

DUTCH JEWRY: A DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

Part One

FOREWORD

THE Committee whose task it was to report on the demography of Jews in the Netherlands after the Second World War was organized jointly by the Foundation for Jewish Welfare Work and the Ashkenazi and Sephardi Religious Communities in the Netherlands.

The Report was originally published in two issues of the Quarterly Bulletin of the Bureau of Statistics of the City of Amsterdam and subsequently put out in book form by the Joachimsthal Publishing and Printing Company, Amsterdam. Both publications were in Dutch. The present English edition of the Report is published so that the results of the study may be readily available outside the Netherlands. We express our appreciation to the translator, Mr. B. Kolthoff.

The Report was initially drawn up by the late Mr. Ph. A. Sondervan, the first Hon. Secretary of the Committee. We owe a debt of gratitude to him. We are particularly indebted to Dr. H. Emanuel, who in the capacity of Reporting Secretary processed the material scientifically and drafted the final Report, for the contents of which the Committee as a whole bears full responsibility.

We are deeply grateful to several organizations and persons who freely gave us the benefit of their invaluable services, experience, and recommendations, and without whose very kind co-operation this study could never have been completed.

The Bureau of Social Affairs of the City of Amsterdam made available to us the services of two persons under its employment programme for intellectuals.

We received the wholehearted assistance and co-operation of the staff of the Bureau of Statistics of the City of Amsterdam. We should like to mention specifically its former Director, Professor P. de Wolff, and his

DUTCH JEWRY

successor, Dr. J. Meerdink. Our particular gratitude goes to Dr. Meerdink, who, in addition to all his work on behalf of the study proper, arranged for its appearance in two Quarterly Bulletins of his Bureau.

Highly valued suggestions were also received from the Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics relating to the arrangement of the questionnaires and other forms used in the study as well as to the shaping of the Report.

In conclusion, we wish to thank the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany for the financial support which it generously made available to the Committee.

For and on behalf of the
Committee for the Demography
of Jews in the Netherlands,
A. VEDDER, M.D., Chairman.

EDITORIAL NOTE: The schedules used in the inquiry and some of the diagrams and tables have been omitted in this English version. They may be consulted in *De Joden in Nederland na de tweede Wereldoorlog, Een demografische analyse*, Amsterdam, 1961.

I. INTRODUCTION

1.1 *Reasons for the Study*

The development of Jewish social work and other activities after the war posed a number of difficult problems for the organizations responsible for carrying them out. Perhaps the most difficult of these related to the development of future needs and requirements. Quantitatively, they depended primarily on the number of people for whom the activities, social or cultural, would need to be performed. However, both the size and the composition of the Jewish group were unknown. Although some data were available, they were too haphazard to allow any definite conclusions to be drawn. Moreover, it was felt that the figures might not be highly reliable.

The results of a study of the size and composition of the Jewish population in the Netherlands is especially important to the following organizations.

(a) Jewish social institutions concerned with setting up programmes for social services, particularly where capital investment is involved.

(b) Religious and cultural institutions which need to be aware of future needs in their field, particularly in respect of education.

(c) Institutions engaged in collecting money to finance Jewish activities in the widest sense, both for expected future expenditure and for determining the number of persons to whom financial appeals could be made.

DUTCH JEWRY

1.2 *Composition of the Committee*

In June 1952 the Council of the Jewish Social Work Foundation decided to set up a committee whose task it would be to make inquiries into the demography of Dutch Jewry. The desirability of such an investigation was also expressed by the Executive Board of the Cefina-Jewish Social Work Foundation (the fund-collecting organization of Jewish Social Work). The Committee accepted a proposal to subsidize this work. The Ashkenazi and Sephardi Communities in the Netherlands were also invited to participate in the work of the Committee, and each of them assigned two members.

The Committee was composed as follows: Dr. A. Vedder, M.D., *Chairman*; Ph. A. Sondervan (now deceased), *Secretary*; B. W. de Jongh; Dr. A. Pais; Jacques Pais (now deceased); J. Reijzer; Dr. A. Veffler; and L. Vega.

After Mr. Sondervan's death Mr. Reijzer took charge of the secretariat. Dr. H. Emanuel was appointed rapporteur to the Committee and drew up the draft Report.

1.3 *Who are Jews?*

The first problem was the question of who should be considered Jewish for the purposes of the investigation. This question has historically been answered in different ways. In the 1930 Census those who claimed membership in one of the Hebrew religious communities were considered Jewish. Even then, their number did not correspond to the number of those who called themselves Jewish or were considered so by others. It will be shown that this discrepancy is very much greater today. Actually, the peculiar nature of the Jewish group makes it difficult to formulate a definition which covers all its members. This becomes clear upon consideration of the multitude of criteria which have been applied. Those used in the past include descent, common history and circumstances, and social, religious, and general cultural and/or anthropological characteristics.

The following principles were the main basis for recent statistical inquiries into the Jewish population in the Netherlands:

(a) *Declared religious association*: In the 1930 and 1947 Censuses all those who declared that they belonged to the Ashkenazi or Sephardi religious community were listed as Jewish.

(b) *Descent*: Under the registration of Jews ordered in 1941 by the German invaders all those were designated as Jews who either had at least three Jewish grandparents, or had two Jewish grandparents and/or belonged to a Jewish religious community, or had a Jewish spouse. In addition, all persons having one or two Jewish grandparents had to report. The data based on this registration have been statistically processed.

(c) *Voluntary registration*: After the Second World War a Jewish Co-ordination Board was established which requested Jews in the Netherlands to report themselves and those Jews they knew to be alive. The Board published lists of names of survivors. The decision to register was influenced by sentiments of historical unity and solidarity, cultural or religious ties, and social considerations.

All these criteria had to be carefully weighed as a possible basis for the study, and with a view to comparison with the past. In addition, careful consideration had to be given to another criterion:

(d) *The criterion used by the Jewish religious communities*: The Ashkenazi and Sephardi Communities in the Netherlands both take a formal position, derived from the religious code, by which anyone born of a Jewish mother belongs to the Jewish community, whether or not he gives evidence of wishing to belong to it. The only exception is in the case of those who have gone over to another religion.

In selecting its definition the Committee was in fact guided by the availability of registration material at the offices of the religious communities. By using this material the Committee started implicitly from the criterion adopted by the religious communities. However, the Committee is of the opinion that this method entails a number of advantages:

(1) *The use of the broadest possible definition*, which was desirable in view of the purposes of the study. The definition according to (d) is broader than those under (a) and (c), in that people who are Jewish by extraction but do not wish to be considered so are listed as Jewish in the former case but not in the latter two cases, and broader than the one mentioned under (b) because it considers as Jewish those children of mixed marriages in which the mother was Jewish. On the other hand, the fact that those who have accepted another religion are considered non-Jewish under definition (d) and Jewish under definition (b) constitutes a limitation.

(2) *The comparability with data gathered according to the criterion of descent*. Since the statistics for 1941 contain separate data concerning mixed marriages, distinguished according to sex, and also specify persons having one or two Jewish grandparents, it is possible—even though these data are not reliable in every respect—to make an approximation of the persons born of Jewish mothers. It is impossible to establish this relation for data based on the denominational principle (as used in population censuses) or on voluntary registrations.

(3) *Recent and adequate data*. All other sources—the registration data of the Jewish Co-ordination Board mentioned above and the 1947 Census—are of older date and also present the difficulty that they were compiled for different purposes. By using the data available from the religious communities, our research was in a better position to obtain relevant and up-to-date information.

To balance these advantages there is a possible objectionable feature.

The definition selected implies that children of mixed marriages in which the mother was Jewish are considered Jewish. This consequence may fit perfectly into the framework of religious norms from which the definition was derived, but it certainly does not do justice to the views of Dutch society at large,¹ according to which such children are in fact regarded as 'mixed' and not as Jewish; and it is according to this rule that these children generally behave, just as, for that matter, the children of mixed marriages in which the father is Jewish.

The Committee felt that this possible objection was not of paramount importance. It should be borne in mind that this group of children—insofar as they are still living with one or both parents—can be differentiated in the basic material, so that it is also possible to collect figures covering the Jewish population exclusive of them.

1.4 *Demographic studies covering the period until 1945*

For the purposes of the present investigation it is not necessary to give a complete survey of all the literature published before and during the Second World War on the demography of the Jews in the Netherlands. It will be sufficient to refer to those publications which may supply comparative data.

Mention should first of all be made of the work of the former Alderman of Amsterdam Dr. E. Boekman, *Demografie van de Joden in Nederland* (Amsterdam, 1936). He used data from the official censuses from 1830 to 1930.

As we have pointed out, the population censuses start from membership in one of the religious communities. This starting-point, therefore, is more limited than that of the present study, which regards as Jewish not only those affiliated to one of the Jewish religious communities but also all those who, although not members of a Jewish religious community, were born of Jewish mothers and do not profess a non-Jewish religion.

This difference was pointed out by Boekman,² but it was his opinion that until about 1900, with a few exceptions, the census data comprehended all Jews in the latter sense as well. This is so because the number of 'churchless' persons in the censuses was relatively small until 1900. On the other hand, only 0.7 per cent of all Jewish men and 0.5 per cent of all Jewish women gave an affirmative answer to the question asked in the 1920 Census whether, belonging to a religious denomination through birth, baptism, confirmation, or circumcision, they no longer wished to be numbered among its members. If we may attach any value to these figures, they would indicate that as late as 1920 the proportion of non-denominational Jews was still very small.

This proportion increased appreciably between 1920 and 1930 (from 7.8 per cent to 14.4 per cent), particularly in a large city like Amsterdam, where the greater part of the Jewish population resided. In consequence, a comparison of later data, collected according to either the

criterion used by the religious communities or that of descent, with those of the 1930 Census can only be made with proper reservations. Even though it is plausible³ that the number of Jews stating no religious affiliation must still have been relatively small in 1930, the possibilities of comparison are nevertheless restricted owing to extensive immigration, especially of Jews from Germany, between 1930 and 1940.

On the other hand, it is also difficult to make a comparison between the census data before and after 1930 because of the relative growth of the group of Jews who claimed no affiliation with one of the Jewish religious communities.

A source which is not subject to these failings is the registrations of Jews decreed by the occupation authorities in 1941. This important source has been processed statistically in two publications. Dr. A. Veffler published for the Jewish Council *Statistische gegevens van de Joden in Nederland, Part I, Statistische gegevens van de Joden in Amsterdam, waarin reeds opgenomen enkele voorlopige cijfers van de Joden in Nederland* (Amsterdam, 1942) which deals with the situation as it was in March–April 1941. The other publication, *Statistiek der bevolking van Joodschen bloede in Nederland* (The Hague, 1942), describes the population later in the same year. In both cases the criterion of descent is applied. The second publication is somewhat more detailed as far as national data are concerned; Dr. Veffler's, however, supplies a number of valuable supplementary tables relating to the significant Amsterdam group.

Few or unreliable demographic data are available for the years before 1830, but some specific periods of that time have repeatedly been subjects of investigation. Some sources are:

1. BOEKMAN, E.: 'De bevolking van Amsterdam in 1795', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*: 278 ff. (July 1930) (I); 'Demografische en sociale verhoudingen bij de Joden te Amsterdam omstreeks 1800', *Vrijdagavond 6* (Part I): 72, 89, 103 (1929) (II).
2. BRUGMANS, H., and A. FRANK (editors): *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland, Part I* (until about 1795) (Amsterdam, 1940).
3. GREWEL, F., and C. VAN EMDE BOAS: 'De Joden in Amsterdam', *Mens en Maatschappij* 30 (No. 5): 295 ff. (1955).
4. KOENEN, H. J.: *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland* (Utrecht, 1843).
5. KRUYT, J. P., in: *Antisemitisme en Jodendom*, edited by H. J. Pos (Arnhem, 1939).
6. ROSA, J. S. da Silva: *Geschiedenis der Portugeesche Joden te Amsterdam 1593–1925* (Amsterdam, 1925).
7. STENGERS, J.: 'Les Juifs dans les Pays-Bas au Moyen Age', *Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Belgische Academie, Klasse der letteren en der morele en staatkundige wetenschappen*, Boek 45 (Brussels, 1949).
8. ZUIDEN, D. S. van: 'De Joodsche bevolking van Nederland in het jaar 1809', *Vrijdagavond 4* (Part II): 82 (1927).
9. ZWARTS, J.: *Hoofdstukken uit de Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland* (Zutphen, 1929).

DUTCH JEWRY

II. DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT UNTIL 1945

2.1 *Origins of the Jews in the Netherlands*

It is possible, although unlikely, that descendants of Jewish traders under Julius Caesar may have settled during the early Middle Ages in what is now Netherlands territory. The oldest data about the presence of Jews in the Northern Netherlands relate to the early years of the thirteenth century. Everything indicates that they had moved rather recently from the Rhineland to this area (as well as to the Southern Netherlands) as financiers, and that they numbered very few persons. In all probability, only the provinces of Gelderland and Overijssel, as well as possibly the city of Utrecht, had Jewish inhabitants. On the basis of data mentioned by Stengers,⁴ their total number for the year 1339 may be estimated at seventeen established 'families' and five itinerants who may have been accompanied by relatives. If a family is assumed to consist of an average of four or five persons, the number of Jews residing in the Netherlands at that time might have been of the order of magnitude of 100 persons.

