

# **Systematic Study of the Riga House Registers as a Source for Jewish Genealogy in Inter-War Latvia, 1918 – 1940**

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Independent Latvia 1918 – 1940.<sup>1</sup>

## I. Jewish Demographic and Social Background.

The study concentrates on the period of Latvian independence and freedom, which lasted for just a little more than two decades (1918-40). Compared with the centuries-long history of Latvian Jewry, this is a relatively short period of time. The importance of these few years lies perhaps in what they contributed to the development of the concept of “Latvian Jewry”.

In 1897, the year when the first general census of the population of the Russian Empire was conducted, there were 142,315 Jews in Latvia (6.2 % of the overall population). By the eve of World War I, their number had reached up to 170,000. In Riga itself, the Jewish population numbered 16,922 people in 1897, and 33,651 in 1913. Despite the Jewish emigration from the Russian Empire in the late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, Latvian cities were among those centers that accepted Jews. Thus, while the world’s Ashkenazi community (Jews of European descent) grew six- to seven-fold during 1800–1913, within Latvia the size of the Jewish population increased 16- to 17-fold during the same period.<sup>2</sup>

In the wake of World War I, the picture changed. During 1913–1920, Latvia’s population decreased from 2.5 million to 1.6 million. The Jewish population underwent an even more marked decline, shrinking by half. This was caused, first, by the deportation of all the Jews from the Courland province and later from the entire war zone into the interior of Russia; and second, by the fact that a part of Latvian Jews remained in Russia.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Map „Independent Latvian nation 1918 – 1940” // Latvian History: a selection of maps. (Accessible: <http://latvianhistory.wordpress.com/selected-maps/>)

<sup>2</sup> Volkovičs, B. *Ebreji Latvijā laikā starp diviem pasaules kariem*. In the book: *Ebreju iznīcināšana Latvijā, 1941.-1945: lekciju cikls*. Rīga: Biedrība „Šamir”, 2008. P. 5.-31. (The book „Extermination of Jews in Latvia, 1941-1945: series of lectures” is published in Russian, Latvian, English, French, German and Hebrew.)

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

On November 18, 1918, Latvia was declared an independent democratic republic. The People's Council and the Provisional Government declared complete equality for minorities and gave assurances that they would be granted cultural autonomy and possibilities to maintain and reinforce

their identity. For the first time in their history in this area, the Jews were granted all the rights of citizens.<sup>4</sup>

There were 79,368 (or according to another source:79,644) Jews in Latvia in 1920. This number rose to 95,474 (or 95,675) in 1925; but, in 1935, it reduced 93,479 Jews in Latvia. Latvia's Jewish population during 1925–1940 underwent a certain decline for a variety of reasons. One of them was that over 6,000 Jews emigrated from Latvia, of whom 4,547 settled in what was then Palestine. When Latvia achieved its independence, this created favorable conditions for the Jewish population to integrate into the local society, particularly in the 1920's. 92.46 % of Latvian Jews were citizens of Latvia.<sup>5</sup>

In their share in the overall population, the Jews came in the third place after Latvians and Russians. The following figures illustrate the national composition of Latvia's population and the relative proportion of Jews (in % according to the population census):<sup>6</sup>

Nationality	1920	1925	1930	1935
Latvians	72.76	73.40	73.42	75.50
Russians	7.82 <sup>7</sup>	10.50	10.62	10.59
<u>Jews</u>	<u>4.99</u>	<u>5.19</u>	<u>4.97</u>	<u>4.79</u>
Germans	3.64	3.85	3.68	3.19
Poles	3.42	2.77	3.12	2.51
Lithuanians	1.60	1.26	1.36	1.17
Estonians	0.55	0.43	0.40	0.36
<b>Total:</b>	<b>1,596,131</b>	<b>1,844,805</b>	<b>1,900,045</b>	<b>1,950,502</b>

The Jewish community of Latvia was not homogenous. Firstly, there were religious and cultural differences between the Jews of Kurzeme, Vidzeme and Zemgale on the one hand<sup>8</sup>, and the Jews of

<sup>4</sup> Dribins, L. *Ebreji Latvijā*. Rīga: Elpa, 2002. P. 51.-74.; Dribins, L. *Ebreji Latvijā*. In the book: *Mazākumtautības Latvijā: vēsture un tagadne*. Rīga: Latvijas Universitātes Filozofijas un socioloģijas institūts, 2007. P. 216.-219. See also: Bleiere, D., u.c. *Latvijas vēsture 20. gadsimts*. Rīga: Jumava, 2005. (In English: Bleiere, D. [et al.] *History of Latvia: the 20<sup>th</sup> century*. [Rīga]: Jumava, 2006.)

<sup>5</sup> Volkovičs, B. *Ebreji Latvijā laikā starp diviem pasaules kariem*. In the book: *Ebreju iznīcināšana Latvijā, 1941.-1945: lekciju cikls*. Rīga: Biedrība „Šamir”, 2008. P. 5.-31.; Dribins, L. *Ebreji Latvijā*. Rīga: Elpa, 2002. P. 51.-74.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Note: Prior to the annexation of Pytalovo (Abrene) to Latvia.

<sup>8</sup> Note: The life of the Jews of Kurzeme and Zemgale differed from that of the Jews residing on other regions in Latvia, due to the significant impact of German culture on their lifestyle, as well as their extended isolation from cultural and religious Jewish centers. Some scholars point out that the local Jews tended to adhere to traditions without any real grasp of their essence. Thus, the majority of Jewish families in Liepāja, while observing the ritual food laws (*kashrut*), attended synagogues and prayer houses mostly on high holidays only, and the town's Jewish shops were kept open even on Saturdays. Nevertheless, the local Jews did not assimilate, maintaining their adherence to Jewish identity and religion. The

Latgale on the other<sup>9</sup>. Secondly, there were socio-economic disparities: some Jews were rich, others poor.

In Vidzeme and Riga there were about 42,000 Jews in 1914 and about 29,100 Jews in 1920; in Kurzeme – about 68,000 in 1914 and about 20,200 Jews in 1920; in Latgale – about 80,000 and about 30,300 respectively. The reasons of such structural changes are evident. Most of Kurzeme Jews were deported; a significant part of Jewish residents in other regions departed after the closing of their enterprises and the movement of factories and educational institutions (i.e. Riga Polytechnic Institute) to the central part of Russia. Many Jews left Latvia altogether in fear of foreign occupation.<sup>10</sup>

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Jewish community of Riga was made up of diverse groups, and the relations between them were complex and contradictory. The Jews of Riga, like those of Liepāja, observed the Jewish laws of kashrut; but they generally attended public religious institutions only on high holidays. Most Jewish shops were also open on Shabbat. - Volkovičs, B. *Ebreji Latvijā laikā starp diviem pasaules kariem*. In the book: *Ebreju iznīcināšana Latvijā, 1941.-1945: lekciju cikls*. Rīga: Biedrība „Šamir”, 2008. P. 5.-31.; See also: Dribins, L. *Kurzeme's and Zemgale's Jews*. (Accessible: <http://www.lu.lv/jsc/pilsetas/zemgale/kurzemes-and-zemgales-jews/>)

<sup>9</sup> Note: The Jewish population of Latgale was composed of Jews who immigrated from Poland, Lithuania and Byelorussia. In contrast to the Jews of Kurzeme and Vidzeme, who were cut off from the main body of Russian Jewry, the Jews of Latgale were an integral part of it. They maintained close links with Jewish traditions and culture, and were actively involved in Jewish politics and social movements. The Jews of Latgale resided predominantly in small towns and villages, and were engaged in handicrafts and small trade. The majority of Latgale's Jews were impoverished, and that led to the dwindling of Jewish population in the region. Many of them migrated to Riga or abroad in search of a better life. The lifestyle of Latgale's Jews was more conservative than that of Jews in other regions of Latvia. They spoke Yiddish. The Jewish life in towns and villages had deeper connections to religion and traditions than in other parts of Latvia. The traditional way of life, with its distinctive assortment of ideas and spiritual values, was a tangible force in Latgale. Thus every town and village in Latgale had its own cheder and Talmud-Torah (a religious school for boys) of the traditional type. The Jews of Latgale practiced Orthodox Judaism, which was represented by two currents: the Hassidim and the Misnagdim. These currents coexisted peacefully (in Daugavpils especially). The Misnagdim followed the letter of Torah and the Talmud, and originated from Prussia and northern Lithuania. Having come to Latvia, they initially settled in Kurzeme, Zemgale and Riga. Many of them, in addition to Yiddish, knew German. The Hassidim, who believed that faith could be attained through emotions, resided mostly in Latgale. The groups of Byelorussian Jews living in Latgale were also followers of the Hassidic movement. Beside Yiddish, many of the Hassidim spoke Russian. The Hassidim of Latgale were strongly influenced by Chabad, one of the main branches of Hassidism. Even though in the period between the two wars religious faith was considerably weakened, especially among the young generation, Jewish shops and businesses were still usually closed on Shabbat, and the synagogues thronged with worshippers. In the villages, even the Bundists (social democrats) attended synagogues and prayer houses on Shabbat. During the period between the two wars, Latgale was under the strong influence of Russian culture, and the revolutionary traditions of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century were very much alive; however, marked sympathies toward the Zionist movement were also in evidence. Daugavpils, which was home to the majority of Latgale's Jews (about 70 % prior to World War I, and nearly 38 % in the 1920–1930's), was one of the major centers of Jewish culture and education in Eastern Europe. - Volkovičs, B. *Ebreji Latvijā laikā starp diviem pasaules kariem*. In the book: *Ebreju iznīcināšana Latvijā, 1941.-1945: lekciju cikls*. Rīga: Biedrība „Šamir”, 2008. P. 5.-31.; Novoselovs, J. *Citas tautības Latvijā*. In the book: *Latvijas zeme, daba un tauta: rakstu krājums*, 3. sēj. Rīga: Valters un Rapa, 1937.; Lazersons, M. *Žīdu minoritātes stāvoklis Latvijā*. In the book: *Latvijas Republika desmit pastāvēšanas gados: rakstu krājums*. Rīga: Golts un Jurjans, 1928.

<sup>10</sup> Бобе, М. *Евреи в Латвии*. Рига: Общество «Шамир», 2006. P. 162. (Also in Latvian: Bobe, M. *Ebreji Latvijā*. Rīga: Biedrība „Šamir”, 2006.)

