estimated at 19,629,800 in 1897 based on Rashin's figures.<sup>120</sup> Lestschinsky reports that the population of the Kingdom of Poland was 9,402,253 in 1897.<sup>121</sup> Zamorski reports that the population of Galicia was 7,315,939 in 1900.<sup>122</sup> The census for Posen reports a population of 1,887,275 in 1900 and that for West Prussia reports 1,563,658.<sup>123</sup> Combining these figures, we arrive at an estimated "old total population" of 39,798,925. The "new total population" of 30,202,800 in 1897 is also based on Rashin's figures for the fifteen provinces of the Pale.<sup>124</sup> Combining this estimate with those for the other territories, we obtain a "new total population" of 49,731,000 in 1897. Using Linfield's figures, we find that in 1925 there were 407,059 Jews in Belorussia out of the total population of 4,983,240 (according to the 1926 census); in Ukraine there were 1,574,428 Jews out of the total population of 29,018,187; and in the Crimea there were 45,926 out of the total population of 713,823.<sup>125</sup> According to Linfield's summary of the census of 1923, there were 155,125 Jews in Lithuania<sup>126</sup> while the total population was 2,029,000 according to Eberhardt.<sup>127</sup> In the city of Gdansk (Danzig), which became independent after WWI, there were 9,239 Jews out of a total population of 383,995, according to Linfield.<sup>128</sup> Censuses were carried out in Poland in 1921 and 1931. In 1921, there were 2,845,364 Jews in Poland according to Linfield.<sup>129</sup> The total population according to Jezierski was 27,177,000.<sup>130</sup> Thus, the Jewish population was 5,037,141 in 1926 while the total population was 64,305,245.

For 1939, the data for the Jewish populations is taken from Mark Tolts' summary published by YIVO.<sup>131</sup> There were 3,250,000 Jews in Poland; 155,000 in Lithuania; 1,532,000 in Ukraine; 375,100 in Belorussia; and 65,452 in the Crimea. Thus, the total number of Jews in Poland-Lithuania in 1939 was 5,377,552.

For the total population of Poland-Lithuania in 1939, we adopt Lorimer's figures of 5,568,000 in Belorussia, 30,960,000 in Ukraine and 1,127,000 in Crimea.<sup>132</sup> Combining these figures with Linfield's estimates of 2,879,070 for Lithuania in 1940, 34,775,698 for Poland and 407,517 for Gdansk in 1929, we arrive at a total population of 75,715,285.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Rashin (1956, pp. 44-45, table 19).

<sup>121</sup> Lestschinsky (1922, p. 40, table XI)

<sup>122</sup> Zamorski (1989, p. 69, table 12A).

<sup>123</sup> *Jahrbuch für die amtliche Statistik des preussischen Staates*, p. 76, table 4.

<sup>124</sup> Rashin (1956, pp. 44-45, table 10).

<sup>125</sup> Linfield (1931, vol.33, p. 315).

<sup>126</sup> Linfield (1931, vol.33, p. 283).

<sup>127</sup> Eberhardt (2003, p. 40, table, table 2.14).

<sup>128</sup> Linfield (1931, vol.33, p. 283).

<sup>129</sup> Linfield (1931, vol.33, p. 283).

<sup>130</sup> Jezierski (2003, p.357, table 84).

<sup>131</sup> Tolts (YIVO).

<sup>132</sup> Lorimer (1946, pp. 241-42 table 22A).

<sup>133</sup> Linfield (1941-1942, p.668).