After the Black Death—the plague epidemic from 1348 to 1350—and the attendant persecution of Jews by the flagellants, no Jews are found in the Northern Netherlands. It is not until 1385 that mention is again made of Jews; they also came from the Rhineland. Their number again remains modest, especially because in the later years of the fifteenth century Jews were forbidden by decree to settle in the most important centres, which were Nijmegen and Utrecht. Stengers⁵ estimates their peak number, which was reached towards the middle of that century, in the Duchy of Gelre (Gelderland) at twenty to thirty families, which constitutes an order of magnitude of about 120 persons. With the addition of remaining parts of the Northern Netherlands, there may have been a total of about 150 to 200 persons.

During the final years of the fifteenth century and the greater part of the sixteenth there were probably almost no Jews in the Northern Netherlands, except for the province of Zeeland. Although Marranos (Spanish Jews who had been forced to become Christians) had settled in Antwerp at the end of the fifteenth or in the early years of the sixteenth century and had grown into an important colony,⁶ they did not come to the northern provinces until late in the latter century, with the exception of Zeeland,⁷ where rather large Marrano as well as openly Jewish settlements had been established in such towns as Arnemuiden and Middelburg towards the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century. There is evidence of the appearance of Marranos in Amsterdam around 1590, but it was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century that a number of Marranos started openly professing their Jewish faith in Amsterdam as well as in such towns as Alkmaar, Haarlem, and Rotterdam. More than a decade later (1617),

DUTCH JEWRY

High-German Jews first settled in Amsterdam, and they were followed by immigrants from Poland.

We are poorly informed statistically of the steady development, from that time until 1830, of immigration to the Netherlands, although it is known that the Ashkenazi group soon surpassed the Sephardim numerically. The following estimates have been taken from Boekman,⁸ Koenen,⁹ Grewel and Van Emde Boas,¹⁰ and Kruyt.¹⁰

TABLE I. *The Jewish Population of the Netherlands until 1800*

Year	Amsterdam			Remainder of the Netherlands	Netherlands
	Sephardim	Ashkenazim	Total		
1610	400	—	400	—	—
1674	2,500	5,000	7,500	—	—
1780	3,000	19,000	22,000	8,000	30,000
1795	—	—	21,000	—	—
1797	—	—	23,104	—	—

2.2 *The Jewish population of the Netherlands until 1942*

More reliable and detailed information¹¹ is available only after 1830, in which year the first official census—since repeated about every ten years—was held.

Although this was a census according to the principle of religious affiliation, it may be said that until after about 1900 it was an exception for Jews not to register as belonging to one of the Jewish religious communities (see Section 1.4 above).

These census data have been extensively treated by Boekman. Tables 3 and 4 have been taken from his study or are based on his figures.¹² The development from 1830 to 1930 can be characterized by:

(a) a decreasing relative growth, which first surpassed that of the total Netherlands population but lagged behind it in the course of the twentieth century; a decreasing growth which was interrupted between 1870 and 1890, probably on account of a high influx of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe;

(b) an increasing concentration in Amsterdam and a reduction in the number of municipalities where Jews resided—a tendency which, as appears from the estimates specified, must date from the initial stage of emancipation for earlier years;

(c) a persistent and gradually increasing surplus of women, which in later years was relatively high as compared to the total population—a characteristic of all denominational groups in the Netherlands in contrast to non-affiliated persons, so that it may be surmised that this phenomenon is, at least to some extent, connected with a greater amount of apostasy among men than among women;

DUTCH JEWRY

(d) a rise in average age;

(e) a reduced birth rate.

The very small increase in the numbers of Jews counted in the population censuses between 1899 and 1909 and the decrease between 1920 and 1930 cannot be attributed to a reduced birth rate alone but are definitely also a consequence of emigration and apostasy. The latter phenomenon perhaps makes the figures of the censuses after 1899, and certainly those of 1930, of dubious value as a standard for the development of the Jewish group in our sense.

From 1933 on there was large-scale immigration of German Jews and Jews who had been declared stateless; later, on a smaller scale, Austrian, Czech, and Polish Jews also came in. In so far as they did not leave the country before 15 May 1940, the statistics of the 1941 registration give an idea of their numbers.

These statistics are also valuable in that they make possible a better approximation of the number of Jews than the 1930 census, since they are based on the principle of descent, even though corrections are necessary because children of Jewish mothers and non-Jewish fathers are regarded as half Jewish in these statistics.

The data contained in Tables 5 to 9 have been taken from *Statistische gegevens van de Joden in Nederland, Part I*, compiled by A. Veffler for the Jewish Council and relating to March–April 1941, and from *Statistiek der bevolking van Joodschen bloede in Nederland*, which describes the situation as it was on 1 October 1941. The former statistics are slightly less complete since they did not cover all registrations; the latter probably contain more inaccuracies as regards the descent of the persons registered (soon after the beginning of registration efforts were made to ‘aryanize’ grandparents, and sometimes not without success, as the statistics indicate).

According to these data, 140,001 persons were counted as ‘full’ Jews in October 1941. In order to approximate the number of Jews according to the definition used by us, the following deductions should be made from this figure:

(1) Persons affiliated with a religious community other than Jewish: 1,915 persons.

(2) The remaining persons with three Jewish grandparents and no Jewish maternal grandmother; the number of non-Jews among this group with three Jewish grandparents may, for lack of more precise details, be estimated at 25 per cent of this group, i.e. 25 per cent of 1,339, or 335 persons.

(3) The remaining persons with two Jewish grandparents and no Jewish maternal grandmother. The number of non-Jews among the group with two Jewish grandparents can best be determined on the basis of the ratio of Jewish men to Jewish women who had non-Jewish spouses (Table 7). This ratio is found to be about 11 : 7. It may be

DUTCH JEWRY

assumed that the ratio was also valid for the generations from which the persons having two Jewish grandparents and living in 1941 were born. In such cases it may be postulated that about $\frac{1}{8}$ of the persons counted as Jewish and having two Jewish grandparents (and who had not embraced some other religion) should not be considered Jewish. The computation yields 994 persons.

On the other hand, the following groups should be added:

(4) Persons with no religious affiliation and having two Jewish grandparents, who were considered half Jewish by the occupation authorities, but had a Jewish maternal grandmother; on the basis of the same postulation as under (3), $\frac{7}{8}$ of this group with two Jewish grandparents, or 3,877 persons, should be counted among this group.

(5) Persons with one Jewish grandparent not considered Jewish by the occupation authorities, even though she was the maternal grandmother, the persons in question not having gone over to a non-Jewish religion. The best estimate is that such people form 25 per cent of the group with one Jewish grandparent and no non-Jewish religious affiliation, i.e. 65 persons.

From this computation it follows that the number of Jews according to the definition used here—that of membership in the religious communities—may be put at 140,699 persons for 1 October 1941, which is only a little more than the number of persons counted as fully Jewish according to the standard applied by the occupation authorities.

The following facts are outstanding in these data:

(a) The difference between the number of Jews according to the 1941 count and the 1930 Census, about 28,000 (cf. Tables 3 and 5), is almost as large as the sum of the number of immigrants after 1933, about 16,000, and the number of persons counted in 1940 born after 1930, about 13,500. Immigration was not extensive between 1930 and 1933, and, furthermore, a number of those born after 1930 belonged to the group of immigrants. For the period from 1931 to 1941 the total mentioned therefore cannot have been much larger than indicated. However, emigration and deaths should be set against immigration and births. It is no longer possible to determine these figures for 1931–1941, but it is clear that the net increase of the Jewish population between 1930 and 1941 must have been much smaller than 28,000.

If we put the emigration during these years at 1,500 and the annual deaths at about 11 per cent (which is equal to what Boekman¹³ found for the years around 1930 for Amsterdam), we arrive at the conclusion that, of the difference of 28,000 between both counts, only about 15,000 can be explained by net immigration and excess of births over deaths, and that the remaining 13,000 should be attributed to the fact that the 1930 Census was based on religious affiliation. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that about 12,500 persons out of those who had been counted as 'full' Jews in 1941 stated that they had no religious affiliation whatever.

DUTCH JEWRY

(The total number of unaffiliated Jews in 1941, by the definition of the religious communities, including those counted as 'half' Jews by the occupation authorities, can be estimated at about 16,500 with the use of the conversion factor of $\frac{7}{8}$ used under (3) above.)

(b) In 1941, 57 per cent of those counted as fully Jewish lived in Amsterdam, which is a little less than the number found by Boekman for 1930 (see Table 4). The trend to concentrate in Amsterdam in the period from 1849 to 1920 did not, therefore, continue. This is even more evident when we also consider the group of persons counted as 'half' Jewish, a much greater percentage of whom live outside Amsterdam (Table 5).

(c) In 1941 there were about 106 women to every 100 men among the group of persons counted as 'full' Jews. This excess of women is somewhat smaller than in 1930 according to the Census (Table 3), so that the continuous increase of the excess of women in the period from 1859 to 1899 and its subsequent stationary condition of 108 to 109 during the years 1899 to 1930 were then followed by a decline. (See however, Chapter IV.)

(d) Although it is difficult to compare the 1941 with the 1930 figures because the latter do not include non-members of the religious communities, it is still possible to arrive at the fact that the Jewish population had again greatly aged in the period between 1931 and 1941.

Comparing the Jewish population according to the 1930 Census with those counted as 'full' Jews in 1941 (Table 6), we see that the numbers in the age groups below 30 years increased much less than did the older age groups; the age group from 0 to 9 years even declined numerically. However, this comparison is not quite correct, because on the one hand some of those counted in 1941 as 'full' Jews, according to the standard used in this report, did not belong to the Jewish group (mainly baptized persons and non-Jews of partly Jewish descent married to Jews), and, on the other hand, some of those counted as 'half' Jews at that time should, according to the same standard, be counted as belonging to the Jewish group. (Because of their small number, we are leaving out of consideration the persons counted as 'quarter' Jews.) The age distribution of the first category can no longer be ascertained; since it contained a high percentage of married persons, a relatively high proportion of it must belong to the age groups above 30 years. For the persons counted as 'half' Jews, however, the 1941 statistics specify separate data. Of this group, only those should be designated Jewish who were not baptized (9,938 out of 14,707; see Table 8) and were born of a Jewish mother (about $\frac{7}{8}$ of this number, i.e. about 3,900 persons; compare 4) above). On the assumption that the age distribution of these 3,900 is proportional to that of the overall number of persons counted as 'half' Jews, the age distribution of those counted as 'full' Jews can be corrected.

DUTCH JEWRY

TABLE 2. *Numbers of Persons counted as 'Full' Jews (1930 and 1941)*

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>1930 Census</i>	<i>Counted as 'full' Jews in 1941</i>	<i>Difference from 1930</i>	<i>Counted as full Jews + persons counted as 'half' Jews in 1941</i>	<i>Difference from 1930</i>
0-9 years	15,234	13,597	-1,637	14,821	-413
10-19 years	17,656	18,761	1,105	19,816	2,160
20-29 years	17,481	20,223	2,742	20,886	3,405
30-39 years	16,761	22,503	5,742	22,904	6,143
40-49 years	16,272	21,765	5,493	22,007	5,735
50-59 years	13,769	19,740	5,971	19,892	6,123
60 years and over	14,744	23,412	8,668	23,534	8,790
Total	111,917	140,001	28,084	143,860	31,943

TABLE 3. *Number of Jews in the Netherlands, 1830 to 1930 by
Affiliation and Sex**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Sex</i>		<i>Number of women per 100 men</i>	<i>Affiliation</i>		<i>Number of Jews per 10,000 inhabitants</i>
		<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>		<i>Ashkenazi</i>	<i>Sephardi</i>	
1830	46,397	—	—	—	—	—	178
1840	52,245	—	—	—	—	—	183
1849	58,626	28,846	29,780	103	55,412	3,214	192
1859	63,790	31,412	32,378	103	60,750	3,040	193
1869	68,003	33,180	34,823	105	64,478	3,525	190
1879	81,693	39,885	41,808	105	78,075	3,618	204
1889	97,324	47,465	49,859	105	92,254	5,070	215
1899	103,988	50,106	53,882	108	98,343	5,645	204
1909	106,409	50,825	55,584	109	99,785	6,624	181
1920	115,223	55,406	59,817	108	109,293	5,930	168
1930	111,917	53,685	58,232	108	106,723	5,194	141

* Source: Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics.

DUTCH JEWRY

TABLE 4. *Number of Jews in Amsterdam, 1849 to 1930**

Year	Number of Jews in Amsterdam	
	Absolute	Percentage of the total number of Jews in the Netherlands
1849	25,156	43.1
1859	26,725	41.9
1869	29,952	44.0
1879	40,318	49.4
1889	54,479	56.0
1899	59,065	56.4
1909	60,970	57.3
1920†	67,249	58.4
1920‡	68,758	59.7
1930	65,523	58.6

* Source: Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics.

† Before annexation of surrounding areas.

‡ After annexation.