Number of Jews in regions<sup>11</sup>:

Region	Number of Jews	
	1914	1920
Vidzeme (and Riga)	42,000	29,100
Kurzeme	68,000	20,200
Latgale	80,000	30,300

The Jews of Latvia were predominantly urban dwellers. Over 86 % resided in cities, and only 6,900 lived in village settlements. Latvian Jews tended to live in compact groups, or what is known as “ethnic enclaves”. Due to this type of settlement, religious and communal insularity largely accounted for the relatively weak impact of assimilation processes on Latvia’s Jews during the 19<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>12</sup>



House of Riga Jewish specialized school, the first secular Jewish school in Russian Empire. Located at Lacplesa Street 141, in 1920-1930’s it served as premises for Riga City 5<sup>th</sup> Jewish elementary school (teaching in Hebrew) and Latvian supplementary school for Jews.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, P. 162.-163. Note: The Jewish population of the Latvian Republic was ethnically diverse. As a consequence, Latvia’s Jews did not share a uniform way of life or uniform traditions. In different regions of Latvia, the Jews were separated by differences, which were quite substantial at time. In the course of historical development between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Jewish population came to be divided into two ethnic groups: the “Litvaks” in Latgale, and the “Courlanders” or “Baltic Jews”, in the rest of Latvian territory. - Volkovičs, B. *Ebreji Latvijā laikā starp diviem pasaules kariem*. In the book: *Ebreju iznīcināšana Latvijā, 1941.-1945: lekciju cikls*. Rīga: Biedrība „Šamir”, 2008. P. 5.-31.

<sup>12</sup> Note: A sufficiently high percentage of Jews spoke the official state language: over 62 % in 1930 (second after Germans); by 1940, the number of Jews who spoke the state language had risen to 70 %. This was a testimony to the successful integration of the Jews, as well as other minorities, in Latvian society. The Jews of Latvia spoke many languages; however, their main language of communication was Yiddish, which was widely used in cultural events, as well as in the majority of books and newspapers being published. - Volkovičs, B. *Ebreji Latvijā laikā starp diviem pasaules kariem*. In the book: *Ebreju iznīcināšana Latvijā, 1941.-1945: lekciju cikls*. Rīga: Biedrība „Šamir”, 2008. P. 5.-31. See also: Melers, M. *Ebreju kapsētas Latvijā*. Rīga: Biedrība „Šamir”, 2006.; *Latvia: Synagogues, Jewish Cemeteries, Burial Places of the Holocaust Victims: Map of Memorable Places of Jewish History*. Rīga: Association „Shamir”, 2006.; *Latvija: sinagogas un rabīni, 1918-1940*. Rīga: Biedrība „Šamir”, 2004.; Цейтлин Ш. *Документальная история евреев Риги*. [Тель -Авив], 1989.; Levins, D. *Ebreju vēsture Latvijā: no apmešanās sākumiem līdz mūsu dienām*. Rīga, 1999.

<sup>13</sup> *Ebreju kalendārs 5771*. Rīga: Biedrība „Šamir”, 2010. P. 7.





Riga, Gogola Street, Synagogue (1930).<sup>14</sup>



Talmud study at Daugavpils Yeshiva “Bet-Josef” (1938).<sup>15</sup>



Members of charity organization “Meyshav-Zkeinim” at the building of the home for the elderly at Pernavas Street. Early 1930’s.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Photo „Riga, Gogola Street, Synagogue (1930)” from Riga Ghetto and Latvian Holocaust Museum collection “Life without war”. (Accessible: [http://www.rgm.lv/?attachment\\_id=1221](http://www.rgm.lv/?attachment_id=1221))

<sup>15</sup> *Ebreju kalendārs 5771*. Rīga: Biedrība „Šamir”, 2010. P. 17.

<sup>16</sup> *Еврейская Рига: краткий путеводитель*. Рига: Совет еврейских общин Латвии, 2008.

Number of Jews in cities<sup>17</sup>:

City	Number of Jews			
	1920		1935	
	Total	%	Total	%
Riga	24,721	30	43,627	46.20
Daugavpils	11,832	60.45	11,106	46.39
Liepaja	9,578		7,379	
Rezekne	4,198		3,342	
Ludza	2,050		1,518	
Jelgava	1,527		2,039	
Other towns and places (with Jewish population less than 2 000)	18,127		17,499	
Total in cities	73,030		90.45	
Total in countryside	7,605	9.55	6,924	7.41
<b>Grand total</b>	<b>79,644</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>93,479</b>	<b>100</b>

Number of Jews by years in Riga<sup>18</sup>:

Year	Total number of population in Riga	Number of Jews	%
1913	517,522	33,651	6.50
1917	210,522	21,522	10.20
1919	222,797	28,719	13.50
1920	181,443	24,721	13.60 (30% of all Jewish population in Latvia)
1925	337,699	39,459	11.68
1930	377,917	42,323	11.20
1935	385,063	43,628	11.34 (46% of all Jewish population in Latvia)

The Jewish community of Latvia was formed under the influence of several factors.

<sup>17</sup> Бобе, М. *Евреи в Латвии*. Рига: Общество «Шамир», 2006. Р. 162.-163.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

In the early and mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, Latvia's Jewish population was small and young. However, by the end of the century, there had been a considerable increase in the number of Latvian Jews as a result of economic development.<sup>19</sup>

During the period of 1920 to 1940, the social character of the Jews in Latvia changed substantially: More than 20,000 Jews moved from the provinces to the capital Riga, while the social stratum of middle class small traders and artisans decreased in size, as compared to the situation in 1914. Furthermore, after the war the Jews of Latvia found themselves in a difficult plight. Restriction of movement through Latvia's railroads and ports had a highly adverse effect on Jewish merchants. The decreased purchasing power of the peasants aggravated the plight of Jewish craftsmen and tradesmen in small town and villages. Moreover, in the early 1920's, only about 12,300 of the Jews who were deported mainly from the Courland province, and later from the entire war zone, returned to Latvia from interior of Russia. It is worth of mention that in the late 1930's, the government allowed a small number of Jews (about 1,000 persons) from Austria, Germany and Czechoslovakia to enter and travel through Latvia, after most European countries had closed their borders to Jewish immigration. Many of these people became permanent residents and number of Jews in Latvia increased slightly.<sup>20</sup>

The decrease of Jewish population in Latvia was a result of a double process: some Jewish youngsters left Latvia, mostly for Palestine. According to the data of Jewish Agency, 4,547 Latvian Jews moved to Palestine in 1920-1941. Yet it is a known fact that the true number was significantly larger due to the entry of many illegal emigrants. The second country of destination was USA: 2,207 Jews moved there in 1923-1936.<sup>21</sup>

Emigration of young people led to a decline in the birth rate. In 1925, it was 4.25% and in 1935 – 3.75%. As a result, the natural growth decreased from 5.7% in 1925 to 2.32% in 1935. This decline was also impacted by the decrease in the average number of children in Jewish families: the percentage of Jewish families amongst all families having more than 4 children was the lowest in Latvia. It is worth to mention that Jewish organizations placed a great deal of emphasis on preventive medicine and monitored children's health. One of the results was that Jewish children's mortality rate was among the lowest in Latvia: 3.2 babies per 100 births.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Volkovičs, B. *Ebreji Latvijā laikā starp diviem pasaules kariem*. In the book: *Ebreju iznīcināšana Latvijā, 1941.-1945: lekciju cikls*. Rīga: Biedrība „Šamir”, 2008. P. 5.-31.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid; Dribins, L. *Ebreji Latvijā*. Rīga: Elpa, 2002. P. 52.

<sup>21</sup> Note: According to other statistical data: in 1925-1935 more than 4,500 Jews emigrated to Palestine and more than 2,500 Jews emigrated to different countries (including the Soviet Union). - Dribins, L. *Ebreji Latvijā*. Rīga: Elpa, 2002. P. 52; Бобе, М. *Евреи в Латвии*. Рига: Общество «Шамир», 2006. P. 162.-163. Active Zionist movements in Latvia and in Riga in particular led many participants in the fifth Aliyah of 1929-1939. The *coup d'état* of K. Ulmanis on May 15, 1934, was the starting point for Aliyah from Latvia. After the takeover, the Jewish environment was subject to restrictions; several Zionist organizations went underground since their activities were officially prohibited. Many Latvian Jews left Latvia in 1934-1935. While after 1937 the immigration to the Land of Israel was limited, illegal Aliyah, called “Aliyah-Bet”, emerged. There were 30 Jews from Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania among these illegal immigrants; in August 1939 they reached the destination of the Land of Israel. Many representatives of Latvian Jewish intelligentsia who came to the Land of Israel in 1930's contributed in the fields of education, science and culture. - Вальдман, Б. *Евреи Латвии на пути в страну Израиля (1930 – 1940)*. In the book: *Евреи в меняющемся мире V*. Рига: Центр изучения иудаики Латвийского университета, 2005. Материалы 5-й Международной конференции. Рига, 16-17 сент. 2003. P. 72.; Вальдман, Б. *Евреи Латвии на пути в Страну Израиля. Из истории пятой алии*. In the book: *Евреи в меняющемся мире VI*. Рига: Центр изучения иудаики Латвийского университета, 2009. Материалы 6-й Международной конференции. Рига, 11-14 сент. 2006. P. 68.-78. See also: Волкович, Б. *Сионистское движение в Латвии (1918-1940)*. Т. 1-2. Daugavpils: Saule, 2008-2009.

<sup>22</sup> Бобе, М. *Евреи в Латвии*. Рига: Общество «Шамир», 2006. P. 162.-163. Note: From 1925 to 1935 the natural growth among Jews in Latvia was only about 4,000. - Dribins, L. *Ebreji Latvijā*. Rīga: Elpa, 2002. P. 52.

However, the Jewish population in Riga increased. Many Jews moved to Riga from the provinces hoping to find more job opportunities in the capital. Thus, this migration of Jews from the small towns and villages of Latvia to big cities and primarily to Riga was caused by economical reasons. In Riga, there were more than 24,000 Jews in 1920 and about 44,000 in 1935; while in Daugavpils this number decreased from 12,000 to 11,000; in Liepāja from 10,000 to 7,000; in Rezekne from 4,000 to 3,000. The number of Jews living in the countryside decreased from 7,500 to 7'000. In 1935, overall population of Riga was a little more than 385,000 residents, out of whom 11% were Jews. Thus, the Jewish population of Riga had increased at the expense of other cities. In 1920, 30% of Latvian Jewish population resided in Riga, in 1935 – 46%.<sup>23</sup>

The establishment of the independent Latvian Republic (1918–1940) accelerated the process of forming a single Jewish community in Latvia. Riga, which became home to nearly half of Latvian Jewry, played a crucial integrating role in this process, since the city, for the reasons mentioned above, had become a focal point attracting Jews from every part of Latvia. That, in turn, led to the cultural interaction between Jews from different areas, and contributed to the establishment of a unified Jewish community in Latvia. However, for well-known reasons, this process was short-lived. Nevertheless, Riga's Jewish community was active in many areas, influencing Jewish life throughout Latvia. Riga Jews founded numerous social and cultural institutions and societies.<sup>24</sup>

Several historical researches and studies on the history of Jews in Inter-War Latvia have been published in recent decades. They were made possible by the accumulated array of empiric knowledge and by the discovery of new sources of information. Moreover, the study of the history of Jews of small towns and countryside has been recently expanded as well.