TABLE 5. *Persons who reported, by Provinces, 1941*
(Numbers according to data of occupation authorities)

Province	'Full' Jews*			'Half' Jews*		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Groningen	4,682	2,318	2,364	434	217	217
Friesland	851	417	434	73	37	36
Drente	2,498	1,506	992	145	104	41
Overijssel	4,345	2,254	2,091	326	171	155
Gelderland	6,633	3,249	3,384	604	317	287
Utrecht	4,147	2,022	2,125	673	337	336
North Holland	87,026	41,936	45,090	6,620	3,294	3,326
South Holland	25,617	12,586	13,031	4,969	2,461	2,508
Zeeland	174	94	80	69	36	33
North Brabant	2,320	1,179	1,141	387	219	168
Limburg	1,394	695	699	208	110	98
Netherlands	139,687	68,256	71,431	14,508	7,303	7,205
Amsterdam alone	79,410	37,977	41,433	5,359†	2,672†	2,687†

* According to the criteria of the occupation authorities.

† 1 October 1941.

DUTCH JEWRY

TABLE 6. *Persons who reported, by Age Groups, 1941*
(Numbers according to data of occupation authorities)

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>'Full' Jews*</i>			<i>'Half' Jews*</i>		
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
0- 4 years	6,853	3,552	3,301	2,662	1,347	1,315
5- 9 years	6,744	3,492	3,252	2,054	1,027	1,027
10-14 years	8,254	4,177	4,077	2,002	1,024	978
15-19 years	10,507	5,336	5,171	2,067	1,055	1,012
20-24 years	9,927	5,004	4,923	1,460	751	709
25-29 years	10,296	4,955	5,341	1,096	542	554
30-34 years	11,238	5,491	5,747	870	445	425
35-39 years	11,265	5,592	5,673	677	349	328
40-49 years	21,765	10,848	10,917	934	449	485
50-59 years	19,740	9,395	10,345	587	286	301
60 years and over	23,412	10,209	13,203	486	235	251
Total	140,001	68,051	71,950	14,895	7,510	7,385

* According to the criteria of the occupation authorities.

TABLE 7. *Persons who reported, 1941, Married to Jews and Non-Jews*

<i>Designation according to criteria of occupation authorities</i>	<i>Married to</i>					
	<i>Jews</i>			<i>Non-Jews</i>		
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
'Full' Jews	49,739	24,011*	25,728*	18,886	11,498	7,388
'Half' Jews	441	171	270	3,296	1,668	1,628
'Quarter' Jews	106	41	65	1,304	653	651
Total	50,286	24,223	26,063	23,486	13,819	9,667

* The numbers of Jewish men and Jewish women married to a Jewish spouse are not equal. This is because some of the spouses were abroad.

DUTCH JEWRY

TABLE 8. *Persons who reported, by Religious Affiliation, 1941*
(Numbers according to data of occupation authorities)

<i>Religious affiliation as of 1 October 1941</i>	<i>'Full' Jews*</i>			<i>'Half' Jews*</i>		
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Roman Catholic	690	357	333	1,848	926	922
Dutch Reformed	591	279	312	1,894	986	908
Other non-Jewish affiliation	634	301	333	1,027	509	518
Total non-Jewish	1,915	937	978	4,769	2,421	2,348
Ashkenazi	121,409	59,014	62,395			
Sephardi	4,301	2,031	2,270			
No affiliation	12,564	6,188	6,376	9,938	4,970	4,968
Total	140,189	68,170	72,019	14,707	7,391	7,316

* According to the criteria of the occupation authorities.

TABLE 9. *Immigrants to the Netherlands after 30 January 1933, who reported,
by Nationality, 1941*
(Numbers according to data of occupation authorities)

<i>Country of Origin as of 1 October 1941</i>	<i>'Full' Jews*</i>			<i>'Half' Jews*</i>		
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Germany	14,886	7,359	7,527	633	344	289
Austria	618	312	306	57	26	31
Poland	144	52	92	2	2	—
Czechoslovakia	105	50	55	8	5	3
Other countries	35	14	21	15	7	8
Total	15,788	7,787	8,001	715	384	331

* According to the criteria of the occupation authorities.

These figures clearly indicate a relative lag of the age groups below 30 years (especially that of 0 to 9 years) and the relatively pronounced increase of the category over 60 years.

(e) The number of mixed marriages (Table 7) was remarkably high: about 20,000. There is good cause for viewing this figure with some suspicion. A number of persons, appreciating the meaning of the measures taken by the occupation authorities, were undoubtedly able to mask their Jewish descent partly or entirely, so that a number of Jewish marriages were listed as 'mixed'. It should be further borne in mind that there were a number of baptized persons among the Jewish spouses in

mixed marriages, and that they could not be counted as members of the Jewish population. We shall return to the value of this figure in the next section.

It is interesting to note the disparity between the numbers of Jewish men and Jewish women in mixed marriages in 1941. In the years before the war it was apparently easier for a Jewish man than for a Jewish woman to contract a mixed marriage, or men were more readily inclined to do so than were women.¹⁴

(f) We shall also note (Table 8) the small percentage among those counted as 'full' Jews who listed membership in a non-Jewish religious community (1.4 per cent) and—because of the concentration of the Jews in Amsterdam, a highly non-religious city—the comparatively small percentage of unaffiliated persons. The latter aspect is also pointed out by A. Veffers in his publication for the Jewish Council.¹⁵

These results imply that the affiliations listed should be regarded primarily as an indication of formal membership and not of the persuasion of the persons counted.¹⁶

2.3 *The influence of deportation on the composition of the Jewish population*

The occupation of the Netherlands by the Germans meant a disaster of unprecedented proportions for the Jews. The destruction was relatively higher than in any other Western European country. This will be clear from the following numbers of losses: France, c. 85,000; Belgium, c. 27,000; Norway, c. 700; Denmark, c. 1,500; Italy, c. 9,000.¹⁷

According to an estimate by the Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (National Institute for War Documentation)¹⁸—tentative and offered with all proper reserve—at least 110,000 persons were deported from the Netherlands. Only about 5,450 returned, so that the number of victims must have amounted to about 105,000.

The following estimated figures for the Jewish population of the above countries¹⁹ before 1940 will contribute to a better understanding of the catastrophe: France, 225,000; Belgium, 60,000; Norway, 1,500; Denmark, 7,000; Italy, 50,000; Netherlands, 140,000.

The decimation, as will be shown, has profoundly affected the structure of the Jewish population. We shall discuss in some detail a few of the causes of this structural change.

With regard to deportation some groups were in a more or less 'privileged' position. This was first of all true of Jewish spouses in mixed marriages. Although they were subject to discriminatory measures, they were in many cases not affected by the extermination policy of the Nazis. This has naturally entailed a very important relative increase in the number of mixed marriages. The National Institute for War Documentation estimates their number for 1945 at about 8,000, a figure appreciably lower than that specified in the 1941 statistics (cf. Table 7), i.e. about 20,000.

DUTCH JEWRY

A second 'privileged' group was formed by those who were deported to the Bergen-Belsen and Theresienstadt concentration camps (especially the latter), a total of 8,300 persons. There the percentage of survivors was much higher than it was for those who ended up in a *Vernichtungslager* like Sobibor, Auschwitz, or Mauthausen. The category referred to consisted largely of intellectuals, persons with so-called 'Palestine papers', Jews who had adopted another religion, etc., all of whom in general belonged to the upper social strata. Of the 'privileged' persons about 1,700 returned, half of whom were Netherlands citizens.²⁰

Similar remarks can be made with regard to persons who went into hiding. Generally, those who lived in relatively close contact with their non-Jewish fellow-citizens had the best chances of hiding. Circumstances were therefore very unfavourable for the large Jewish agglomerations who lived mainly in Amsterdam but also in other towns and cities. Property also was an important factor affecting the possibility of hiding. It probably was also influenced by the particular time when the forced evacuations started. For example, in 1930 the Jews of the provinces of Groningen, Friesland, and Drente, which were the first to be made *Judenrein*, constituted 6.2 per cent of the total number of Jews in the Netherlands; in 1954 this figure was reduced to 2.5 per cent (see Table 12).

Finally, there were the factors of sex and age. Women could frequently be given shelter more easily than men; children and old people could be hidden with more ease than the groups in between. About 8,000 persons returned from hiding.²¹

A limited number of Jews managed to escape to England or Switzerland during the occupation, or to find relative safety in Belgium or France. Their number, for the period after October 1941, may be estimated at about 2,000.²²

In summary, the above figures produce the following estimate of the number of Jews present in the Netherlands in the middle of 1945:

Returned from camps	5,450
Returned from hiding in the Netherlands	8,000
Returned from neutral or Allied territory or from hiding in other occupied countries	2,000
Jewish spouses of mixed marriages	8,000
Total	23,450

When we add to this number the death roll of 105,000, we fail to arrive at the number of 140,000 Jews who according to the statistics mentioned above should have been present in 1941. Unspecified changes during the period from October 1941 to mid-1945—such as births, normal deaths, deaths in the Netherlands due to abnormal causes (underground resistance, persons shot when caught in hiding, suicide, death in concentration camps, and others)—are too small numerically to serve as an explanation for the difference.

DUTCH JEWRY

Since the 1941 figure of 140,000 should be considered too low rather than too high, there are three possible reasons for the discrepancy of about 11,500 persons:

- (a) The death figure of about 105,000 was in reality higher.
- (b) The number of mixed marriages was higher than 8,000.
- (c) The number of persons who returned from hiding was higher than 8,000.

Not much can be said about possibilities (a) and (c) because of the lack of more precise data; there is reason, however, to regard the death figure indicated as a minimum.²²

A little more can be said about the number of mixed marriages.²³ It was mentioned before (Section 2.2) that the statistics of the registration forms put the number of Jewish spouses in such marriages at about 20,000 for October 1941. This might give rise to the assumption that perhaps the post-war estimate of 8,000 is too low. Another fact raises strong doubts as to the value of the 1941 statistics in this regard. A later registration, in September 1942, of those who had children from an existing or earlier mixed marriage and of all Jewish women married to non-Jews produced no more than 8,610 persons.²⁴ The number of persons in this group actually married has not been established. With regard to the number of childless Jewish spouses in mixed marriages, the only available estimate is a specification which Rauter gave to Himmler on 24 September 1942, in which mention is made of 6,000 persons. In another source, however, the above-mentioned number of 8,610 is given as that of the total of Jewish persons having contracted mixed marriages. There also is a note by the German *Referent* Calmeyer (probably of 6 October 1942), according to which the original returns of 18,000 were to be considered incorrect and must be replaced by about 10,000 on the basis of the later registration. In a speech in February 1944 Rauter finally mentioned the figure of 9,500 for the total number of Jews in mixed marriages.

This is a confusing mixture of contradictory data, making it highly probable that the 1941 statistics were wrong. It is not clear in what way the statistics are incorrect. Did a number of single Jews or Jews having a Jewish spouse register as having a non-Jewish spouse, or were there double counts or counting errors? In the former case the number of single persons or persons with a non-Jewish spouse would be too low; in the latter case the numbers specified would not necessarily be incorrect. However, in view of the later corrections by the Germans, it would seem that processing errors were responsible rather than deliberately made classification errors.

On the other hand, we may have reason to doubt the correctness of the figure of 8,000. A number of Jewish spouses in mixed marriages were deported (for instance as punitive cases) and never returned. For this group, however, it was easier than for others to find protection in hiding

DUTCH JEWRY

or by other means, so that their proportion of survivors was much larger than that in the total Jewish population.

Some of the childless mixed marriages were dissolved by separation or divorce; this occurred rather frequently in the course of 1941. From 1941 to 1944 this group was further reduced by natural deaths. These factors were not balanced by new marriages. The decrease caused by divorces and deaths, however, cannot have been extensive.

Considering that, in 1941, $\frac{1}{8}$ of the Jewish spouses in mixed marriages were men, and assuming that this ratio applies likewise to the childless and that the number of 6,000 specified for them by Rauter was approximately correct, we see that it follows that approximately $\frac{1}{8} \times 6,000 = c. 4,000$ childless Jewish men married to non-Jews are not contained in the results of the September 1942 registration.²⁵ On this assumption, the number of Jews married or formerly married to non-Jews in September 1942 would have been roughly 12,600.

Because of this, we believe that the number of mixed marriages in 1945 may have been higher than 8,000, possibly as many as 10,000. The number of Jews present in the Netherlands in 1945—when we consider the numbers 8,000 and 10,000, in the absence of more precise data, as limits for the true number of mixed marriages—could then be estimated at not less than 23,450 and not more than 25,450.

III. METHODS USED IN THE INVESTIGATION

3.1 1947 Census Data

Figures relating to the Jewish population of the Netherlands after the Second World War became available in various ways. In the first place, the number of survivors can be estimated—as indicated in the preceding section—with the aid of 1941 statistics and figures of the losses due to deportation. This method, however, leads to no more than the total number of 23,450 already mentioned and a single demographic subdivision (into persons married to non-Jews and others), the quality of which is still dubious. This approximation cannot lead to an understanding of the further demographic characteristics of the post-war Jewish population.

The second source is a voluntary registration undertaken by the Jewish Co-ordination Board. The Board published lists of survivors, and at the end of 1945 21,674 persons had registered. Except for nationality and, frequently very temporary, residence, these lists do not allow any further specifications. Moreover, it is certain that not nearly all Jews then residing in the Netherlands responded to the request to register.

The 1947 Census data constitute the third source. One might ask if the Jewish population of the Netherlands could not be sufficiently evaluated on the basis of the Census. The Committee has answered this question in the negative for reasons already hinted at.

DUTCH JEWRY

Three broad categories of 'Jews' can be distinguished who, for the purpose of the Census, registered as not belonging to one of the Jewish religious communities:

(a) Those not belonging to a Jewish religious community and not interested in Jewish life in general. They frequently do not have many Jewish ties; a large percentage of those who are married to non-Jews can be counted among them.

(b) Those not belonging to a Jewish religious community but interested in Jewish life and affairs. Persons in this group make use of Jewish institutions and facilities in certain circumstances.

(c) Those who, although belonging to one of the religious communities, failed to mention this in the Census because of 'registration phobia' or other reasons.

The Committee felt that these three groups should be drawn into the investigation, and it was to be expected that it would thus arrive at appreciably higher figures than the Census, an expectation which turned out to be justified. In anticipation, it may now be said that the Committee established the presence of a total of 23,723 Jewish persons in the Netherlands for 1 January 1954, as against 14,346 persons according to the 1947 Census, despite an emigration surplus during the intervening period. The Census figure can be definitely stated as being too low.

Whenever possible, the Committee took the Census results into account, despite the incompleteness of the figures. To that end, use was made of two reports drawn up at the request of the Board of the Jewish Social Work Foundation by Ph. A. Sondervan and Dr. A. Vedder (not published), and an article by A. Pais in the *Joodse Wachter* of 25 January 1952.

Advantage was also taken of other data from the Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics (hereafter referred to as N.C.B.S.), namely the facts known about the church affiliation of newborn children (and their parents), deceased persons, persons who were married, and immigrants and emigrants during the 1946-58 period. These data are derived from the population records of the municipalities. They are naturally based on the denominational principle so that their value for the present study is limited.

3.2 *Selection of the statistical material*

The Committee carefully considered how the investigation should be carried out. The first idea was to draw up a list of all known Jewish addresses in the Netherlands and then have all these addresses visited by investigators. Apart from the almost prohibitive cost of such an inquiry, the Committee felt that many of the persons to be questioned would be unwilling to co-operate.

This possibility was therefore rejected. The remaining possibility was

DUTCH JEWRY

to seek information where most data were still available, i.e. at the various Jewish communities all over the country. These were visited by two investigators, who completed inquiry forms for all living persons, those deceased since 1945 and those who had emigrated after 1945 of whom details were found in the files.

Various difficulties were encountered. Most Jewish communities were immediately found willing to co-operate in every way. Some raised objections, but these were satisfactorily met after consultation. It was more difficult to overcome another problem: the fact that the records of the communities were far from complete. This was true even for such communities as the (Ashkenazi) *Nederlands-Israëlitische Hoofdsynagoge* and the Portuguese-Hebrew (Sephardi) Community in Amsterdam, both of which have excellent files of Jews residing in Amsterdam, both members and non-members. Evidence of incompleteness, especially in regard to non-members, was found when the Committee made a few spot checks. This was even truer for many smaller Jewish communities, where adequate records are frequently not maintained. Although people are likely to know each other better in small communities, it should be borne in mind that they frequently cover extensive areas and that the information available about the presence of Jews in places outside the centres of such communities is frequently scant. This incompleteness is encountered especially in places characterized by a marked increase in population due to migration, such as the commuter towns in the western provinces and the districts with growing industries.

Because of these facts, it can be established even now that the figures obtained as a result of our count are appreciably below the real figures. It will be shown that there is no adequate method to correct them.

The following remarks should be made about the Jewish communities where the data were collected. In the Netherlands there are three Hebrew religious communities: the *Nederlands-Israëlitische Kerkgenootschap* (Ashkenazi), the *Portugees-Israëlitische Kerkgenootschap* (Sephardi), and the *Verbond van Liberaal Religieuze Joden in Nederland*. The last congregation was not willing to supply data. However, the Committee believes that the inaccuracy thus caused in the figures is of only limited significance, because a large percentage of the members of this Society appears also in the files of the other two religious communities.

The Committee has not divided the data obtained according to Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews. Even with regard to the 1930 Census, Boekman remarked that the considerable differences between the two denominations (mainly of a social nature) lost much of their significance during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, and that at present they really form one group. He felt that the small number of really active Portuguese Jews in the Netherlands was responsible for this phenomenon.²⁸ These circumstances had much greater validity and significance in 1954 than in 1930.

DUTCH JEWRY

3.3 *Design of the inquiry forms*

Three forms were designed for recording data; a general form, a form concerning people dying after 1945, and a form on people who emigrated after 1945.

The Committee attempted to make the general form as comprehensive as possible. However, several questions considered of importance were not included because it was certain beforehand that it would be impossible to gather sufficient information about them. This applies to such data as income and profession. Even of various questions included in the form it was doubtful if they would be answered in a satisfactory manner. This suspicion was eventually confirmed.

'Member J(ewish) Community': The answer to this question was *Yes* when the person in question had acknowledged in any manner his wish to be a member of the religious community. In case this concerned the head of a family, the remaining Jewish members of the family were also considered as belonging to the community, in accordance with the usual practice of the community; *no* when the person in question had declared emphatically, through formal resignation or otherwise, that he did not wish to belong to the local Jewish community; *unknown* when neither the one nor the other applied.

'Solemnization of last or present marriage': By asking this question the Committee hoped to collect some details on religious interest.

With the 'composition of the family', a complication arose about mixed marriages. If the husband had married a non-Jewish wife, he was marked as head of the family but no other family members were listed, except in cases where there were children from a previous Jewish marriage. If the wife was Jewish, the composition of the family was listed on her form, but she herself was not listed as head of the family but as wife.

'Circumcision of own children, stepchildren, and foster children': The purpose of this question was to sound religious or community interest.

IV. SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE JEWISH POPULATION ON 1 JANUARY 1954

4.1a *Number*

The enumeration commissioned by the Committee indicated that 23,723 Jews resided in the Netherlands on 1 January 1954, of whom 11,506 were men and 12,217 women. Given the births and deaths during the years 1947 to 1953 established in the study, as well as emigration and immigration during the same period—based partly on the figures of the study and partly on N.C.B.S. figures—the number of Jews present in May 1947, starting from the total figure for 1954, must have been at least 26,000. However, as we remarked in Section 3.1, only 14,346 Jews registered as such in the Census of 31 May 1947. This demonstrates con-

DUTCH JEWRY

vincingly the relative value of the Census figures for a demography of the Jews in the Netherlands.

Meanwhile the question remains as to the extent to which the number of 23,723 established by the Committee reflected the real situation. Different calculations can contribute to an answer to this question:

(a) Calculation of the number of Jews present in 1945 from the figures for 1 January 1954, with the aid of the available data on births, deaths, emigration, and immigration, and comparison of the result with the outcome of other estimates of the number of Jews present in 1945.

(b) Comparison of the composition—from specific points of view—of the Jewish population according to the statistics for 1 January 1954 with that derived from other sources.

The method mentioned under (a) consists of estimating on the basis of the number of persons on 1 January of a given year the number on 1 January of the preceding year by adding to the former number the number of deaths and emigrants in the past year and deducting the number of births and immigrants in that year.

This method cannot be followed entirely on the basis of the study carried out by the Committee because of the lack of data on immigration.²⁷

In this respect, some support was derived from the N.C.B.S. statistics of foreign migration, which contain a division according to religion for the years from 1952 on (aliens have been included only from 1953 on). Also useful were the migration figures according to country of origin presented by these statistics from 1948 on (aliens from 1950 on) because it may be assumed that emigrants to and immigrants from Israel belong almost completely to the Jewish group. According to these data the immigration of Jews was a not unimportant phenomenon. From 1950 to 1953, 369 persons from Israel arrived in the Netherlands; according to the same statistics 868 persons emigrated to Israel during that period. (According to the data collected by the Committee: 814 persons; according to data supplied by the Netherlands Bureau of the Jewish Agency for Palestine: 819 persons.) According to the N.C.B.S. statistics, 1,524 Netherlands citizens emigrated to Israel during the period from 1948 to 1956, and 711 persons returned during the same period. Even if during the years of illegal emigration to Israel, 1946 and 1947, the balance of migration to Israel had a higher numerical value, these figures nevertheless indicate the importance of immigration from Israel as compared to emigration.

Similar conclusions are reached with regard to the total immigration of Jews, although the figures for it are much less complete because the corresponding N.C.B.S. data, as mentioned above, were compiled only from 1952 on and include aliens only from 1953 on. These statistics enumerate 271 Jewish immigrants for 1953, which is about twice the number of immigrants from Israel.

DUTCH JEWRY

The same ratio of 1 : 2 between immigration from Israel and the total number of Jewish immigrants is also encountered for the years 1954 to 1956. However tentative this information may be as a basis for extrapolation, the best approximation is probably obtained by assuming the total Jewish immigration during the years 1948 to 1952 to be equal to twice the total immigration from Israel.²⁸

Another problem occurs with regard to the extent of Jewish emigration during the years 1946 to 1953. The available data are those of the Committee and N.C.B.S. figures relating to Jewish foreign migration which date from 1952 (aliens included from 1953).

For the year 1953, the only year for which both sources are available, the Committee counted 509 emigrants, but the N.C.B.S. 699. This difference may have been caused by a different procedure in dating emigration, but it can also point to an underestimate of the emigration when using the Committee investigation as starting point. The latter cause is also suggested by the fact that, according to the investigation, 987 persons emigrated to Israel in the period from 1948 to 1953, whereas according to the Netherlands Bureau of the Jewish Agency for Palestine this number amounted to 1,501.

There is cause, therefore, to base the retrospective calculation of the size of the Jewish population in 1945 upon two alternative estimates of the annual emigration figures: first, upon the numbers produced by the investigation; second, upon numbers which are 40 per cent higher.

The results of both calculations are shown in Table 10.

The number of Jews present on 1 January of a given year (*t*) has in

TABLE 10. *Size of the Jewish Population in the Netherlands, 1946 to 1953*

Date	Number according to			
	Estimate I*	Estimate II†	Estimate III‡	Estimate IV§
1 Jan. 1946	25,588	27,415	30,188	34,415
1 Jan. 1947	25,739	27,434	—	—
1 Jan. 1948	25,472	26,900	—	—
1 Jan. 1949	25,361	26,599	—	—
1 Jan. 1950	25,305	26,305	—	—
1 Jan. 1951	24,771	25,586	—	—
1 Jan. 1952	24,224	24,613	—	—
1 Jan. 1953	23,986	24,176	—	—
1 Jan. 1954	23,723	23,723	26,623	27,923

* Emigration according to inquiry; immigration as in estimate II.

† Emigration according to 1953 data of N.C.B.S. (according to religious affiliation); estimated at 1.4 times emigration according to inquiry for years prior to 1953. Immigration estimated at twice that from Israel according to data of N.C.B.S. from 1948; estimated at zero for years prior to 1948.

‡ Estimate I corrected for underestimate of number of mixed marriages according to assumed minimum. (Mixed marriages in 1945: 8,000.)

§ Estimate II corrected for underestimate of number of mixed marriages according to assumed maximum. (Mixed marriages in 1945: 10,000.)

DUTCH JEWRY

each case been computed according to the formula: number present on 1 January of the following year ($t + 1$) minus births in year (t) minus immigration in year (t) plus deaths in year (t) plus emigration in year (t), starting with the outcome of the investigation carried out by the Committee for 1 January 1954.

By this procedure the estimated number of Jews in the Netherlands on 31 December 1945 becomes 25,600 to 27,500. In Section 2.3 the number of Jews present in 1945, starting from the 1941 statistics and known data about war losses, was estimated at 23,450 to 25,450. The results of the calculation just discussed are only slightly higher. This would seem to speak for the reliability of the results of the Committee's investigation.

If, however, we consider the composition of the Jewish population on 1 January 1954 as it appears from the investigation—the method mentioned above, under (*b*)—we soon reach the conclusion that the number of Jews resulting is too low. In the first place the number of mixed marriages is too small. According to the investigation, this number was 3,110 on 1 January 1954. Earlier, however, we saw (Section 2.3) that the number of mixed marriages in 1945 can be estimated at about 8,000 or 10,000. Hence it follows that the count for 1 January 1954 underestimates at least the number of mixed marriages. It is true that some of the mixed marriages of 1945 were dissolved through death or divorce during the period until 1 January 1954. The investigation gives no information on their number, but even if we assume an annual dissolution rate of 5 per cent,²⁹ the corresponding reduction of the number of mixed marriages during the said period cannot have amounted to more than about 3,000, or, on the basis of the higher estimate, about 3,700.

The reduction actually was smaller, because during the same period new mixed marriages were contracted (either as first or subsequent marriages). Of these marriages, too, the exact number is unknown because the data on duration of marriages in the study are highly incomplete. We do know that on 1 January 1954, 526 Jewish spouses in mixed marriages had been born in 1920 or later. These were at most 21 years old early in 1941. We probably do not greatly err when we assume that almost none of them was married at that time. In view of the prohibition of mixed marriages for the remainder of the war, almost all persons constituting this group must have married after the war. To this we should add an unknown number of post-war marriages of persons born before 1920, among whom were almost all cases of 'subsequent marriage' among the mixed marriages; there were 372 of them according to the study. Because of these figures, it does not seem unreasonable to estimate the total number of post-war mixed marriages—in so far as they were still intact on 1 January 1954—at about 1,000.