## II. House Registers

Besides official documents, personal memoirs, articles from press, many other archival materials can serve as valuable sources of information. One of the ways to gather the information to supplement

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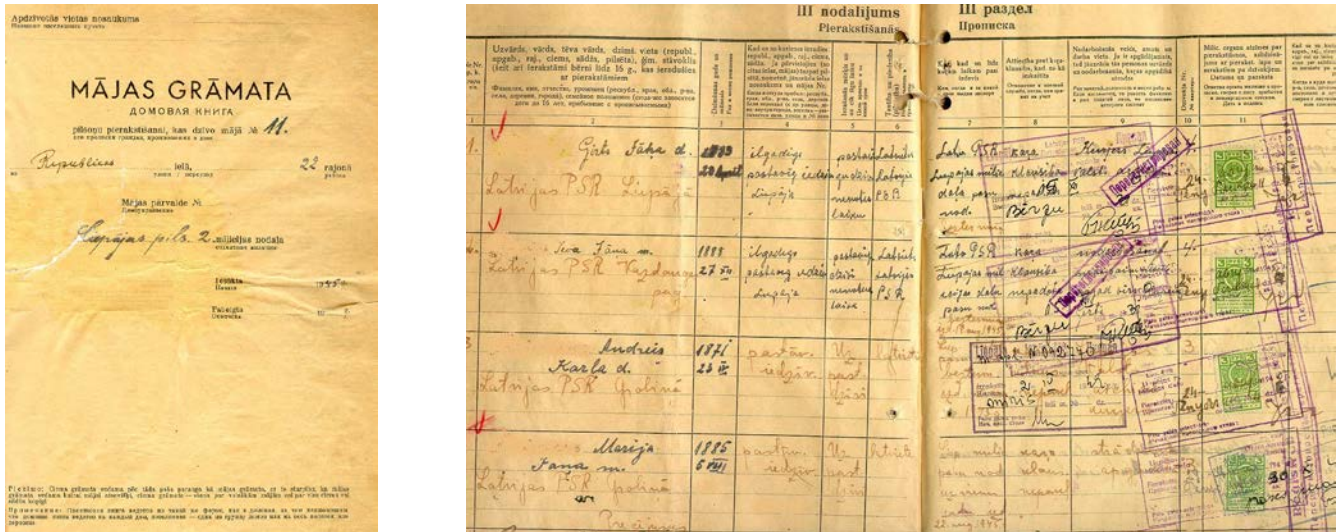
<sup>23</sup> Šteimanis, J. *Latvijas ebreju vēsture*. Daugavpils: Saule, 1995. P. 63.; Мелер, М. *Места нашей памяти*. Рига: [Рижская еврейская община], 2010. P. 314.

<sup>24</sup> Note: The culture of Latvian Jewry developed alongside Latvian, Russian and German cultures. The impact of these cultures on the Jewish community was not always merely external. For example, Latvian culture had a considerable influence on Jews in a number of Latvian cities, where the majority of Jewish children attended Latvian schools. For the Jews, the Russian and German languages were practically the only means of becoming part of the cultural processes taking place in modern world. However, the influence of the Russian and German cultures on Jewish culture was not always just formal, even though many Jews were perfectly fluent in Russian and German. For many Jewish families in Kurzeme and Zemgale, German was the language spoken at home; while in Latgale, it was Russian, in addition to Yiddish. However, despite the wide use of German and Russian, they still lived in a primarily Jewish world. The isolation of Latvia's Jewish community from the spiritual centers of Jewish life was due to its geographic location on the periphery of the Jewish world. Latvia had no autonomous Jewish religious center, even though it was home to some prominent Torah scholars, such as the Daugavpils Rabbis Josef Rozin (of Rogatchov) and Meir Simcha Katz-Kagan. Nor did the city have any religious educational institutions that could serve as major intellectual centers of Judaism. The soil that nourished the spiritual growth of Jewish community was relatively arid in Latvia. The Jewish community was highly active and well organized. There were Jewish political parties and public agencies; educational, medical, cultural and religious organizations; sport clubs and societies; there were publications in Yiddish and Hebrew; Jews were elected to the Saeima (the Latvian parliament). - Volkovičs, B. *Ebreji Latvijā laikā starp diviem pasaules kariem*. In the book: *Ebreju iznīcināšana Latvijā, 1941.-1945: lekciju cikls*. Rīga: Biedrība „Šamir”, 2008. P. 5.-31.; Zalmanoviča, M. *Latvijas ebreju katastrofa*. In the book: *Ebreju iznīcināšana Latvijā, 1941.-1945: lekciju cikls*. Rīga: Biedrība „Šamir”, 2008. P. 32. See also: Волкович, Б. *Из истории еврейской культуры в Латвии (1918-1940)*. Даугавпилс: Saule, 2002.



the existing data is the study of the sources of information previously unused and not yet researched. Until recently, one of such source was the archive of house-registers in Riga (Archive fund Nr. 2942 of Latvian State Historical Archive).<sup>25</sup>

Example of the house-register:<sup>26</sup>



In a word, house-registers of Riga and other cities and townships of Latvia can serve as a significant source of information for a study of family history.<sup>27</sup>

Registration of household occupation commenced in Riga in 1918. From the 1920's the owner of each building was required to ensure that a detailed record of occupiers was maintained. These Inter-War house-registers, comprise approximately 16,000 data files held in the State Historical Archive, Riga (Archive fond Nr. 2942 in the Latvian State Historical Archive).

The preserved Riga house-registers are divided in two inventories. Part one consists of more than 16,000 house-registers of Riga and Jurmala, sorted by streets according to the numbering of the houses during the time period between 1917 and 1947. Part two consists of over 9,500 earlier house-registers dating from 1882. House-registers of other cities and villages of Latvia have mostly been preserved for the time period of the independence of Latvia (Archive fund Nr. 2110) and the collection is incomplete. Liepāja is an exception since more than 2,500 house-registers that cover the period of

<sup>25</sup> Note: It is interesting that, the house-registers of Riga ghetto houses also have been preserved at Latvian State Historical Archive. The study and research of records of house-registers is a very complicated and painstaking task. Even so, a biology teacher of Northern States Gymnasium (*Ziemeļvalstu ģimnāzija*) Tamara Zitcere decided to undertake the research as a unique Holocaust study in terms of its scope and content. - Stranga, A. *Holokausta vēstures pētniecība un holokausta piemiņa Latvijā*. In the book: *Holokausti Latvijā: starptautiskās konferences materiāli*, 2004. gada 3.-4. jūnijs, Rīga, un 2004.-2005. gada pētījumi par holokaustu Latvijā. Latvijas vēsturnieku komisijas raksti, 18. sējums. Rīga: Latvijas Vēstures institūta apgāds, 2007.

<sup>26</sup> Liepājas ZVA, 114. f., 1. apr., 137. lieta, 1. lp.; Liepājas ZVA, 114. f., 11. apr., 137. lieta, 5. lp. (Accessible: <http://www.arhivi.lv/index.php?&1815>)

<sup>27</sup> Kvaskova, V. *Dzimtu vēstures dokumenti Latvijas Valsts vēstures arhīvā*. (Accessible: [http://www.arhivi.lv/sitedata/ZURNALS/zurnalu\\_raksti/15-42-ARHIVI-Kvaskova.pdf](http://www.arhivi.lv/sitedata/ZURNALS/zurnalu_raksti/15-42-ARHIVI-Kvaskova.pdf))

1899 to 1949 have been preserved (Fund Nr. 2110, inventory 9). Some individual house-registers may be found in the Archive series for the governance of particular cities.<sup>28</sup>

The process keeping the house-registers in Latvia was resumed on July 15, 1920. Following the directive of the Ministry of Internal Affairs announced on April 13, 1923 and according to the prevailing rules of registration of town dwellers' arrivals and departures, the owners of the houses were obliged to keep records of house-registers in compliance with an established form. The registration of an arrival or departure was required to be made within 24 hours; the information on the arrival together with the documents of a particular resident had to be submitted to the corresponding police department. Upon the departure of the resident, a note was to be made in the house-register, including the day of departure and presumed destination. Then, a note was to be made in the individual's passport based upon the records of house-registers.<sup>29</sup>

The records of house-registers include very specific and particular personal information in regards to each resident in the property. They include given names, surnames and maiden names, dates of birth, places of origin, previous addresses, occupation, internal passport cross reference numbers and police registration information. In some cases, the presumed next destination of a departing family was being indicated. In Latvia minors were rarely assigned an individual ID document. Indeed, children were listed in the house-registers, usually together with the records of their mothers. Thus, it is possible to track changes of a family composition over a significant period upon the study of records of deaths from natural causes.

### III. Goals

The goal of the present project – the “Systematic Study of the Riga House Registers as a Source for Jewish Genealogy in Inter-War Latvia, 1918 -1940” - was to create the database of the Jewish population in Riga from the end of World War I until the outbreak of World War II based on the house-registers stored at the Latvian State Historical Archives; and then to merge families and establish kinship relationships.

At the beginning of the work researchers considered it to be more important to use the earliest house-registers for 1920–1930's. This was due to the fact that the earliest house-registers contain information about the persons from all over Latvia, who returned from the deportation during World War I. Many passed through Riga or stayed there for short time and as a result the wider territory of Latvia can be covered. This was also the period when a large number of inhabitants left for abroad and this information is hard to find in other documents.

Genealogical techniques of family recording and database structuring were used in the project in terms of systematic extraction, analysis, reconciliation of house-register data, supplemented where appropriate with other archival material in order to achieve the following research goals:

- 1) Development of a database of some 21,000 Jews who resided in Riga in the period between two World Wars;
- 2) Provision of detailed personal information in respect of each individual;
- 3) Ensuring that wherever possible the family and kinship links for each individual are identified and confirmed and that wherever possible family lists are created;
- 4) Identification of significant life events and tracking of changes in family structure over time;
- 5) Storage of the data in a way that is compatible with search by “individual” or by “specific dwelling unit” throughout the Inter-War period, as one family ceases to occupy and a new

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> *Valdības Vēstnesis*, 1923 № 76 (1923.11.04. № 907).

family takes up a residence; in a number of cases there is an unbroken history of occupation for over 20 years;

- 6) Ensuring that the detailed information related to a place of origin, previous addresses and, where available, future destination is retained and recorded in a way that will ensure its specifically retrieval, so as to facilitate further demographic and social research concerning population movements to and from Riga.

#### IV. The Database (accessed from the main page for “Riga Registers” on this website)

The searchable database provides personal and residential details of just over 20,000 individual Jews. It allows users to identify kinship relationships within the framework of a particular document array and, additionally, to track the destinies of the people throughout the period under examination, until the beginning of World War II in Latvia (i.e. until 1941).

Sample of one person from data base:

Family name	Maiden name	First name	Father	Mother	Date of birth or age in	Place of birth	Place of origin or citizenship	Residence	Occupation	Gender	Family Status	Date of registration	Date of struck off	Place of struck off	Reference
MARKUSE	JOSELOWITSCH	Hanna	Sorach		1892 15 06	Daugavpils	Jelgava	Dagdas 4-10	House wife	F	Married	1922 28 12	1923 15 02	Un- known	2942- 1- 3211

The systematization of data by surnames provides an option to identify individuals with the same surname. Off course, this is not the factor to define kinships accurately; indeed, it provides a solid base for a further study.

Under the systematization by addresses, there is an option to define the number of persons who simultaneously resided at this particular address. Usually relatives, representatives of one family, occupied a particular apartment.

Beyond the identification of kinship relationships, the database provides an opportunity to track the history of a particular family.