On 1 January 1954, therefore, the number of mixed marriages should have amounted to about $8,000 + 1,000 - 3,000 = 6,000$, or, on the

DUTCH JEWRY

basis of the alternative estimate, about $10,000 + 1,000 - 3,700 = 7,300$. The Committee counted only 3,110, which constitutes a negative difference of about 2,900 or 4,200, as the case may be. For the date mentioned, the size of the Jewish population therefore should be estimated not at 23,723, but at least at 26,600 or 27,900. This difference is to be attributed to imperfections in registration by the Jewish communities. It is furthermore plausible that, although these imperfections receive greater emphasis for the group who contracted mixed marriages, they can hardly be restricted to that group. It is therefore quite possible that the number of Jews in the Netherlands exceeded 30,000 on 1 January 1954. It will be shown in the course of the present section that there are indications that, especially outside the large cities, the study underestimated the size of the Jewish population. A more accurate determination of the number of Jews residing in the Netherlands, however, was found to be impossible within the scope of this study.

While the number of Jews in 1954 was higher than is apparent from the Committee census, it follows conversely from the results of this census that the estimate of the number of Jews present in 1945—about 23,450 or 25,450—must have been too low. This is so in the first place because the study indicates (Table 10) the presence of 25,600 to 27,400 Jews on 1 January 1946. When we add to this the equivalent for 1945 of the deficiency in the count for 1 January 1954 of 2,900 or 4,400 mixed marriages (this equivalent may be put at about 4,600 or 7,000 Jewish persons by analogy with the above estimates), the result for late 1945 is found to be over 30,000 persons.

4.1b *Geographical distribution*

For the Jewish population on 1 January 1954 we first detail (Table 11) the figures for the number of Jews by province, while the three largest cities are shown separately. For comparison, the 1947 Census figures are given in addition to those established by the Committee.

The figures in Table 11 indicate that the number of Jews in the three largest cities according to the 1954 count was considerably higher than appears from the 1947 Census, in accordance with our preceding statements. However, the converse is shown by the remaining data. For instance, of the cities of over 100,000 inhabitants not referred to above Utrecht alone shows a rise. All the others show a decline, except Arnhem, where the figure remained constant.

What can be the cause of this remarkable phenomenon? It would seem obvious that migration within the country is involved, all the more so since migration to the large cities, even many years before the war, was appreciably greater among Jews than among the remainder of the population. This, however, can never be the full explanation.

According to the figures for 1954, it appears that no higher percentage of Jews lived in cities of over 100,000 inhabitants than in 1930, namely,

DUTCH JEWRY

81.1 per cent or 80.9 per cent.³⁰ The 1954 percentage, however, is higher than that for 1947, which was 67 per cent.³¹

The fact that the 1947 percentage differed so greatly from that of preceding as well as subsequent years may have been caused by the circumstance that many persons in the aftermath of the war did not live in their original places of residence in 1947 but eventually returned to them. However, we do not believe that this migration was so extensive. On the contrary, our conclusion is that the low 1947 figures for the large cities—Amsterdam in particular—are to be attributed to under-registration due to non-membership in the religious communities, lack of interest, and 'registration phobia'. On the other hand, the relatively low figures for 1954 for Jews living in municipalities outside the larger cities were probably caused mainly by lack of sufficient data on the number of Jews residing in the municipalities—especially in respect of those married to non-Jews—in the files of the Jewish communities.³²

Table 12 shows the distribution of the Jews over the entire country.

The percentage of Jews residing in Amsterdam was: in 1930, 58.5 per cent of the total number of Jews living in the Netherlands; in 1941, 56.7 per cent; in 1947, 36.7 per cent; in 1954, 59.2 per cent. The figures for 1930, 1941, and 1954 display remarkable stability in the percentage

TABLE 11. *Distribution of the Jewish Population, by Province and Three Largest Cities, 31 May 1947 and 1 January 1954*

<i>Province or city of residence</i>	1947*	1954	<i>Difference</i>
Groningen	328	242	-86
Friesland	168	155	-13
Drente	146	180	34
Overijssel†	1,094	945	-149
Gelderland	1,150	997	-183
Utrecht	916	848	-68
North Holland (except Amsterdam)	1,359	1,378	19
South Holland (except Rotterdam and The Hague)	635	580	-55
Zeeland	39	59	20
North Brabant	686	620	-66
Limburg	407	297	-110
	6,928	6,301	-627
Amsterdam	5,269	14,068	8,799
Rotterdam	852	1,323	471
The Hague	1,283	2,031	748
	14,332	23,723	9,391
Central Population Register	15		-15
Netherlands	14,347	23,723	9,376

* N.C.B.S. Census (persons who stated membership in one of the two Jewish religious communities).

† Including Northeast Polder.

DUTCH JEWRY

TABLE 12. *Per Cent Distribution of the Jewish Population, by Province*

<i>Province or municipality of residence</i>	<i>Jewish Population (Percentage of total number)</i>				<i>Share of total population, per area (Per mille)</i>	
	1930*	1941†	1947‡	1954§	1930*	1954§
Groningen	3·9	3·4	2·3	1·0	11·1	0·52
Friesland	0·8	0·6	1·2	0·7	2·3	0·33
Drente	1·5	1·7	1·0	0·8	7·4	0·61
Overijssel	3·3	3·1	7·6	4·0	7·0	1·30
Gelderland	4·7	4·7	8·0	4·2	6·3	0·89
Utrecht	1·5	2·7	6·4	3·6	4·1	1·39
North Holland (except Amsterdam)	3·3	6·1	9·5	5·8	5·2	1·28
South Holland	20·1	18·3	19·3	16·6	11·5	1·56
Zeeland	0·2	0·1	0·3	0·2	0·8	0·22
North Brabant	1·5	1·6	4·8	2·6	1·8	0·47
Limburg	0·7	1·0	2·9	1·3	1·4	0·38
Total	41·5	43·3	63·3	40·8		
Amsterdam	58·5	56·7	36·7	59·2	82·5	16·38
Netherlands	100	100	100	100	14·1	2·25

* Censuses N.C.B.S.

† Statistics of registration forms (those counted as 'full' Jews).

‡ Including Northeast Polder.

§ Committee census.

of the Amsterdam Jews in the total. We believe that the appreciable deviation for 1947 is to be attributed to the causes mentioned above.³³

The proportion which the Jewish population constitutes of the total population in each of the provinces—with Amsterdam left out—fluctuates less than might have been expected. It is relatively high in the provinces of Overijssel, Utrecht, North Holland, and South Holland.

In conclusion, we offer a few remarks about the number of municipalities in which Jews reside. In 1930 there were 406 such municipalities.³⁴ The 1947 Census indicated a reduction to 336.³⁵ However, this reduction was much smaller than the total decline of the Jewish population, so that the average number of Jews per municipality declined from 275 in 1930 to 43 in 1947. In the Committee census the names of the municipalities were not always correctly specified on the registration forms. For 87 persons counted it was afterwards found impossible to establish the municipality of residence. According to Table 13, the remaining persons counted were distributed over 214 municipalities, so that the number of municipalities where Jews lived on 1 January 1954 must have been between 214 and 301. This is a good deal less than the figure in the 1947 Census, although the latter arrived at a much lower national total for the Jewish population. We have already noted that the 1947 Census specifically underestimated the Jewish population of the large cities and that the Committee count probably yielded the largest shortage especially for the smaller municipalities. In agreement with this

DUTCH JEWRY

TABLE 13. *The Jewish Population on 1 January 1954 by Number of Jewish Inhabitants per Municipality*

<i>Municipalities with</i>	<i>Number of municipalities</i>		<i>Jewish inhabitants</i>		
			<i>1 Jan. 1954</i>		<i>1930*</i>
	<i>1 Jan. 1954</i>	<i>1930*</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
1 to 50 Jewish inhabitants	180	325	1,788	7.5	3.4
51 to 100 " "	14	22	1,005	4.2	1.4
101 to 200 " "	10	27	1,384	5.8	3.2
201 to 300 " "	3	9	615	2.6	2.0
301 to 500 " "	4	11	1,422	6.0	3.9
501 to 1,000 " "	—	—	—	—	4.0
1,001 and more " "	3	6	17,422	73.5	82.1
Unknown number of Jewish inhabitants	0 to 87	—	87	0.4	—
Total	214 to 301	406	23,723	100	100

* 1930 Census, N.C.B.S.; cf. Boekman, op. cit., p. 37.

there is an apparent decrease of the number of municipalities with Jewish residents. This also implies that the Census data on the number of municipalities with Jewish residents are probably more realistic than those based on the Committee investigation. The latter, however, give a more realistic picture of the distribution of the Jewish population over Jewish population concentrations of different size. The high local concentration of the Jews in the Netherlands is clearly typified by the fact that only 7.5 per cent live in Jewish centres of 50 persons or fewer, and almost three-quarters in the three largest municipalities (centres with 1,000 and more Jews). Yet this concentration appears to have been even stronger in 1930, when only 5 per cent of Dutch Jews lived in centres of 50 or fewer Jews, although the number of these centres was then greater (325 versus 180 to 267 now).

4.2 *Sex and age*

Boekman³⁶ has already pointed out the remarkably high excess of women over men in the Jewish population. On the basis of the census figures, there were, per 100 Jewish men: in 1899, 107 women;³⁶ in 1909, 109 women;³⁶ in 1920, 108 women;³⁶ in 1930, 108 women;³⁶ in 1947, 109 women.³⁷

These counts are based on religious affiliation. As we have seen in Section 2.2, the 1941 count, which was based on the criterion of descent, produced 105.5 women per 100 men. The 1954 count also resulted in an excess of women: 106 women per 100 men. It is interesting to compare this with the figures for the overall population of the Netherlands on 31 December 1953: 1,007 women per 1,000 men.³⁸

DUTCH JEWRY

These figures should not lead to hasty conclusions about deviant biological characteristics among the Jews. It should be borne in mind, first of all, that the Census figures relate to a group which is defined denominationally and not biologically. Now it is a fact—Boekman³⁶ has mentioned it for earlier Censuses, and the 1947 figures likewise point to it³⁷—that all church or religious communities show an excess of women, whereas the group without formal religious affiliation includes more men than women (in 1947: 886 women per 1,000 men). This demonstrates that the phenomenon is at least partly due to the fact that, generally, women are more strongly committed to organized religion than men. For the smaller churches and sects, the average excess of women in 1947 was even appreciably higher than within the Jewish population. It was lower in the larger communions and churches.

This connexion can be further illustrated by studying the sex ratios of children and adults. One would expect the difference in the numbers of males and females not to manifest itself among children, and the 1947 Census figures³⁹ do indeed indicate that for all religious denominations among persons below 15 years of age there even exists a small excess of males.⁴⁰ This is also true for the Jewish population. For the group of persons not affiliated to any religious community, the excess of males increases along with advancing age.

The Jewish population is characterized furthermore by a relatively low proportion of the youngest age groups in the total population. An adjustment of the age structure of the Jewish group to that of the total Netherlands population would, according to the 1947 Census figures, cause the Jewish excess of women to drop from 109 to 106. If we compare with this the number of women per 100 men in 1947 for the Dutch Reformed (104) and for the Calvinists (105)—two groups of which the age structure is well in agreement with that of the total Netherlands population—we see how little excessive this Jewish surplus of women really was.

With regard to the 1954 Committee count, we cannot say that the resulting excess of women can be explained by stronger religious ties in women than in men, because this count was not based on religious affiliation. Nevertheless it produces (Table 15) the same picture as the Census: a relatively high excess of women in the age classes between 15 and 44 years and over 60 years; and an excess of males for children up to age 14 and for the groups between ages 45 and 60. It will be shown that this excess of women is wholly concentrated in the large cities, and that the remaining municipalities show an excess of men. Now this count (Section 4.1) also contains a deficiency, particularly due to an underestimate of the number of mixed marriages. Earlier we estimated this shortage, as far as mixed marriages are concerned, at about 2,900 to 4,200. Of the 3,110 Jewish spouses in mixed marriages recorded in the count, 1,893 were men and 1,217 women. Assuming this sex ratio also

DUTCH JEWRY

TABLE 14. *Corrected Estimates*

	<i>Alternative I</i>			<i>Alternative II</i>		
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>
1954 count	11,506	12,217	23,723	11,506	12,217	23,723
Plus Jewish spouses in mixed marriages	1,740	1,160	2,900	2,520	1,680	4,200
Total	13,246	13,377	26,623	14,026	13,987	27,923

TABLE 15. *The Jewish Population by Age (in 5-year classes), according to Sex, on 1 January 1954, in comparison with the Overall Population of the Netherlands and of Amsterdam*

<i>Year of birth</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Jewish population</i>				<i>Total</i>	<i>Netherlands population* 31 Dec. 1953</i>	<i>Amsterdam population† 31 Dec. 1953</i>
		<i>Total</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Number of women per 1,000 men</i>			
		<i>(Absolute numbers)</i>						
1949-1953	0-4	1,319	701	618	882	56.2	106.0	82.8
1944-1948	5-9	1,891	983	908	926	80.6	108.7	94.1
1939-1943	10-14	1,426	737	689	934	60.7	83.5	67.1
1934-1938	15-19	1,406	694	712	1,026	59.9	75.9	61.8
1929-1933	20-24	1,147	566	581	1,026	48.9	75.5	70.8
1924-1928	25-29	1,246	571	675	1,178	53.1	72.7	76.9
1919-1923	30-34	1,626	712	914	1,284	69.2	71.8	78.6
1914-1918	35-39	1,849	874	975	1,116	78.8	63.6	71.4
1909-1913	40-44	2,120	941	1,179	1,253	90.3	62.8	69.5
1904-1908	45-49	2,127	1,066	1,061	995	90.6	59.3	67.4
1899-1903	50-54	1,867	970	897	925	79.5	53.0	63.5
1894-1898	55-59	1,559	791	768	971	66.4	46.4	58.3
1889-1893	60-64	1,390	654	736	1,125	59.2	38.5	48.5
1884-1888	65-69	1,084	500	584	1,168	46.2	31.6	37.1
1879-1883	70-74	669	311	358	1,151	28.5	23.6	} 52.4
1874-1878	75-79	477	204	273	1,338	20.3	15.7	
Prior to 1874	80+	271	103	168	1,631	11.2	11.4	
Unknown		249	128	121				
Total		23,723	11,506	12,217	1,062	1,000	1,000	1,000

* Monthly Population Statistics, N.C.B.S., Vol. II, Utrecht, 1954, p. 93.

† Quarterly Bulletin, Amsterdam Municipal Bureau of Statistics, 1953, p. 236.

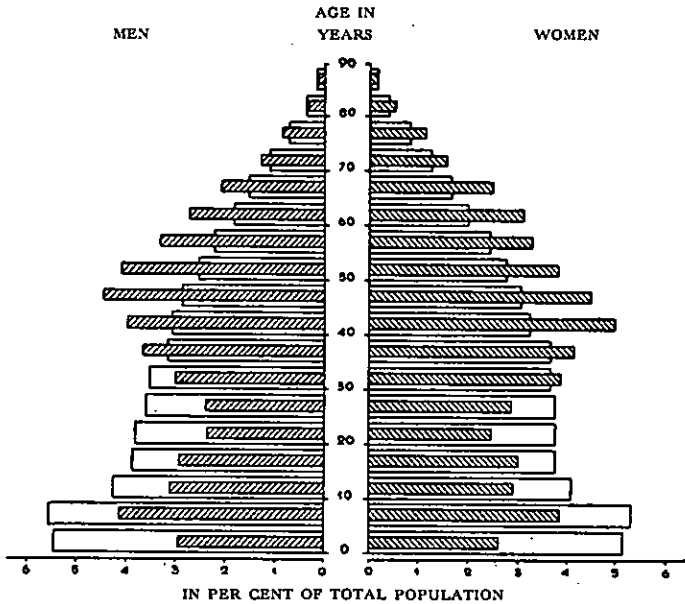
to apply to some of the Jewish spouses not included in the count,⁴¹ we arrive at the figures shown in Table 14.

It will be seen that, with this group of Jewish spouses in mixed marriages, there is no longer any question of a pronounced excess of women among the Jews: there are 991 to 1,010 Jewish women per 1,000 Jewish men. Naturally these computations include a number of uncertainties. It is, however, at least doubtful whether there really is a pronounced excess of women in the Jewish population as defined by the Committee.

DUTCH JEWRY

Age Structure of Jewish Population and Total Netherlands Population

JEWISH POPULATION ON 1 JANUARY 1954 (*shaded*)
TOTAL NETHERLANDS POPULATION ON 31 DECEMBER 1953



The great extent to which the Jewish age structure deviates from that of the general population is also apparent from the figures shown in Table 15. Since the Jews are very largely city dwellers, the figures for Amsterdam have also been listed for comparison. For the sake of simplicity, they are not subdivided according to sex.

When these three sets of figures are compared it is striking that the Jewish deviates in the same manner as the Amsterdam population from the total Netherlands population. In both, the lower age groups are relatively smaller and the higher age groups relatively bigger than in the total Netherlands population. The 'transition point' lies for the Amsterdam population at about 25 years, and for the Jews at a somewhat higher age (for men at about 35 years, for women at about 30 years).

The Jewish age structure is therefore markedly less favourable than that of the Netherlands population as a whole: quantitatively, the youngest age classes among the Jews will be appreciably less capable of eventually replacing the adult age groups. This phenomenon, however, is not a new one. Bockman⁴² devoted his attention to it. During the entire period from 1899 to 1930 the youngest age classes (under ten years) were consistently less filled among Jews than in the total population. Among them, furthermore, the share of these classes in the population declined more rapidly than in the total Dutch population (Table

DUTCH JEWRY

TABLE 16. *Proportion of the Age Groups up to 10 Years in the Jewish and in the Total Netherlands Population, 1899 to 1953*

Year of enumeration*	Share of 0 to 9 year-old in	
	Jewish population	Netherlands population
	%	%
1899	21.1	24.3
1909	18.2	24.0
1920	16.1	22.7
1930	13.6	21.1
1954	13.7	21.5†

* 1899 to 1930: Census figures; 1954: for Jewish population, figures of the Committee on Netherlands Population, N.C.B.S.

† At the end of 1953.

16). It is remarkable that this latter development has not continued after the Second World War: in 1954 the share of the youngest age group in both populations was about equal to that in 1930.⁴³

The data given in Table 15 and in the diagram, specified for five-year age groups, might lead to the conclusion that the age structure of the Jews, although less favourable than that of the total Netherlands population, guarantees the continuance of the Jewish group for a rather indefinite period.

This could follow from the fact that the number of children of age 0 to 4 years is larger than the number of adults in each of the two five-year groups who contribute most to reproduction: 20 to 24 years old and 25 to 29 years old. The children of the 0-4 year-old group will produce the population increase of twenty to twenty-five years hence. As long as their number, modified by the number of deaths in infancy and childhood (which is a relatively low one), exceeds that of the five-year groups whose fertility now largely determines the growth of population, we may assume that the Jewish population will continue to grow in size if there is no compensating decline in marriage fertility and if emigration does not exceed immigration. If, however, we study more closely the figures for the individual age groups below the age of 10, we discover more reasons for alarm; the Committee count indicates a strikingly low proportion for the youngest age groups (Table 17).

The number of children under one year old is even lower than the number of children aged 8 or 9, born in 1944 and 1945, the lowest point in the demographic development of the Jewish population. As will be shown in Section 5.1, the official birth registrations of children belonging to one of the Jewish religious communities likewise show this downward trend after 1953.

DUTCH JEWRY

TABLE 17. *Proportion of Children of Jewish Mothers and Non-Jewish Fathers in the Combined Total of these Children and Children of Jewish Marriages, 1 January 1954*

Year of birth	Age in years	Total	Jewish mother and non-Jewish father		Number of children of mixed marriages
			(Absolute)	%	
1953	0	170	23	147	13.5
1952	1	217	38	179	17.5
1951	2	234	44	190	18.8
1950	3	328	43	285	13.1
1949	4	370	54	316	15.0
1948	5	431	71	360	16.5
1947	6	504	80	424	15.9
1946	7	577	74	503	12.8
1945	8	200	40	160	20.0
1944	9	179	58	121	32.3
Total		3,210	525	2,685	

The following factors may have contributed to this unfavourable development:

- (a) a real decline of births by Jewish women;
- (b) delayed registration of some of the new-born children in the files of the Jewish communities, leading to 'under-reporting' in the Committee's inquiry into the youngest age groups;
- (c) a relative increase in the number of Jews who are not registered by the Jewish communities: many of those married to non-Jews, persons who move to new industrial districts or to commuter towns, etc.;
- (d) the unequal number of men and women married to non-Jews.

The main factor is the real decline of births. It is certain that this did take place because the number of those who were between 20 and 30 years old on 1 January 1954, naturally constituting the most fertile group, was smaller than that belonging to the age groups between 30 and 40 years old, which number in turn was smaller than that of the group between 40 and 50 years old. During the preceding years, therefore, a decline in the number of births must have taken place.

Although absolutely no data are available which point directly to delayed registration (factor (b) above), it seems nevertheless probable that this factor is present to some extent, but it certainly cannot completely explain the great differences between the figures for the eight youngest age groups.

A little more can be said about the significance of the factor of non-registration (c). It appears from the N.C.B.S. data (cf. Section 4.4) that in the years 1946 to 1953 there was a great increase in the number of mixed marriages as compared to that of Jewish marriages. The per-

DUTCH JEWRY

centage of children born of mixed marriages according to the Committee census does not, however, show any systematic increase for the 1946-53 classes (Table 17). This is not plausible.

Apart from a continuation of the downward trend of marriage fertility, already noted before the war, war conditions and migration could also have affected the age structure unfavourably.

Of some significance in explaining the small proportion of children in the post-war Jewish population is undoubtedly the fact (*d*) that so many more Jewish men than women had or have non-Jewish spouses. 525 children aged from 0 to 9 years were counted for the 1,217 women married to non-Jews.⁴⁴ No data relating to the children of men married to non-Jewish women are available. If the ratio were the same, the 1,892 Jewish men who contracted mixed marriages would have produced about 814 children. It may be postulated that if all these men and women had been married to Jewish spouses, the number of children in the age group from 0 to 9 years would have been about 300 higher. Actually this number is a considerable underestimate because, first, the number of mixed marriages on 1 January 1954 must have been about twice as large as that which resulted from the Committee inquiry (Section 4.1), and, second, it is an established fact that the fertility of mixed marriages is not nearly as high as that of Jewish marriages.⁴⁵ The low figures for the youngest age group has therefore partially sociological rather than biological causes and is, specifically, one of the effects of assimilation which are readily encountered in a small minority group in an 'open' society. These phenomena naturally constitute a serious threat to the continued existence of the group.

We see that, apart from a reduction of the number of Jewish births due to mixed marriages, a real decline in the number of Jewish births cannot be ruled out. Its extent cannot be established with certainty because of the simultaneous phenomenon of non-registration, the extent of which is likewise unknown. Although non-registration is partly symptomatic of disintegration, which has as unfavourable a significance as a declining birth rate, it should be considered to be of so great importance for a correct understanding of the situation that in the course of the next few years the course of the Jewish population in the Netherlands must be submitted to further study.

The Jewish population is characterized not only by an unfavourable ratio (compared to the total Dutch population) of the youngest age groups to those in the fertile years, but also by relatively high figures for the older age groups, especially those between 40 and 55 years. A natural consequence of this is that the proportion of those no longer belonging to the occupationally active population must rise rather rapidly in the years to come, reaching a maximum by about 1970. Care for the aged thus will doubtless constitute an increasingly heavy burden. As far as such matters are determined by purely demographic factors, a

DUTCH JEWRY

possible reduction of the need for social care for children will almost certainly be offset by an increase in the requirements of care for the aged.

Another interesting aspect is the difference in Jewish age structure between Amsterdam and the remainder of the country. Both population pyramids show by and large the same general picture with a double constriction: once at the first year of life, and once between ages 20 and 30. The bulge at the central ages (for men between 40 and 45 or somewhat older, for women between 40 and 45) is markedly more pronounced for the Amsterdam Jewish population. Another deviation is the marked excess of women among the Jews of Amsterdam. This excess is present in the three largest cities, and outside these only, to a slight extent, in the cities of Arnhem and Enschede and in the provinces of Friesland and Overijssel.

4.3 *Civil status; first and subsequent marriages; duration of marriage*

Tables 19 and 20 summarize the data on civil status by sex and age. Before the war the percentage of married persons was considerably higher among the Jews in the Netherlands than among the total population. Boekman attributed this to the difference in age distribution.⁴⁶ If this is true, the continuing relative aging of the Jewish population must have led to a continuous rise in the percentage of married persons, which rise, furthermore, must be greater than it is for the total Dutch population. The former is indeed the case; the latter is true for men only.

Even before the war the number of previously married women was relatively high, but it has now become much higher, whereas the per-

TABLE 18. *The Jewish Population by Civil Status in comparison with the Netherlands Population, in Percentage*

<i>Civil status</i>	<i>Men</i>				<i>Women</i>			
	<i>Netherl. 1930</i>	<i>Jewish population</i>		<i>Netherl. 1954</i>	<i>Netherl. 1930</i>	<i>Jewish population</i>		<i>Netherl. 1954</i>
		<i>1930*</i>	<i>1954</i>			<i>1930*</i>	<i>1954</i>	
Single	58.2	49.4	41.1	53.3	56.0	49.0	38.0	49.9
Married	38.5	46.9	54.7	43.3	38.1	42.6	46.2	43.3
Previously married	3.3	3.7	4.2	3.4	5.9	8.4	15.8	6.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* For 1930, only Ashkenazim, not Sephardim.