It should be mentioned that, as in the case of any source of information, these registers were the subject of critical approach. There is some inaccuracies, most often related to the date and place of birth, especially in the registers for the 1920's. These records were frequently compiled on the basis of oral information. As regards surnames, there were some inaccuracies arising from misspellings or the use of a form of a surname adjusted to the rules of Latvian language, etc. The mistakes in dates of birth were sometimes caused by confusions in use of both old and new calendars (Julian and Gregorian).

The completeness of the records of house-registers may vary. Sometimes there is only one name recorded in the name cell, while in other registers all names of a particular individual are given.

Riga residents moved frequently within the limits of the city. The residence at one address during a significant period of time (1920 – 1941) is rather an exception than a rule.

Where house-registers have not been completely preserved, other sources of information can be used in certain cases in order to select data and provide a comparative analysis of the information gathered. On the basis of information collected from various house-registers regarding the addresses of registration and dates of departure results can be constructed.

That said, house registers cannot serve as a completely comprehensive codex of data. However, the information recorded in these books provides an extraordinary opportunity to conduct research into the history of specific Latvian Jewish families and to obtain an overview of the Latvian Jewish community in general. The study will be especially effective if, at some point, it is merged with studies of other archival documents, e.g. vital records of the Jewish communities, passports and census documentation.

Within the scope of this particular research, 201 Riga house-registers were studied. The following selection criteria were applied to the documents:

- Density of Jewish population;
- Availability of house-registers with records of the period of 1920 – 1941;
- Scope of work (21,000 individuals).

House registers of 143 houses at the following addresses were selected:

- 1) Adminu 5, 6;
- 2) Aizsargu 8a, 12, 27;
- 3) Artilerijas 8, 13, 17, 66;
- 4) Avotu 2, 4, 5, 6, 20, 22 (16a), 25, 40;
- 5) Baznicas 35;
- 6) Blaumana 6, 9;
- 7) Brivibas 2, 4/6, 42, 49, 64/66, 98, 100, 126;
- 8) Dagdas 4;
- 9) Dzirnava 18, 63, 84, 92, 110, 112, 113;
- 10) Ganu 4;
- 11) Gertrudes 7, 34, 39;
- 12) Indranu 2a;
- 13) Jana 3, 5, 6, 10, 12;
- 14) Jezusbaznicas 11;
- 15) Jumaras 11, 20a, 20b;
- 16) Kalnciema 2b;
- 17) Kokneses prosp. 34;
- 18) Kr. Valdemara 23, 37, 73;
- 19) Kraslavas 7;
- 20) L. Kaleju 57;
- 21) L. Smilsu 8 (12/14), 20 (14);
- 22) Lacpleša 48/50, 58, 65, 114;
- 23) Lapu 12;
- 24) M. Smilsu 12;
- 25) Marijas 22/Avotu 1;
- 26) Marijas 57;
- 27) Maskavas 48;
- 28) Matisa 43, 119;
- 29) Meistaru 10/12;
- 30) Meza prosp. 24;
- 31) Miera 42;

- 32) Palasta 8;
- 33) Plkv. Brieza 10;
- 34) Puskina 2;
- 35) Sarlotes 39;
- 36) Stabu 16, 28, 30, 54, 55, 59, 65, 91, 93;
- 37) Strelnieku 2;
- 38) Strugu 2;
- 39) Terbatas 19/21, 20, 59/61;
- 40) Upes 9;
- 41) Vilandes 2;
- 42) Visbijas prosp. 11, 20.

In sum, a database of 21,023 records was developed. Each record contains information on the residence of a particular person at a particular address, regardless of the number of records on registration and departure at a house-register. Changes of apartment within a single house did not generate a new record; however, the change was in the address field.

#### V. Analysis of the Data.

The analysis of data assembled provides an opportunity to develop a fuller picture of the environment of Riga Jewish community. It can be seen that people were moving within the limits of the city (6,180), also left for the countryside (116) or went to provinces (1,358). Riga Jewish residents had their holiday homes in Jurmala (456) and went abroad (1,921). Others served in the army (88), were ill and were placed in nursing homes or hospitals; finally, people also died (429). Tragic events were noted in the house-registers, too: Arrested by Soviets (5), Deported to Russia (28), Fled, Fled to Russia (178), etc; moved to the Ghetto (827). Systematized data is stored in the table. (See **Appendix 1.**)

The analysis of gathered data has led to the conclusion that due to the shift of addresses there are 1,631 individuals listed in the database twice. In addition, there are 220 double records of women who moved due to marriage. 262 individuals are listed 3 times under 3 different addresses, while 34 individuals are listed 4 times; and even 4 individuals – five times.

Accordingly, the database consists of 21,023 in reality contains records on 18,482 individuals.

Distribution by gender and marital status is represented in the table below:

#### Family Status

		<b>Married</b>	<b>Divorced</b>	<b>Widow</b>	<b>Widower</b>	<b>Single</b>	<b>Child</b>	<b>Unknown</b>
Men	8726	3361	49		124	4001	884	307
Women	9756	3869	112	595		4112	883	185
<b>Total</b>	<b>18482</b>	<b>7230</b>	<b>161</b>	<b>595</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>8113</b>	<b>1767</b>	<b>492</b>

Moreover, it is worth mentioning that the percentage of marriages between Jews was higher than among other residents. The table below shows some aspect of Jewish demographic situation in Latvia<sup>30</sup>:

<b>Year</b>	<b>Jews among other residents (%)</b>	<b>Marriages (%)</b>	<b>Children in Jewish families (%)</b>	<b>Mortality (%)</b>	<b>Natural increase (%)</b>

<sup>30</sup> Levins, D. *Ebreju vēsture Latvijā: no apmešanās sākumiem līdz mūsu dienām*. Rīga, 1999. P. 44.-45.

1925	5.19	5.33	4.25	3.51	5.75
1930	4.97	5.06	4.00	4.04	3.92
1935	4.79	6.12	3.75	4.10	2.32

Another topic of interest is the information on a place of origin or citizenship, recorded at house-registers. While the database was being developed, researchers found that the completeness of the original records in the house-registers is not consistent.

It is also noteworthy that a considerable number of Jews – 77.31% in 1920 and 92.46 % in 1935 – were citizens of the Latvian Republic. This is a high number, considering that for the country's overall population, the figure was 97.68 % in 1935.<sup>31</sup>

The table (in **Appendix 2**) includes data on the citizenship or affiliation to some area, grouped by states and areas. Many people are listed to be Former Russian Citizens. Those who mentioned former Russian Empire as their place of registration were also included.

There is a separate group of people who possessed a Latvian Identity Card. This data is especially significant since shows a problem for research. Working practices proved that sometimes of residence in Riga was equated with birth in Riga. Accordingly, an individual may be considered as born in Riga, while he in fact was not and consequently a search query is complicated. The availability of such information points to the need for additional data from other archival documents and in some cases for interested parties to contact foreign archives.

An absolute majority of residents were born in Latvia (12,745). Of them 4,770 were born in Riga. 1,624 people were born in Lithuania. 1,975 were born in former Russian Empire.

The data is systematized by countries (regions) as of 1939 and represented in a table (in **Appendix 3**.) If the name of the settlement was changed, the original one is listed: e.g. Cesis / Wenden, Revel / Tallin, Tartu / Derpt / Jurjev. The information on places of birth is also very important in order to expand the limits of information search and definition of kinships.

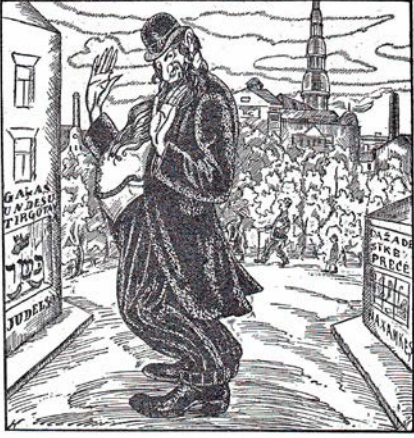

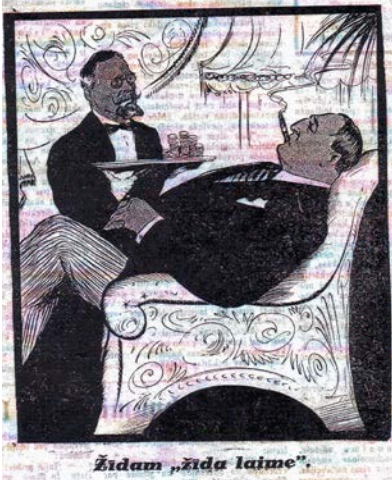
It is worth noting that at one time, Latvia was among the most economically developed parts of the Russian Empire. The Jews were actively involved in regional economy. After World War I, Jewish entrepreneurs and financiers played an important part in the restoration of industry and commerce in the war-torn country. In this, they were assisted by their contracts with the West, as well as their traditional qualities of integrity, efficiency, responsibility and social instinct. Banks founded by Jews also had good international connections and played an important role in the country's economy. These were fairly large financial institutions. With the help of the Jewish middle-class, funds (mainly Jewish) led to investments in the country's economy from the US, Germany, Great Britain, Sweden and other countries. The efforts of Jewish businessmen brought about the establishment of textile, timber and tobacco industries, as well as food and chemicals manufacture and other branches of industry. Jewish industrialists were also largely in control of timber and oil exports. As a result, Jewish entrepreneurs occupied a solid position in Latvia's economy. At the same time, the position of Jews in agriculture was fairly weak: in this crucial branch of economy in Latvia between the wars, the Jews comprised a mere 1.11 % of those working in agriculture. They were mainly engaged in small farming and market

<sup>31</sup> Dribins, L. *Ebreji Latvijā*. In the book: *Mazākumtautības Latvijā: vēsture un tagadne*. Rīga: Latvijas Universitātes Filozofijas un socioloģijas institūts, 2007. P. 216.-219.; Volkovičs, B. *Ebreji Latvijā laikā starp diviem pasaules kariem*. In the book: *Ebreju iznīcināšana Latvijā, 1941.-1945: lekciju cikls*. Rīga: Biedrība „Šamir”, 2008. P. 5.-31. Note: The increase in Latvia's Jewish population was facilitated by liberal amendments to the Citizenship Law, adopted in 1927. The law went into effect only at the start of 1928, after the failure on the part of right-wing nationalist parties to delay its implementation by means of a referendum on 17–18 December 1927. The referendum fell through because a mere 22 % of those eligible to vote took part in it (the number was even smaller in Riga, with 18.8 % of voters, and 12.5 % in Latgale).



gardening, as in the case of the Jews of Griva. The reason, however, was not the Jews' unwillingness to work in agriculture. In fact, that had been engaged in agriculture during the 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries; indeed, in the area of what is today the Ludza district, there had been Jewish farming colonies. The low percentage of Jews engaged in agriculture during the 1920–1930's is attributable to the prohibitions that as a rule barred from them from this area of economy.<sup>32</sup>

The upper crust of Latvian Jews was formed by rich and wealthy Jews, the largest income beneficiaries and taxpayers.<sup>33</sup> This aspect was frequently emphasized in anti-Semitic caricatures (see some caricatures below). Nevertheless it should be mentioned that predominant part of Jews in Latvia were not rich persons in private business, but hired workers and employees.<sup>34</sup>

 <p>Židu Latvijā ir 5%, angstakolā 17%, armijā – 2%. Tirdzniecība atrodas gandrīz tikai židu rokās. Laikraksts ziņa.</p>	 <p>Mākslīgie Inzekti. Kā viņus iznīcināt? E. Rīdāns</p>	 <p>Židam „žida laime”.</p>
<p>Caricature entitled “The land where milk and honey flows”. A wealthy Jew, behind him a view of Riga, but near his feet - Jewish shops. Caption: “There is 5 % Jews in Latvia, at university – 17%, in the army – 2%. Trade is almost exclusively in Jewish hands.” It emphasizes the</p>	<p>Caricature entitled “Artificial insects. How to destroy them?” Jews are referred to insects which infested trade, industry and education.<sup>36</sup></p>	<p>Caricature entitled “For Jew – Jew’s life”. A rich Jew and a servant (with some Latvian or German features), drawing attention to the large number of wealthy Jewish elite.<sup>37</sup></p>

<sup>32</sup> Note: In 1930, the percentage of Jews in the retail sector was the highest: 48.6%; in industry, it was 28,7%. Jewish craftsmen organizations united 3,000 Jews; together with the family members they formed 10% of overall Latvian Jewish population. - Šteimanis, J. *Latvijas ebreju vēsture*. Daugavpils: Saule, 1995. P. 63. Volkovičs, B. *Ebreji Latvijā laikā starp diviem pasaules kariem*. In the book: *Ebreju iznīcināšana Latvijā, 1941.-1945: lekciju cikls*. Rīga: Biedrība „Šamir”, 2008. P. 5.-31.; Апинe, И., Блузман, В., Брегманис, Ш. *Латвия на грани эпох: IV часть*. Рига: Авотс, 1990. P. 150.-151.

<sup>33</sup> Žagars, Ē. *Jews - important factor in the economic life of the independent Latvia (statistics of 1930's)*. (Accessible: <http://www.lu.lv/jsc/pilsetas/vidzeme/1930/>). See also: Žagars, Ē. *Ebreji – neatkarīgās Latvijas valsts ekonomiskās dzīves svarīgs faktors (30. gadu statistikas liecības)*. In the book: *Latvijas ebreji un padomju vara, 1928 – 1953: zinātnisks apcerējums*. Rīga: [Latvijas Universitātes Filozofijas un socioloģijas institūts], 2009. (In Russian: *Евреи Латвии и советская власть, 1928-1953: научный очерк*. Рига: Институт философии и социологии Латвийского университета, 2010.)

<sup>34</sup> Штейман, И. *Проблемы истории еврейского народа*. Даугавпилс: Saule, 2006. See also: Dribins, L. *Antisemitisms un tā izpausmes Latvijā: vēstures apskats*. Rīga: Latvijas Vēstures institūta apgāds, 2002.

proportion of Jewish minority in commercial field of Latvia. <sup>35</sup>		
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The occupations of 2,840 women and 3,470 men were recorded in the house-registers examined.

A familiarity with the archival documents suggests that the majority of **women** were actually housewives and thus had no formal “occupation”. That said, however, there are 1,439 records of actual professions and occupations of women.

The most common occupations amongst women were:

- Saleswoman,
- Seamstress,
- Dressmaker,
- Teacher.

Summarized data is presented in a table (in **Appendix 4**.)

Most common occupations of men were:

- Merchant,
- Salesman,
- Tailor,
- Shoemaker,
- Timber sorter.

Summarized data is presented in a table. (**Appendix 5**.)

Interestingly, Jewish women and older people worked less in comparison with other ethnic groups, because they were more maintained by their husbands and children.<sup>38</sup>

As already observed, even though there were wealthy businessmen among the Jews, the bulk of the Jewish population consisted of workers, craftsmen and small merchants, living in poverty that occasionally reached desperate proportions. Their dire economic situation was described by the well-known public figure M. Skujenieks, the legal scholar and Zionist activist M. Laserson, and the periodical press.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid; *Lapsene*, 1923, 8. nov., Nr. 12.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid; *Aizkulises*. 1926. gada 1. oktobris Nr. 39.

<sup>35</sup> Goldmanis, M. *Latvijas ebreju minoritātes attēlojums parlamentārisma posma satīriskajā presē (1920–1934)*. (Accessible: <http://www.lu.lv/jsc/pilsetas/vidzeme/sat-prese/>); *Lapsene*, 1922, 14. sept., Nr. 2.

<sup>38</sup> Dribins, L. *Ebreji Latvijā*. Rīga: Elpa, 2002. P. 54.

<sup>39</sup> Skujenieks, M. *Latvija: zeme un iedzīvotāji*. Rīga: Gulbis, 1927.; Lazersons, M. *Žīdu minoritātes stāvoklis Latvijā*. In the book: *Latvijas Republika desmit pastāvēšanas gados: rakstu krājums*. Rīga: Golts un Jurjans, 1928.

The situation was particularly difficult for those residing in Latgale. Their plight was exacerbated by the severance of traditional economic relations with Russia following the establishment of the Latvian State. One example illustrating the deep social divide between Latvian Jews is the fact that Riga Jews residing in the area between the Central Market and the Kuznetsov factory in the Moscow suburb never set foot in the Riga Jewish Community Center, which only accepted more affluent Jews as members.<sup>40</sup>

In 1935, 48.8 % of the Jews in Latvia were engaged in commerce, 27.7 % worked in industry, 5.9 % were in the free professions, 3.4 % worked in medicine, 2.9 % in transport, 0.9 % in agriculture, and 0.8 % in administration.

Among the Jews there were many large proprietors. In 1935, 25.9 % of all private employers in Riga were Jewish. However, the number of Jews working in governmental or state institutions was negligible. In early 1930's only 25 out of 5,221 public servants were Jews.<sup>41</sup>

The table below shows the division among groups of nationalities in Latvia within different fields of economy (in 1930). This table also underlines the role of Jews in economic life of Latvia. 77% of Jews worked in trade and industry.<sup>42</sup>

Field of economy	Latvians	Russians	Jews	Germans	Poles	Lithuanians
Agriculture	649,625	115,454	457	5,917	16,006	12,153
%	70.0	78.8	1.1	15.9	46.8	65.4
Industry	115,471	13,929	11,838	9,915	8,206	2,934
%	12.4	9.4	28.7	26.7	24.0	15.7
Trade	30,136	3,152	20,021	7,310	1,394	569
%	3.2	2.1	48.6	19.7	4.0	3.1
Transport	31,839	2,765	908	1,523	1,883	843
%	3.4	1.9	2.2	4.1	5.5	4.5
Free professions	14,357	2,019	3,046	4,527	495	147
%	1.5	1.4	7.3	12.2	1.4	0.8

<sup>40</sup> Note: In order to ease the plight of the poor, Latvia's Jewish community set up a number of financial and social institutions: loan banks, merchant and craftsmen cooperative societies, charitable organizations and schools. In Daugavpils, for example, the Jewish community ran a pharmacy, a hospital, an old-age home, an orphanage, a library, and three non-profit credit banks. A crucial role was played by those organizations that dealt with social issues, insurance, health; the latter included the Jewish Health Society, the *Bikkur Holim* ("Attending to the Sick" – which is one of major injunctions of Judaism), and others. For example, Latvia's community funded 15 hospitals with 350 beds. In 1938, these medical institutions served 6,231 patients, not all of them Jewish. - Volkovičs, B. *Ebreji Latvijā laikā starp diviem pasaules kariem*. In the book: *Ebreju iznīcināšana Latvijā, 1941.-1945: lekciju cikls*. Rīga: Biedrība „Šamir”, 2008. P. 5.-31.

<sup>41</sup> Dribins, L. *Ebreji Latvijā*. Rīga: Elpa, 2002. P. 53.; *Latvijas ebreju kopiena: vēsture, traģēdija, atdzimšana*. Rīga: LU Latvijas vēstures institūta apgāds, 2001.; Апинe, И., Блузман, В., Брегманис, Ш. *Латвия на грани эпох: IV часть*. Рига: Авторс, 1990. P. 151. See also: Žagars, Ē. *Jews - important factor in the economic life of the independent Latvia (statistics of 1930's)*. (Accessible: <http://www.lu.lv/jsc/pilsetas/vidzeme/1930/>). Note: In 1920, there were 105 Jewish doctors practicing in Latvia, but in 1938 – 318, which amounted to 20 % of the total number of doctors. Jews owned about one half of the private clinics and about one quarter of the chemists' shops. The number of Jewish sworn advocates in 1936 was 45 (or 19.31 %), but number of Jewish assistants of sworn advocates was 38 (or 21.84 %). - Vātere, E. *Ebreji - mediķi Latvijā (1918-1996)*. Rīga: [b.i.], 1997. P. 21.; *Latvijas advokatūra: zvērināti advokāti un zvērinātu advokātu palīgi biogrāfijās, 1919-1945*. Rīga: Latvijas Valsts vēstures arhīvs, 2007. P. 23. See also: *Izcilas ebreju personības Latvijā*. Rīga: Nacionālais apgāds, 2003.; Feigmanis, A. *Ebreju inteliģence Latvijā - holokausta upuri*. Rīga: [aut. izd.], 2006.

<sup>42</sup> Бобе, М. *Евреи в Латвии*. Рига: Общество «Шамир», 2006. P. 212.-213.

Others	85,694	10,141	4,909	7,848	6,160	1,927
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The table below shows the division of population in “active” (profitable) and “passive” (including members of family) in 1930. Jews were in last place within division of “active”, because most of them lived in cities. In the countryside, it was possible that all members of family worked, but that was not always possible for urban people.<sup>43</sup>

Nationality	“Active”		“Passive”		Total
	People	%	People	%	
Latvians	927,122	66.5	467,835	33.5	1,394,957
Russians	147,560	62.0	90,347	38.0	237,807
<b>Jews</b>	<b>41,174</b>	<b>43.6</b>	<b>53,214</b>	<b>56.4</b>	<b>94,388</b>
Germans	37,040	53.0	32,815	47.0	69,855
Poles	34,144	57.5	25,230	42.5	59,374
Lithuanians	18,573	71.7	7,312	28.3	25,885
Others	10,230	57.5	7,549	42.5	17,779

## Some conclusions

The project provides unique access to specific data related to Jewish population, since data protection under Latvia’s “100 year rule” regarding vital records means that it is not possible to do generalized research on individuals and populations, unless requested by direct descendent for an approved purpose. House-registers provide an indirect but powerful tool for the study of the Jewish community in the absence of vital records. They are the key to identifying family relationships and kinship ties and, in addition, to mapping the larger demographic and social landscape.

The project therefore constitutes the first detailed examination of a European capital city, Riga, using genealogical techniques in order to generate information about its Jews of specific interest to family historians, as well as to provide the data necessary to examine larger demographic, economic and social trends regarding the Jewish experience in the inter war years. In the process, the project refines and develops genealogically-based database techniques and seeks to present the results in a way that invites further academic research.