DUTCH JEWRY

TABLE 19. *The Jewish Population in the Netherlands, 1 January 1954,
by Sex, Age, and Civil Status*

Year of birth	Age	Total	Single	Married*			Widowed	Divorced	Un- known
				First marriage	Subsequent marriage	Total			
MEN:									
1939-1953	0-14	2,421	2,421						
1934-1938	15-19	694	693	1	—	1	—	—	—
1929-1933	20-24	566	515	50	—	50	—	—	1
1924-1928	25-29	571	326	234	3	237	1	5	2
1919-1923	30-34	712	181	470	34	504	8	19	—
1914-1918	35-39	874	102	662	75	737	6	27	2
1909-1913	40-44	941	92	725	89	814	16	17	2
1904-1908	45-49	1,066	84	833	104	937	23	19	3
1899-1903	50-54	970	75	753	97	850	25	18	2
1894-1898	55-59	791	63	624	58	682	36	9	1
1889-1893	60-64	654	41	518	54	572	32	6	3
1884-1888	65-69	500	33	372	42	414	46	5	2
Prior to 1884	70+	618	57	390	35	425	131	5	—
Unknown		128	41	72	2	74	—	1	12
Total		11,506	4,724	5,704	593	6,297	324	131	30
WOMEN:									
1939-1953	0-14	2,215	2,215						
1934-1938	15-19	712	703	9	—	9	—	—	—
1929-1933	20-24	581	436	139	1	140	1	3	1
1924-1928	25-29	675	244	393	14	417	3	9	2
1919-1923	30-34	914	159	631	64	695	35	20	5
1914-1918	35-39	975	141	643	101	744	64	23	3
1909-1913	40-44	1,179	109	773	130	903	129	36	2
1904-1908	45-49	1,061	138	667	74	731	163	27	2
1899-1903	50-54	897	112	538	52	590	163	31	1
1894-1898	55-59	768	86	426	32	458	199	23	2
1889-1893	60-64	736	93	385	20	405	219	18	1
1884-1888	65-69	584	63	262	11	273	225	18	5
Prior to 1884	70+	799	92	214	4	218	472	16	1
Unknown		121	30	61	2	63	11	1	16
Total		12,217	4,621	5,141	505	5,646	1,684	225	41

* Including separations but not divorces.

centage of previously married men has remained almost unchanged. The fact that a larger number of previously married women than men returned from the concentration camps and from hiding has doubtless been a factor.

In this connexion it should be noted that the percentage of married persons among women in all age groups and among men between 15 and 60 is lower for the Jewish than for the total Netherlands population.⁴⁷ Parallel to this, the percentage of single persons in the younger

DUTCH JEWRY

TABLE 20. *The Jewish Population in the Netherlands, 1 January 1954, by Sex, Age, and Civil Status, in Per Mille by Age Group and by Sex*

Year of birth	Age	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Unknown
MEN:						
1939-1953	0-14	1,000			—	
1934-1938	15-19	999	1	—	—	—
1929-1933	20-24	910	88	—	—	2
1924-1928	25-29	570	415	2	9	4
1919-1923	30-34	254	708	11	27	—
1914-1918	35-39	117	843	7	31	2
1909-1913	40-44	98	865	17	18	2
1904-1908	45-49	79	879	21	18	3
1899-1903	50-54	77	876	26	19	2
1894-1898	55-59	81	862	45	11	1
1889-1893	60-64	62	875	49	9	5
1884-1888	65-69	66	828	92	10	4
Prior to 1884	70+	92	688	212	.8	—
Total		411	547	28	11	3
WOMEN:						
1939-1953	0-14	1,000				
1934-1938	15-19	989	11	—	—	—
1929-1933	20-24	750	241	2	5	2
1924-1928	25-29	362	618	4	13	3
1919-1923	30-34	175	760	38	22	5
1914-1918	35-39	144	763	66	24	3
1909-1913	40-44	92	766	109	31	2
1904-1908	45-49	121	698	154	25	2
1899-1903	50-54	135	648	182	34	1
1894-1898	55-59	112	596	259	30	3
1889-1893	60-64	127	550	298	24	1
1884-1888	65-69	108	467	385	31	9
Prior to 1884	70+	115	273	591	20	1
Total		380	462	137	18	3

age groups (men up to 44, women up to 40), the percentage of widowed persons in the younger age groups (widowers up to 60, widows up to 40) and the percentage of divorced persons (men up to 55, women all age groups) are consistently higher than in the corresponding age groups of the total Netherlands population. The average age of marriage therefore is perhaps higher for the Jews than for the general population, which might constitute a factor in determining the level of marriage fertility. The low percentage of married women per age group has certainly also been caused by the greater ease with which Jewish men contract mixed marriages.

The large number of widowed and divorced persons is naturally also one of the consequences of the war. Table 19 indicates that 1,048 men and 2,414 women had been previously married. Of these, 593 men (57

DUTCH JEWRY

TABLE 21. *Number of Previously Married Persons and Proportion of Remarried Persons, 1 January 1954, by Sex and by Age Group*

Year of birth	Age	Men		Women	
		Total previously married (absolute)	of whom now remarried %	Total previously married (absolute)	of whom now remarried %
1919 and after	-34	70	52	150	53
1914-1918	35-39	108	69	188	60
1909-1913	40-44	122	73	295	44
1904-1908	45-49	146	71	264	28
1899-1903	50-54	140	69	246	21
1894-1898	55-59	103	56	254	13
1889-1893	60-64	92	59	257	8
1884-1888	65-69	93	45	254	4
Prior to 1884	70+	171	20	492	1
Total		1,045	57	2,400	21

TABLE 22. *Percentage of the Total Number of Married Persons having contracted a Mixed Marriage, Jewish Population in the Netherlands, 1 January 1954, by Geographical Area*

Province or municipality of residence	Married	of whom Jewish spouses in mixed marriages, in % of the total number of married Jewish inhabitants per area
Groningen, Friesland, Drente	288	8
Overijssel	468	4
Gelderland	477	11
Utrecht	409	11
North Holland	7,816	30
South Holland	1,977	25
Zeeland, North Brabant, Limburg	508	15
Total	11,943	26
Of which:		
Amsterdam	7,145	32
The Hague	1,042	25
Rotterdam	624	28

per cent) and 505 women (21 per cent) had been remarried by 1 January 1954. Apparently, therefore, women had much poorer chances of remarrying than men. This trend becomes increasingly marked as a function of advancing age (Table 21), approximately from age 40 up; the chances of men remarrying decline only after age 55.

DUTCH JEWRY

The year of marriage could be ascertained for only 6,924 of 11,943 married persons (58 per cent). The data available therefore are too incomplete for useful processing.

4.4 *Mixed marriages*

One of the most important and difficult parts of the present study related to marriages between Jews and non-Jews. Bockman⁴⁸, discussing the phenomenon in great detail, observed that he could statistically process only those mixed marriages of which one of the spouses declared that he or she was Jewish. The cases in which the Jewish spouse stated that he had no religion could not be included in his study. This difficulty appeared only partly in our investigation because the data available from the Jewish communities relate to those who are Jewish by descent, i.e. they had been registered from their birth, independently of any statement of preference on their part.⁴⁹ It should be borne in mind, however, that this is only true for the few large communities which have sufficient data available (cf. Table 23).

This difference in approach will naturally produce an increased percentage of Jewish spouses in mixed marriages. On the other hand, in cases where one spouse registered as Jewish and the other spouse, although also of Jewish descent, stated that he or she had no religion, such a marriage was considered mixed according to the 1930 Census but Jewish in the present study.

However, there are some completely different causes which have led to an important relative increase in the number of mixed marriages. Reference has already been made to a purely negative cause, namely, that during the war Jews married to non-Jews survived to a greater degree than the others. Another cause is the relatively sharp increase in the number of mixed marriages after the Second World War, both among the younger groups and among those who remarried (cf. Tables 24 and 25).

A study of the figures collected by the Committee reveals first of all (cf. Tables 22 and 23) that the relative number of mixed marriages is much greater in the three largest cities than elsewhere—another strong indication (cf. Section 4.2) that the number of mixed marriages, especially outside the three largest cities, has been underrated in the figures from the investigation.

Particularly interesting data are supplied by Table 24. They indicate in the first place that the percentage of persons having contracted a mixed marriage is higher among those who remarried—largely after the war, presumably—than among those who married for the first time. Furthermore, among the group of persons who were married more than once, the percentage of those who had a non-Jewish spouse in their first marriage is appreciably lower than the percentage of those who at present are married to a non-Jewish spouse. The tendency to contract a

DUTCH JEWRY

TABLE 23. *Proportion of the Total Number of Married Persons in the Jewish Population having contracted a Mixed Marriage in the Netherlands, 1 January 1954, by Size of Jewish Communities*

Municipalities with	Married persons	of whom married to non-Jewish spouse (%)
1- 50 Jewish inhabitants	934	12
51- 100 " "	468	13
101- 200 " "	722	10
201- 300 " "	305	11
301-1,000 " "	703	13
1,000 and more " "	8,811	31
Total	11,943	26

TABLE 24. *Classification of Married Jewish Persons by Type of Marriage (Present or Previous; Jewish or Mixed), 1 January 1954*

Present and previous marriage	Total	Jewish marriage	Mixed marriage	Unknown
	<i>(absolute numbers)</i>			
<i>Present marriage:</i>				
Persons for whom this is:				
the first marriage:	10,845	8,107	2,738	—
a subsequent marriage:	1,098	711	372	15
Total	11,943	8,818	3,110	15
<i>Previous marriage:</i>				
Persons now married for the second or subsequent time:	1,098	889	161	48
Persons now widowed:	1,998	1,536	111	351
Persons now divorced:	356	228	97	31
Total	3,452	2,653	369	430
	<i>percentage per category</i>			
<i>Present marriage:</i>				
Persons for whom this is:				
the first marriage:	100	75	25	—
a subsequent marriage:	100	65	34	1
Total	100	74	26	—
<i>Previous marriage:</i>				
Persons now married for the second or subsequent time:	100	81	15	4
Persons now widowed:	100	76	5	18
Persons now divorced:	100	64	27	9
Total	100	77	11	12

DUTCH JEWRY

mixed marriage has therefore been greater since the war than it was before. In this respect, a trend shown by Boekman⁵⁰ has been continued.

It is remarkable that this trend is noticed only faintly when married persons are divided by age (Table 25), and most markedly so for women. This table also indicates that the phenomenon of a greater preparedness among men than among women to marry a non-Jewish person, still highly pronounced in 1941, is now disappearing among the youngest age groups.

TABLE 25. *Proportion of the Total Number of Married Jewish Persons having Contracted a Mixed Marriage, by Sex and Age Group, 1 January 1954*

Year of birth	Age	Men		Women	
		Total married	of whom with non-Jewish wife	Total married	of whom with non-Jewish husband
		(absolute)	%	(absolute)	%
1929 and later	-24	51	41	149	43
1924-1928	25-29	237	36	417	28
1919-1923	30-34	504	26	695	24
1914-1918	35-39	737	26	744	24
1909-1913	40-44	814	32	903	20
1904-1908	45-49	937	33	731	21
1899-1903	50-54	850	31	590	22
1894-1898	55-59	682	26	458	21
1889-1893	60-64	572	37	405	16
1884-1888	65-69	414	31	273	18
Prior to 1884	70+	425	23	218	11
Unknown		74		63	
Total		6,297	30	5,646	22

TABLE 26. *Marriages Contracted with Jews, 1946 to 1958**

Year	Total	Marriages contracted		
		Both spouses Jewish	Husband Jewish	Wife Jewish
1946	546	299	171	76
1947	417	233	123	61
1948	345	204	86	55
1949	246	120	69	57
1950	222	112	64	46
1951	169	91	52	26
1952	144	63	46	35
1953	132	58	30	44
1954	127	58	39	30
1955	119	57	32	30
1956	131	49	47	35
1957	144	62	47	35
1958	119	47	37	35

* Source: N.C.B.S.

DUTCH JEWRY

Since 1946 the N.C.B.S. has also supplied data on the number of marriages between and with Jews. These statistics are compiled on the basis of data supplied by the municipal population register and, as such, are based on the principle of religious affiliation. Although they do not, therefore, match the Committee data,⁵¹ it is interesting to note (Table 26) that they also display the tendency mentioned, i.e. a relative increase of the number of mixed marriages, especially among women.

4.5 *Composition and size of households*

Table 27 gives a survey of Jewish households for 1 January 1954. The total number was 11,150, among which were 3,104 single persons. In addition, there were 869 persons who lived in institutions. A recapitulation of the households and single persons is given in Table 27. In prin-

TABLE 27. *Single Persons and Households of Different Composition by Size of Household in the Jewish Population in the Netherlands, 1 January 1954*

<i>Composition of the household</i>	<i>Number of Jewish persons per household</i>							
	<i>Total</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7 or more</i>
Single men	934	934						
Single women	2,170	2,170						
Couples with or without children and/or others	4,387		1,794	1,081	1,031	355	93	33
Husbands of non-Jewish wives with or without children and/or others	1,893	1,831	47	11	3	1	—	—
Wives of non-Jewish husbands with or without children and/or others	1,217	649	208	210	80	32	20	18
Men with children and/or others	65		40	21	4	—	—	—
Women with children and/or others	484		282	146	45	8	2	1
Total	11,150	5,584	2,371	1,469	1,163	396	115	52

ciple, the concept of household has been defined in the same manner as is done by the N.C.B.S. in its censuses of the population and of dwelling units.⁵² It was impossible, however, to use a foolproof counting rule so that deviations are possible. Further, the result of the count cannot be used for simple comparison with the results of similar enumerations of the Netherlands population because of the group of mixed marriages.