The history of Latvia between the two World Wars may be divided into two stages: before and after the coup d’etat of 1934. Legally speaking, all Latvian citizens were equal. Neither during the parliamentary period (1918–1934), nor under the authoritarian regime (1934–1940) did the Latvian government pass any anti-Jewish laws.<sup>44</sup> Even after 15 May, 1934, the Jews were not subjected to any legal restrictions. Nonetheless, during the 1920–1930’s, the government attitudes to ethnic minorities, including the Jews, were far from ideal. Still, the 1920’s were the time when the Jews

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> See also: *Latvijas ebreji un padomju vara, 1928 – 1953: zinātnisks apcerējums*. Rīga: [Latvijas Universitātes Filozofijas un socioloģijas institūts], 2009.; Stranga, A. *Ebreji un diktatūras Baltijā 1926 – 1940*. Rīga: LU Jūdaikas Studiju Centrs, 2002.

became entrenched in economy, politics and culture, even though there were incidents of anti-Semitism and discrimination during that period.<sup>45</sup>

The numbers of the Jewish population in Latvia were influenced by migration (inland and external movements of Jews, the return of refugees from Russia) and by changes in natural growth. In 1925, the Jewish population in Latvia reached the maximum number of 95,675 (or, according to another source: 95,474). Thereafter, the Jewish population started decreasing: with 94,388 Jews living in Latvia in 1930; and 93,479 in 1935.<sup>46</sup>

It is evident from preliminary study of the data that although Jews were a definite minority in Latvia generally comprising only 5% of the overall population, by the 1930's they were the largest single ethnic group in respect of properties in central Riga having more than 20 tenants. In terms of population density, the Jews of Riga comprised more than 45% of occupiers of these larger Riga dwellings. By way of comparison, the Baltic Germans occupied 24% of equivalent sized accommodation and ethnic Latvians a mere 20%.

Resembling other ethnic groups in Riga, Jews tended to social stratification. Their property status depended largely on their place of residence in the city. The poor lived in Moscow district ("forstate") and other proletarian areas of the city. Well-off Jews mostly resided at the so-called "white collar" blocks (nowadays – Riga center).<sup>47</sup>

In the early years of independent Latvia, Jews actively participated in the restoration and development of Latvian economy. Jewish capital was invested in the wood processing industry (out of 66 enterprises, 57 belonged to Jews), light and textile industry (504 enterprises, out of 1,184). Jews took strong positions in the tanning and garment industries. In the trade market, Jews held leading positions. Jews supported the development of external trade affairs by their relations with the well-placed Jewish businessmen in Europe and USA.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Volkovičs, B. *Ebreji Latvijā laikā starp diviem pasaules kariem*. In the book: *Ebreju iznīcināšana Latvijā, 1941.-1945: lekciju cikls*. Rīga: Biedrība „Šamir”, 2008. P. 5.-31.

<sup>46</sup> Бобе, М. *Евреи в Латвии*. Рига: Общество «Шамир», 2006. P. 162.

<sup>47</sup> Мелер, М. *Места нашей памяти*. Рига: [Рижская еврейская община], 2010. P. 315.

<sup>48</sup> Апине, И., Блузман, В., Брегманис, Ш. *Латвия на грани эпох: IV часть*. Рига: Авотс, 1990. P. 151.

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## Appendices

**Appendix 1:** Systematized data is being stored in the table below.

City, Area	Place of struck off	Number of people	
<b>Riga</b>	Riga	6180	
	Arrested	105	
	Arrested by Soviets	5	
	Aviation regiment	1	
	Central prison / prison	6	
	Changed surname	8	
	Committed suicide	1	
	Deported to Russia	28	
	Died	429	
	Divorced	3	
	Dobele military hospital	1	
	Entry canceled	32	
	Fled / fled to Russia / evacuated	178	
	Fled-gvardist	1	
	Fled to Daugavpils	1	
	Ghetto	827	
	Guard	1	
	Jewish hospital / Hospital	27	
	Jewish almshouse / Old people's home	13	
	Jewish shelter / Shelter	2	
	Married	66	
	Mental hospital	1	
	Military service	88	
	Missing / disappeared	5	
	Next house register	3	
	Red Army	4	
	Sent to forced labour	12	
	Struck off the house register with a delay	3	
	Taken away during Nazi occupation	3	
	To criminal police	1	
	From Riga	5	
	<b>Jurmala</b>	Asari	3
		Bulduri	13
Dubulti		14	
Dzintari / Edinburg		13	
Jurmala		332	
Kemeri		22	
Majori		48	
Melluzi		10	
Priedanie	1		
	<b>456</b>		

	<b>Total</b>	
<b>Countryside</b>	Countryside / Province	13
	Abguldes pag.	1
	Alojas pag.	1
	Alschwangen	2
	Antonopol	2
	Babite	5
	Baltmuiza	2
	Cibla pag.	1
	Dreilini pag.	1
	Dzērbene	3
	Dzūkste	1
	Ergļu pag.	3
	Ezere pag.	3
	Gaujene / Gaujene pag.	2
	Jaungulbene	1
	Jekabnieki pag.	1
	Jumprava	1
	Kapinu pag.	1
	Kraslavas pag.	1
	Latgale	16
	Liepna pag.	1
	Liepupes pag.	2
	Lubana pag.	1
	Malupes pag.	1
	Nautrenu pag.	1
	Pasiena pag.	1
	Piedruja	3
	Piltene pag.	1
	Preiļi pag.	6
	Priekule	1
	Rembate	4
	Rezanovka	1
	Riebeni	1
	Ropazi	6
	Saulkrasti	2
	Silmala	1
	Skaistkalne / Skaistkalne pag.	7
	Skriveri	1
	Vangazi	1
	Vecmūiza pag.	1
	Vishki	7
	Zuru pag.	4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>116</b>
<b>Latvian cities</b>	Abrene	1
	Aiviekste	1
	Aizpute	5
	Alūksne / Marineburg	9

Ape	1
Auce	4
Baldone	4
Baltinava	3
Balvi	4
Bauska	26
Bene	1
Cesis	20
Dagda	18
Daugavpils	300
Dobele	5
Glazmanka	10
Gostini	6
Griva	2
Grobina	3
Iecava	1
Ilukste	1
Jaunjelgava	18
Jekabpils	10
Jelgava	90
Kandava	7
Karsava	7
Kraslava	46
Krustpils	40
Kuldiga	15
Liepaja	226
Ligatne	5
Limbazi	7
Livani	25
Ludza	62
Madona	1
Malta	1
Nereta	1
Ogre	7
Plavinas	6
Preili	13
Rezekne	118
Rujiena	4
Sabile	11
Saldus	21
Sigulda	1
Sloka	2
Smiltene	18
Strenci	4
Subate	3
Talsi	12
Tukums	37
Valka	11
Valmiera	8
Varaklani	7
Vecauce	10

	Vecgulbene	3
	Ventspils	38
	Viesite	2
	Vilaka	5
	Vilani	23
	Zilupe	8
	<b>Total</b>	<b>1358</b>
<b>Abroad</b>	Abroad	182
	Africa	41
	Algeria	1
	America / USA	175
	Amsterdam	1
	Austria	10
	Bagdad	2
	Belgium	2
	Berlin	62
	Brazil	5
	Brussels	2
	Czechoslovakia	5
	Danzig	8
	Denmark	2
	Dresden	1
	England	19
	Estonia	200
	Finland	9
	France	19
	Germany	136
	Hamburg	2
	Helsinki	1
	Jerusalem	2
	Italy	4
	Kaunas	21
	Klaipeda	10
	Koenigsberg	4
	Kovno	8
	Lithuania	287
	London	13
	Memel	3
	Moscow	29
	Mazheiki	3
	Netanya	3
	Oslo	2
	Palestine	199
	Paris	33
	Pasvalis	2
	Pernau	1
	Petrograd / Leningrad	12
	Poland	59
	Ponevezh	2
	Prague	3

Roma	3
Rumania	5
Russia	161
Schaulen	12
South Africa	1
Stockholm	3
Sweden	4
Switzerland	4
Tallin / Revel	39
Tartu / Jurjev	7
Tel Aviv	1
Ukmerge	1
USSR	67
Valka (Estonia)	1
Vekshni	1
Vienne	4
Vilna pag.	1
Vilnius	13
Vitebsk	3
Warsaw	12
Zhagare	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>1931</b>
No record on departure	1167
Place of destination unknown/not recorded in a house register	7955
<b>Grand total</b>	<b>21023</b>



**Appendix 2:** The table below includes data on the citizenship or affiliation to some area, grouped by states and areas.

<b>Place of origin or citizenship</b>	<b>Number of people</b>
<b>American / USA citizen</b>	64
Filadelfia	1
<b>Argentinian citizen</b>	1
<b>Australian citizen</b>	3
<b>Austrian citizen</b>	20
<b>Belarus citizen</b>	127
<b>Belgian citizen</b>	1
<b>Canadian citizen</b>	4
<b>Czechoslovakian citizen</b>	9
<b>Danish citizen</b>	4
<b>Dutch citizen</b>	2
<b>Estonian citizen</b>	256
Tallin	1
<b>Finnish citizen</b>	5
<b>Former Russian citizen</b>	345
Bobruysk	3
Glubokoye	1
Gomel	5
Grodno pr.	3
Kiev pr.	2
Lepel	1
Marianov pr.	1
Minsk	3
Minsk pr.	17
Mogilev	11
Mogilev pr.	11
Moscow	2
Nizhny Novgorod	2
Novo-Nikolayevsk	1
Petrograd	1
Polotsk	6
Romni	1
Russia	1
Smolensk	1
Smolensk pr.	1
Toropets	1
Tver pr.	1
Vitebsk	14
Vitebsk pr.	54
Volin pr.	1
<b>French citizen</b>	15
<b>German citizen</b>	166
Wiesbaden	1
<b>German stateless person</b>	6
<b>Great Britain citizen</b>	50
<b>Hungarian citizen</b>	2

<b>Ireland citizen</b>	1
<b>Italian citizen</b>	4
<b>Latvian citizen</b>	14075
Aizpute d.	7
Aluksne	5
Bauska	23
Cesu d.	1
Dagda	4
Daugavpils	181
Daugavpils d.	12
Dobele	4
Essern pag.	1
Glazmanka	8
Griva	1
Grobina	4
Ilukste	1
Ilukste d.	1
Jaunjelgava	47
Jekabpils	40
Jelgava	66
Jelgava d.	1
Kraslava	35
Krustpils	57
Kuldiga	25
Kuldiga d.	1
Latgale	1
Laudona	1
Liepaja	24
Limbazi	2
Livani	8
Ludza	36
Ludza d.	3
Nereta pag.	1
Nirza	1
Pasijene	1
Piedruja	2
Piltene	13
Preili / Preili pag.	12
Rezekne	38
Rezekne d.	5
Riga	266
Rujiena	3
Sabile	6
Skaistkalne / Schoenberg	2
Silajani	1
Sloka	3
Smiltene	1
Talsi	5
Tukums	32
Valka	1
Valka d.	1
Valmiera	1

Valmiera d.	2
Varaklani	5
Ventspils	1
Ventspils d.	1
Vilaka	1
Vilaka pag.	1
Vilani	3
Vishki	6
<b>Latvian Identity card</b>	130
<b>Lithuanian citizen</b>	1087
Birzhai	2
Kaunas	6
Kaunas pr.	23
Laizhev	5
Linkovo	2
Nemoksti	1
Novo-Alexandrovsk	4
Palanga	1
Panevezh	2
Schauliai	10
Schauliai d. / Schaulen d.	5
Telsch d.	5
Vilna	3
Vilna pr.	16
Wegern	4
Yanovich	1
Zhagare	3
<b>Nansen passport</b>	29
<b>Norwegian citizen</b>	3
<b>Palestinian citizen</b>	30
<b>Passport of Danzig</b>	1
<b>Persian citizen</b>	1
<b>Polish citizen</b>	309
<b>Rumanian citizen</b>	11
<b>Slovakian citizen</b>	3
<b>South African citizen</b>	8
<b>Spain citizen</b>	1
<b>Swedish citizen</b>	7
<b>Swiss citizen</b>	4
<b>Turkish citizen</b>	2
<b>Ungarian citizen</b>	15
<b>USSR citizen</b>	423
<b>Foreign citizen</b>	1
<b>Stateless person</b>	1

**Appendix 3: The data - systematized by countries (regions).**

<b>Country, Area</b>	<b>Place of birth</b>	<b>Number of people</b>	
<b>Africa</b>	Africa	2	
<b>Algeria</b>	St.Eugene		1
<b>Austria</b>	Austria	1	
	Graz	1	
	Kulm	1	
	Retfalu (Wiesen)	1	
	Vienna	50	
<b>Brasil</b>	Brasil	1	
<b>Czechoslovakia</b>	Czechoslovakia	4	
	Bratislava	1	
	Brno	1	
	Goeding	1	
	Ostrov		1
	Prague	2	
<b>China</b>	China	1	
<b>Denmark</b>	Copenhagen	3	
<b>Egypt</b>	Alexandria	1	
	Cairo	1	
<b>England</b>	England	3	
	Glasgow	1	
	London	4	
	Manchester	1	
	Newport		1
	Wellington	1	
<b>Estonia</b>	Estonia	99	
	Arensburg	1	
	Kuressaare	1	
	Narva	11	
	Pernau	18	
	Rakvere	2	
	Revel / Tallinn	45	
	Tartu / Derpt / Jurjev	56	
	Valga	3	
	Verro	5	
	Vezenberg	1	
	Vilande / Fellin	6	
	Vilande d.	1	
<b>Finland</b>	Finland	3	
	Viipuri	2	
<b>France</b>	France	2	
	Nice	1	
	Paris	7	
<b>Germany</b>	Germany	28	
	Barmen	1	
	Berlin	35	
	Bernhardsthal	1	
	Bonn	1	
	Dortmund	1	

	Frankfurt-on-Main	2	
	Goettingen	1	
	Hamburg	3	
	Hannover	1	
	Heidelberg	1	
	Leipzig	3	
	Ludwigsburg	1	
	Meschede	1	
	Radau		1
	Rostock	1	
	Scharlottenburg	4	
<b>Hungary</b>	Budapest	5	
<b>India</b>	Bombay		1
<b>Italy</b>	Italy		2
	Milan	1	
	Naples		1
	Trieste		2
	Turin	1	
<b>Japan</b>	Japan	1	
<b>Latvia</b>	Abrene d.	2	
	Adazi	1	
	Aiviekste / Aiviekste pag.	27	
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	Akniste / Akniste pag.	12	
	Allazu pag.	1	
	Alsunga / Alschwanga	2	
	Aluksne / Marienburg	24	
	Andrupene pag.	4	
	Ape	5	
	Auce	10	
	Auru pag.	1	
	Baldone / Baldone pag.	11	
	Baltinava / Baltinava pag.	18	
	Balvi / Balvi pag.	23	
	Barkava / Barkava pag.	2	
	Bate pag.	1	
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	Bauska d.	11	
	Berzgale pag.	1	
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	Bilska pag.	2	
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	Blidene p.	1	
	Bolderaa	10	
	Borovka pag.	1	
	Budbergu pag.	1	
	Bukaisu pag.	1	
	Bukmuiza / Bukmuiza pag.	2	
	Bulduri	2	
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Daugavpils / Dvinsk	1518
Daugavpils d. / Dvinsk d.	35
Dobele	16
Dubulti	20
Dundaga / Dundaga pag.	2
Durbe	1
Dzerve pag.	1
Dzūkste	1
Elksnu pag.	1
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Ezere / Ezere pag.	11
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Iecava / Iecava pag.	5
Ikskile	1
Iles pag.	1
Ilgene	1
Iļukste	34
Iļukste d.	11
Incukalns	4
Isnauda	4
Istra / Istra pag.	6
Izvalta	1
Jaungulbene	2
Jaunjelgava / Friedrichstadt	380
Jaunjelgava d.	1
Jaunlaicene	1
Jaunpeibalga pag.	3
Jaunpils	1
Jekabnieki pag.	1
Jekabpils / Jacobstadt	212
Jelgava / Mitau	519
Jelgava d.	4
Jugla	1
Jurmala	5
Kabile pag.	1
Kaleti pag.	3
Kalnmuizha	1
Kandava	24
Kapini pag.	2
Kaplava pag.	1
Karkeln	1
Karsava / Karsava pag.	66
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Kemeri	4
Keci pag.	1
Kraslava / Kraslava pag.	316
Krustpils / Kreuzburg /	
Krustpils pag.	370
Kuldiga / Goldingen / Kuldiga	
pag.	139
Kuldiga d.	4
Kurzeme / Courland pr.	10
Landskorona	1
Lasi pag.	2
Latgale	1
Latvia	39
Laudona pag.	1
Liel Kakscheni	1
Liel Memele muiza	1
Lielaucē pag.	2
Lieliecava	1
Lielplatone pag.	1
Liepupe / Pernigēle	4
Liepāja / Libāu	599
Lievenhof / Livāni	149
Limbāzi / Lemsal	40
Livberze / Livberze pag.	2
Lizuma pag.	2
Ludza / Lutzin	265
Ludza d. / Lutzin d.	39
Lugāzhi	1
Madona d.	2
Makasani	1
Malpils / Malpils pag.	4
Malta / Malta pag.	22
Malupe	1
Marciena / Marciena pag.	5
Mazsalaca	1
Meirāni	1
Memelhoff	1
Mersraga pag.	1
Milgravis	1
Murjāni pag.	1
Naujēne pag.	1
Neibade	
Nereta / Nereta pag.	8
Nirza / Nirza pag.	7
Nitaure / Nitaure pag.	3
Ogre	8
Olaine	4
Ope	1
Ozolnieki	1
Pale pag.	1
Palsmane / Palsmane pag.	2

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Pasiene / Pasiene pag.	10
Pavilosta	1
Penkule / Penkule pag.	3
Piedruja / Pridruisk / Piedruja pag.	28
Pilda / Pilda pag.	2
Piltene	36
Pinki pag.	
Plavinas	12
Pleiksni	1
Pope	1
Preili / Preili pag.	102
Priekule	4
Puze pag.	1
Renge pag.	5
Rezekne	508
Rezekne d.	26
Riebeni	10
Riga	4770
Riga d.	13
Rite pag.	1
Ropazhi pag.	1
Rucava	1
Rujiena	12
Rundeni pag.	2
Ruzhina / Ruzhina pag.	5
Sabile / Zabeln / Sabile pag.	59
Saka	4
Salaspils	3
Saldus d.	1
Saldus / Frauenburg	80
Salgale pag.	1
Saliena	1
Sasmacken / Valdemarpils	54
Seja pag.	1
Selpils	2
Sesava pag.	1
Sigulda	2
Silajani / Silajani pag.	10
Silene / Silene pag.	16
Skaistkalne / Schoenberg / Skaistkalne pag.	34
Skaune pag.	2
Skriveri / Skriveri pag.	3
Skrudaliena pag.	1
Skrunda	3
Skulte / Skulte pag.	4
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Solomenka v.	1
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Subate	57	
Suseja pag.	2	
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Taurkalne / Taurkalne pag.	3	
Taurupe pag.	1	
Tilza pag.	2	
Tukums	221	
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Turlava pag.	1	
Ugale / Ugale pag.	9	
Ungurmuiza pag.	1	
Uzava	2	
Vainode / Vainode pag.	5	
Vaive pag.	1	
Valka / Valka	35	
Valka d.	2	
Valmiera / Wolmar	24	
Valmiera d.	2	
Valtaiki	2	
Varaklani / Varaklani pag.	130	
Varme pag.	1	
Varve	1	
Vecauce / Alt Autz	20	
Vecdubulti	1	
Vecmuiza	5	
Ventspils / Windau	142	
Vestiena	1	
Vidzeme	1	
Viesite / Viesite pag.	8	
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Vilce pag.	1	
Vircava	1	
Vishki / Vishki pag.	77	
Zalienieku pag.	1	
Zalite pag.	1	
Zeikari	1	
Zemgale	1	
Zirau pag.		2
Zilupe	10	
Zuru pag.	1	
<b>Lithuania</b>		
Abolniki	2	
Akmene	3	
Alexandrovsk	2	
Alytaus	1	
Aniksti	1	
Beisagola	1	
Birzhai	13	
Birzhai d.	16	
Brzezany	1	

Daugelishki	1
Dorbiani	2
Dveja	1
Garzdai / Gorzdi	3
Griezi	1
Grudzi	1
Janovo	1
Jonishki	6
Kalvaria	2
Karnishiki	1
Kaunas / Kovno	80
Kaunas d./ Kovno d.	2
Kaunas pr./ Kovno pr.	224
Keidani	5
Klaipeda / Memel	17
Klikol	3
Komai	1
Krakinova	2
Kretinga	5
Kretinga d.	8
Kupishki	3
Kurshani	8
Kvetky	2
Laizhev / Laizhuva	15
Leckava	2
Ligum	2
Lithuania	355
Lukniki	
Mariampol	3
Memel	7
Mazheiki / Mazheiki pag.	26
Mazheiki d.	10
Nemoksti	1
Novo-Alexandrovsk / Zarasai	23
Novo-Zhagare	5
Okmiani	1
Oshmyani	2
Palanga	12
Panemune / Panemune pag.	4
Papile	1
Pasvalis	4
Pikeli	14
Plunge / Plungyani	7
Pokroje	1
Ponedeli	4
Panevezh d.	3
Panevezh	54
Popeliani	6
Radvilishki	1
Rasieniai	12
Retovo	1
Rokishki	16