Table 28 compares the Jewish population, both including and excluding mixed marriages and their Jewish descendants, with the total Netherlands population. The relative number of households (including single persons) with only one Jewish member is seen to be much larger than the percentage of single persons in the Netherlands population.

DUTCH JEWRY

This is only partly a consequence of the inclusion as one-person households of most Jewish men who married non-Jewish wives: even when the mixed marriages are left out, the number of single persons among the Jews is much larger than in the total Netherlands population (38.6 per cent versus 11.4 per cent). The proportion of two-person households is found to be about the same in both populations. Large families (especially those of five persons and more) hardly occur in the Jewish group, whereas they are important in the general population (five persons and more: 5 to 6 per cent versus 21 per cent). The distribution of both populations according to household composition (Table 29) is likewise widely divergent. Comparability is affected by the existence of mixed marriages, but apart from that there are two striking differences: the high percentage of single persons (already referred to) and the high percentage of childless marriages among the Jews as compared to the general population. Early in 1954, therefore, the Jewish group counted just over one child 'per household and single person' on the average as against $1\frac{2}{3}$ children for the Netherlands population in the middle of 1956.

Further, the enumeration included 253 foster children living with families, of whom 173 were in Amsterdam, 10 in The Hague, 10 in Rotterdam, and the remaining 60 in about 38 municipalities, distributed as follows over the provinces: Groningen 5, Drente 1, Overijssel 7, Gelderland 4, Utrecht 8, North Holland 21, South Holland 2, Zeeland 4, North Brabant 6, Limburg 2. However, the fact that this count is far from being complete is apparent because, according to the Annual

TABLE 28. *Households and Single Persons in the Jewish Population, 1 January 1954 (excluding Persons in a Mixed Marriage), and in the Netherlands Population, 30 June 1956, by Size*

<i>Number of persons per household</i>	<i>Number of households and single persons in</i>	
	<i>Jewish population, exclusive of persons in a mixed marriage, 1 January 1954 (Percentage of the total number of households and single persons in the corresponding population)</i>	<i>Netherlands population, 30 June 1956</i>
1	38.6	11.4
2	26.3	24.6
3	15.5	19.7
4	13.4	17.5
5	4.5	11.1
6	1.2	6.6
7 or more	0.5	9.1
Total	100	100

DUTCH JEWRY

TABLE 29. *Households and Single Persons in the Jewish Population, 1 January 1954, and in the Netherlands Population, 30 June 1956, according to Composition*

<i>Composition of the household</i>	<i>Jewish population, 1 January 1954 (Percentage of total number of households and single persons in the corresponding population)</i>	<i>Netherlands population, 30 June 1956*</i>
Single	27.7	11.4
Couple	16.3	20.2
Men with children and/or others	0.6	2.9
Woman with children and/or others	4.3	6.9
Couples with children and/or others	23.3	58.5
Women married to non-Jews	5.7	
Women married to non-Jews with children and/or others	5.1	
Men married to non-Jews with or without children and/or others	17.0	
Total households and single persons	100	100

* Source of basic figures: Results of the General Enumeration of Dwelling Units, 30 June 1956, N.C.B.S.

Report for 1953 of the Joint Jewish Institutions for the Protection of Children (p. 15) there were in the Netherlands on 31 December 1953, 868 Jewish war foster children, of whom 412 were boys and 456 girls; 457 children under Jewish guardianship; 358 under non-Jewish guardianship; and 53 children not yet under any guardianship. Of these children, 404 had been placed with Jewish families, 358 with non-Jewish families, 90 in Jewish homes and 16 in non-Jewish homes or institutions. (See also Table 47.) This incompleteness in the enumeration was to be expected in view of the fact that many of these children had been placed with non-Jewish families. It should also be realized that it was not always perhaps possible to identify foster children as such in the Committee census.

4.6 *Age distribution of the heads of households*

It would have been useful to have a survey of the duration of the existence of households. However, as mentioned in Section 4.3, the required data on the duration of marriages were too incomplete for statistical processing. We did find it possible to draw up a distribution of single persons and heads of households by age groups and to compare this with that for the total population (Table 30).

It should be observed, however, that the data for the Jews relate to 1 January 1954, and that those for the general population have been derived from the Enumeration of Dwelling Units, 30 June 1956. Classification of the years of birth in the Jewish investigation could not be so adapted that complete comparability of both distributions resulted.

DUTCH JEWRY

It appears that among the Jewish single persons and heads of households there are, relatively, slightly more older persons than among the general population, especially among persons born between 1900 and 1909. When we differentiate between heads of households and single persons, it is remarkable that the Jewish group includes relatively many heads of households born between 1900 and 1909 and relatively many single persons born between 1900 and 1919.

TABLE 30. *Heads of Households and Single Persons in the Jewish and in the Netherlands Populations, by Age Groups*

Year of birth	<i>Jewish population</i> 1 January 1954			Year of birth	<i>Netherlands population*</i> 30 June 1956		
	Total	Heads of households	Single persons		Total	Heads of households	Single persons
	(%)	(%)	(%)		(%)	(%)	(%)
1930 and after	1·2	0·4	2·1	1931 and after	2·8	2·0	8·3
1920-1929	11·6	10·2	14·6	1921-1930	19·2	19·9	10·5
1910-1919	20·9	24·1	14·4	1911-1920	21·8	23·3	6·8
1900-1909	25·9	29·6	17·6	1901-1910	21·1	22·0	11·0
1890-1899	20·9	21·2	20·8	1891-1900	17·6	16·9	19·4
1880-1889	13·6	11·0	19·1	1881-1890	12·2	12·4	26·8
1879 and before	5·9	3·5	11·4	1880 and before	5·3	3·5	17·2
Total	100	100	100		100	100	100

* Source of basic figures: Results of the General Enumeration of Dwelling Units, 30 June 1956, N.C.B.S.

NOTES

¹ Cf. also F. Grewel, 'De Joden van Amsterdam; II. Demografische gegevens', *Mens en Maatschappij*, 30 (No. 6): 340 (15 November 1955).

² E. Boekman, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

³ This is also pointed out by Dr. E. Boekman (*op. cit.*, pp. 34 ff.), who in this connexion refers to the apparent decrease in the number of Jews between 1920 and 1930, especially in Amsterdam, a phenomenon which certainly cannot be interpreted solely on the basis of a decreased birth rate.

⁴ J. Stengers, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁶ Dr. J. J. Dahlberg in H. Brugman and A. Frank, *op. cit.*, pp. 165 ff.

⁷ Dr. Jac. Zwarts, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*, I and II.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 390.

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*

¹¹ An enumeration performed by the 'Upper Consistory' in 1809 arrived at about 49,000 Jews, of whom 31,500 were in Amsterdam; cf. D. S. van Zuiden, *loc. cit.*, and Jac. Zwarts, *op. cit.*, p. 265. This large concentration in Amsterdam as compared with 1830 might indicate that, in view of the better economic possibilities in rural areas and as a consequence of emancipation, a large proportion of Amsterdam Jewry settled in smaller places. However, the 1809 figure for Amsterdam is also much higher than that of 1795, which is rather surprising because exactly during that period a great depopulation of the city took place, while it would be plausible that from 1795 to 1809 many Jews also moved to the provinces for the reasons mentioned above for the 1809-1830 period. The only explanation for the 1809 figure might lie in high immi-

gration figures. Although there are indications that such immigration did take place, there is no certainty as to whether it actually assumed the size as outlined. Therefore, the figure of 30,500 for Amsterdam should, for the time being, be considered somewhat doubtful. The figure of 49,000, which is high in comparison with the number for 1830 (46,397; see Table 3), likewise arouses suspicion of the reliability of these data, although conceivably such a decrease might have been caused by migration of Jews from the northern provinces to Belgium after the secession.

¹² E. Boekman, op. cit., pp. 17 and 33.

¹³ E. Boekman, op. cit., p. 112.

¹⁴ It is not impossible that this difference between the numbers of men and women who married non-Jews is also due to a greater possibility of anonymity for women than for men in regard to being Jewish; however, the figures do not allow us to deal with this phenomenon. The difference between the number of men and that of women married to a Jewish spouse is not so surprising as it seems. It should be borne in mind that in a number of cases one of the spouses resided abroad. Of course, the statistics can also contain errors in enumeration.

¹⁵ Loc. cit., p. 29.

¹⁶ Dr. A. Veffler, loc. cit., p. 27, starts from the opposite view.

¹⁷ Taken from G. Reitlinger, *The Final Solution*, p. 501 (London, 1953); for France from L. Poliakov, 'Quel est le nombre de victimes?', *Revue d'histoire de la deuxième guerre mondiale*, pp. 91-2 (October 1956). The basis of all these estimates is shaky.

¹⁸ We are deeply grateful to Professor A. E. Cohen, then head of the Department of Source Publications of the National Institute of War Documentation, for his permission to quote these figures.

¹⁹ Taken from *Philo-Lexikon*, 4th ed., Philo-Verlag (Berlin-Amsterdam, 1937), entry 'Statistik', estimates for 1937. For the Netherlands, the 1941 figure.

²⁰ H. Wielek, *De oorlog die Hitler won*, pp. 335 ff. (Amsterdam, 1947).

²¹ Source: National Institute of War Documentation, tentative data.

²² According to the National Institute of War Documentation.

²³ The following remarks rest entirely on communications from Professor A. E. Cohen (see note 18).

²⁴ 5,088 men and 3,522 women.

²⁵ Approximately 2,000 childless women married to non-Jews are included. This implies a number of about 6,600 persons with children married to non-Jews and about 6,000 childless persons. This ratio is fairly well in agreement with the high percentage (52 per cent) of childless mixed marriages in the years 1921 to 1930 computed by Boekman, op. cit., pp. 97 ff.

²⁶ E. Boekman, op. cit., pp. 21 and 66. For some separate data on this group, see a paper by A. Pais in *Habinjan* (organ of the Sephardi Community) for December 1950.

²⁷ Data are likewise lacking with regard to the number of persons baptized in the years 1945 to 1953, but it may be assumed that this loss to the Jewish group was relatively small during the period concerned.

²⁸ As far as is known, the 1948 and 1949 statistics include only those immigrants having Dutch nationality. Immigration during 1946 and 1947 had to be put at zero because of the absence of data.

²⁹ For the Netherlands population, the corresponding figure in that period was less than 2 per cent (Statistics of the Course of Population in the Netherlands, 1938, 1954, Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics, 1955, p. 41); the number of divorced persons, however (cf. Section 4.3), in the Jewish group was relatively twice as large as that in the Netherlands population, so that there is reason to put the number of divorces likewise twice as high.

³⁰ Cf. E. Boekman, op. cit., p. 31.

³¹ Cf. Twelfth Census, 31 May 1947, Series B, Part 5, The Hague.

³² The supposition that the decrease which occurs here both relatively and absolutely would have to be attributed to emigration must be rejected, because the emigration figures for Amsterdam alone accounted for 82 per cent of the total Jewish emigration. The 1954 percentage is naturally somewhat too high because of the underestimation of the number of Jews in Amsterdam to which reference has been made; this underestimation, however, is much smaller than that in 1947 relating to the large cities.

³³ It is not improbable that the relatively low 'under-reporting' of the number of Jews in the 1947 Census for the smaller places is connected with the

DUTCH JEWRY

smaller possibility there for the Jews to hide their identity from the census takers. In small places most inhabitants generally recognize the Jews in their midst as such.

³⁴ Cf. E. Boekman, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

³⁵ Twelfth Census including enumeration of dwelling units, 31 May 1947, Part B5. Principal figures by municipality and religious affiliation. N.C.B.S., The Hague.

³⁶ E. Boekman, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

³⁷ Twelfth Census including enumeration of dwelling units, 31 May 1947, Series B. Principal figures by municipality, Part 5, Religious Affiliations. The Hague, 1950, pp. 28 ff.

³⁸ *Statistisch Zakboek 1954*, Table 7, N.C.B.S.

³⁹ 1947 Census, *loc. cit.*, p. 28.

⁴⁰ This is not unusual because the mortality among boys is slightly higher than among girls.

⁴¹ The established ratio of the numbers of men and women married to non-Jews is essentially equal to that according to the 1941 registration statistics (cf. Table 7).

⁴² E. Boekman, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 ff.

⁴³ However, cf. Section 5.1.

⁴⁴ Including children of women who had been married to non-Jews.

⁴⁵ Cf. Table 27 and E. Boekman, *op. cit.*, pp. 93 ff.

⁴⁶ E. Boekman, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁴⁷ For the Netherlands population, see Monthly Population Statistics, N.C.B.S., 1954, July 1954, p. 110.

⁴⁸ E. Boekman, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 ff.

⁴⁹ Except those who adopted another religion, who in principle have not been recorded in this registration.

⁵⁰ E. Boekman, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

⁵¹ For instance, marriages between Jews of which one spouse was not registered as Jewish have been included as mixed marriages in the statistics; and actually mixed marriages of which the Jewish spouse was not registered as Jewish, as well as marriages between Jews where this applied to both spouses, have been entirely excluded from the statistics.

⁵² For a definition of the concept of household, cf. the enumerating instructions for the 1956 General Enumeration of Dwelling Units, published by W. de Haan, Utrecht.

(To be continued)