1

	Rositza	2	
	Salanty	1	
	Schaulen / Schauliai	118	
	Schaulen d. / Schauliai d.	21	
	Schwekschna	1	
	Shadov	2	
	Shidlov	1	
	Skuodas	6	
	Soloki	5	
	Suboch	3	
	Suwalki	4	
	Suweinishki	5	
	Swenziani	5	
	Syadi	8	
	Tauraga / Taurogen	17	
	Telsch d.	5	
	Telsch	10	
	Trokai	3	
	Ukmerge	4	
	Ukmerge d.	1	
	Utena	4	
	Vekshni	5	
	Vidzi	11	
	Vileika	4	
	Vilkovishki	3	
	Vilkovishki d.		2
	Vilna	132	
	Vilna d.	1	
	Vilna pr.	85	
	Virbalis	1	
	Wegern	2	
	Wilkomir	8	
	Wobolniky	1	
	Worny	1	
	Zhagare	123	
	Zhidiki	7	
<b>Palestine</b>	Palestine	8	
	Jerusalem	1	
	Tel-Aviv	4	
	Yaffa	1	
<b>Poland</b>	Poland	155	
	Belostok	8	
	Bildjugi	2	
	Biszock	1	
	Bizetch	1	
	Braslava	1	
	Chenstokhov	2	
	Danzig	10	
	Dokshits	1	
	Dubna	2	
	Dubove	1	
	Dunilowitschi	2	

	Gdov	1
	Hrubeshov	1
	Kolomea	6
	Koropin	1
	Krakov	1
	Lemberg / Lvov	5
	Lodz	15
	Lomzha pag.	1
	Lubavichi	4
	Lublin	3
	Luzhki	4
	Lukomir	2
	Opole	1
	Ostrov	6
	Plisa	2
	Plonsk	1
	Przemysl	1
	Ponikowice	2
	Radom	1
	Rochwitz	1
	Rogov	1
	Sharkovshizna	1
	Suravna	1
	Vishnitsa	1
	Warsaw	64
	Zawale	1
<b>Prussia</b>	Prussia	1
	Heilsberg	1
	Koenigsberg	10
	Tilsit	5
<b>Rumania</b>	Rumania	6
	Bukharest	3
	Novo Sulita	1
	Seletin	4
<b>Russia (area of former Russian Empire in the USSR)</b>		
	Russia	213
	Akhtirka	1
	Arkhangelsk	1
	Astrakhan	1
	Bachmut	1
	Baku	1
	Baranovichi	1
	Berdichev	2
	Berdyansk	4
	Berezin	1
	Berezovka	1
	Beshenkovichi	3
	Bessarabia pr.	1
	Bezhetsk	1
	Bielsk	1

Bobinchi	1
Bobr	1
Bobruysk	11
Borisov	12
Borovichi	2
Braslava	27
Braslava d.	4
Brest-Litovsk	12
Bryansk	3
Budansk	1
Chashniki	11
Cherkovski	1
Chernigov	3
Chernigov pr.	10
Chernobil	1
Chernovtsi	1
Chita	1
Chust	1
Dergachi	1
Dimitriev	1
Dnepropetrovsk	2
Donsk d.	1
Disna	58
Disna d.	1
Drisa	42
Drisa d.	4
Druja	31
Dyatlovo	2
Ekaterinoslav	1
Feodosia	2
Glubokoye	3
Gomel	14
Gomel pr.	4
Gorodok	9
Grodno	13
Grodno pr.	7
Igumen	3
Iljino	4
Irkutsk	2
Ivangporod	1
Kaluga	2
Kaluga pr.	1
Kazan	5
Kharkov pr.	2
Kharkov	24
Kherson	7
Kiev	15
Kiev d.	1
Kiev pr.	7
Kirsanovo	2
Kokand	2
Kokhanov	1

Kolomna	1	
Kopis	2	
Kozlov	3	
Krasnoluki	10	
Krasnoyarsk	1	
Kremenchug	7	
Kremenetz	1	
Kronstadt	3	
Kublich	2	
Kuplits	1	
Kursk	2	
Kutaisi	1	
Leningrad / Petrograd /		
St.Peterburg	117	
Lepel	26	
Lepel d.	6	
Lida	2	
Ligovo	1	
Lipava		1
Liskovo		1
Lyuban		2
Luga	2	
Lugansk	2	
Lukoml		2
Maratsov		1
Melitopol	3	
Mglin	1	
Minsk	39	
Minsk pr.	46	
Mirgorod	5	
Mogilev	25	
Mogilev pr.	86	
Moscow	65	
Nevel	14	
Nikolaev	1	
Nikolaevsk		1
Nizhny Novgorod	13	
Novgorod	3	
Novgorod pr.	3	
Novgorod-Seversky	1	
Novospasov	1	
Novoviliesk	1	
Novozibkov	3	
Odessa	18	
Okulovka	1	
Oliva	1	
Omsk	1	
Oranienbaum	1	
Orekhovo	2	
Orel	6	
Orenburg	1	
Orsha	6	



Ostashkov	1
Ostrogorsk	1
Osveya	2
Penza	5
Perekop	1
Perm	2
Petrovsk	1
Pinsk	3
Podolsk	4
Polansk	1
Polotsk	137
Poltava	4
Poltava pr.	6
Porechye	2
Porkhov	1
Pskov pr.	4
Pskov	21
Rogachev	1
Romni	1
Roslavl	1
Rostov	6
Rostov-on-Don	4
Rovno	1
Ryazan	1
Rzhev	1
Samara	6
Saratov pr.	1
Saratov	13
Sausk	1
Sebezh	29
Shklov	1
Simbirsk	1
Simferopol	4
Sirotin	5
Slobodka	2
Slonim	2
Slutsk	2
Smolensk	11
Smolensk pr.	16
Smolevichi	1
Smolyani	2
Smorgon	2
Sokolsk	2
Staritsa	1
Starobin	1
Stavropol	2
Stolptsy	1
Suraki	1
Surazh	1
Taganrog	1
Tambov	5
Tambov pr.	5

	Tavria pr.	2
	Tiflis	4
	Tikhinich	1
	Tombov pr.	1
	Tomsk	1
	Torzhok	1
	Tula	5
	Tumashev	1
	Tver	8
	Ufa	5
	Ulla	5
	Usda	1
	Valdai	2
	Velikie Luki	4
	Velizh	16
	Vilishki	1
	Vinnitsa	5
	Vitebsk	156
	Vitebsk d	3
	Vitebsk pr.	211
	Vladikavkaz	1
	Vladimir pr.	1
	Vladislavov	1
	Volin pr.	6
	Volinsk	2
	Vologda	2
	Volozhin	5
	Voronezh	10
	Vyatka	1
	Vyazma	1
	Volintzi	1
	Yalta	1
	Yaroslavl	3
	Yekaterinoslav	9
	Yekaterinburg	2
	Yelizavetgrad	2
	Yukhovici	1
	Zhitomir	4
	Zinovjevsk	1
<b>Slovakia</b>	Stropka	1
	Topolchani	1
	Zborov	2
<b>Finland</b>	Helsinki / Helsingfors	5
<b>Sweden</b>	Sweden	1
	Halsingborg	1
	Stockholm	1
<b>Switzerland</b>	Switzerland	4
	Bern	2
	Zurich	3
<b>Ukraine</b>	Ukraine	3
<b>USA</b>	America	5
	Baltimore	1

	Bruklin	1
	Cleveland	2
	New York	1
	Trenton	1
	Washigton	1
<b>USSR</b>	USSR	4
	Place of birth was not stated in the house registers	1295
	<b>Total</b>	<b>18486</b>

**Appendix 4:** Records of actual professions and occupations of women.

<b>Profession, occupation</b>	<b>Number of people</b>	<b>Profession, occupation</b>	<b>Number of people</b>
Actress	21	Manicurist	3
Babysitter / Nanny	3	Medicine nurse / Hospital nurse	14
Baker	1	Midwife	4
Bookkeeper	17	Milliner / Modiste	69
Candy master	1	Official	5
Cashier	21	Painter	1
Clerk	55	Pharmacist / Druggist	10
Correspondent / Journalist	4	Photographer	4
Corset maker	1	Pianist	4
Dancer	4	Piano teacher / Music teacher	3
Decorator	1	Saleswoman	256
Dental technician	2	Seamstress	192
Dentist	42	Secretary	1
Doctor	31	Shopkeeper	1
Dressmaker	170	Singer	2
Educator / Preceptress	3	Student	77
Engineer	1	Student of Conservatory	1
Factory owner	1	Teacher	76
Hairdresser	11	Trader	56
Housewife	1401	Translator	1
Knitter	10	Typist	1
Laboratory owner	1	Weaver	3
Lawyer	1	Worked at radio „Pioner“	1
Maid	48	Worker / factory worker / laborer	204
		<b>Total:</b>	<b>2840</b>

**Appendix 5:** Records of actual professions and occupations of men.

<b>Profession, occupation</b>	<b>Number of people</b>	<b>Profession, occupation</b>	<b>Number of people</b>
Actor	15	Lithograph	1
Advertisement draftsman	1	Locksmith	23
Agent / Broker	52	Machinist	1
Agriculture / Farmer	3	Manager	1
Agronomist	1	Manufacturer	18
Architect	1	Mechanic	13
Baker	14	Melamed	2
Barber / Hairdresser	44	Military doctor	1
Blacksmith	8	Military man / Officer	13
Bookbinder	3	Miller	1
Bookkeeper	76	Mounter	1
Brush maker	1	Music teacher	2
Butcher / Meat trader	45	Musician	27
Cash messenger	2	Orthopedist	1
Cameraman	3	Painter / Artist	17
Cantor	1	Paramedic	2
Captain	1	People's commissar	1
Carpenter / Joiner	21	Pharmacist / Druggist	36
Carter	4	Photographer	11
Cashier	4	Pianist	3
Cattle trader	3	Principal of the school	1
Chauffeur / Driver	6	Professor	2
Clerk	56	Rabbi	28
Composer	1	Radio worker	1
Confectioner / Candy master	6	Railway Clerk	1
Constructor	1	Red Army officer	1
Correspondent / Journalist / Reporter	16	Roofer	1
Craftsman	1	Saddler	3
Decorator	2	Salesman	426
Dental technician	12	Sausage maker	1
Dentist	19	Seaman	1
Director	7	Shoemaker	123
Doctor	59	Shopkeeper	13
Doctor of Medicine	2	Singer / Opera singer	3
Dr. of Chemistry	1	Slaughterer	4
Dyer	3	Snip	5
Economist	1	Soap maker	1
Electrician	20	Soldier	7
Engineer	61	Student	242
Engineer-chemist	3	Student of Conservatory	1
Engraver	1	Tailor	224
Factory owner	4	Tanner	5
Flax-sorter	1	Teacher	56
Folk militia	1	Technician	9
Foreman	1	Timber sorter	107
Former member of the	1	Timber trader	5

government			
Free-lancer	1	Tinsmith	67
Furrier	3	Trader	809
Gardener	1	Typesetter	11
Glazier	4	Typographer	2
Glover maker	1	Upholsterer	10
Goldsmith	14	Upper-maker	95
Hat maker	14	Watch-maker	36
Hospital attendant	1	Watchman	1
House owner	4	Weaver	9
House-painter	1	Windows cleaner	1
Interior Ministry's official	1	Worked at the theatre	1
Jeweler	8	Worker	319
Laboratory assistant	1	Writer	1
Lawyer / Advocate	19	<b>Total:</b>	<b>3470</b>