

DUTCH JEWRY: A DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

Part Two*

V. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE JEWISH POPULATION 1946 to 1953

5.1 Births

Before the war the birth rate among the Jews in the Netherlands was relatively low and showed a downward trend.⁵³ This can be shown from the declining percentage of the whole of the group formed by young persons. The phenomenon cannot be explained by migration, nor can it be attributed to loss of cohesion within the Jewish community which, although partly responsible, was a relatively unimportant factor in the years before 1940.

TABLE 31. *Number of Ashkenazi Jews under the Age of 10 Years*⁵⁴

<i>Year</i>	<i>Boys Percentage of the total number of, respectively, male and female Ashkenazim</i>	<i>Girls</i>
1899	22.1	20.1
1909	19.5	17.3
1920	17.1	15.3
1930	14.4	12.9

The corresponding percentages for the Sephardi Jews were generally slightly lower, but this hardly affects the total figure.

The 1941 publication by Dr. A. Veffers⁵⁵ indicates that the downward trend continued through the following decade. His data demonstrate that in 1940 the percentage of persons under the age of 10 years was 12.7 for men and 11.6 for women. It is remarkable that the extensive immigration of Jews from Germany after 1933 produced only temporarily an absolute rise in the birth rate, and even this was small.

It may therefore be concluded that the birth rate of the Jews before the mass deportations had been considerably below the average birth rate of the total population for several decades, and that the Jews had a more than proportional share in the general decline of natality.

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The numbers of births during the years 1946 to 1953 established by the Committee's study are shown in Table 58 (not printed). Also listed, for purposes of comparison, are the 1946-58 birth statistics for Jews according to the N.C.B.S.† (based on data from the population registers).

These figures indicate for the postwar years as well a continuing decline in the number of births.⁵⁶ The N.C.B.S. data show, until about 1954, a similar pattern, although in this case the decline is of a lesser magnitude and does not continue after 1954.

TABLE 32. *Births per 1,000 Jewish Inhabitants,* 1946 to 1953*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Births in Jewish population Per 1,000 members of the population</i>	<i>Births in Netherlands population</i>
1946	27.1	30.2
1947	23.9	27.8
1948	20.4	25.3
1949	17.3	23.7
1950	14.8	22.7
1951	12.4	22.3
1952	9.6	22.4
1953	7.1	21.8

* Average size of the population during the year

Table 32 compares the birth figures per 1,000 members of the population for both the Jewish and general populations. Initially the figures were of about the same order of magnitude, but in the course of the years the level of Jewish births lagged more and more behind that of the total population. We may speak of a considerable and even spectacular decline in Jewish natality.

This decline is in part related to changes in the age structure of the group of women responsible for these births. In this group—in the reproductive ages from 17 to 45 years—the older ages constituted an ever-growing element during the period under consideration. This is also apparent from the age distribution for 1 January 1954 (Table 15). It can be calculated that from 1946 to 1953 the number of women between 17 and 45 years declined by about 470 or 9 per cent (including the balance of emigration), but that the number of women between 20 and 30 years declined by about 465 or 27 per cent. This must certainly have affected the number of births in view of the fact that the latter group is responsible for most of the births.⁵⁷ As will be demonstrated later, it is possible—starting from the age distribution established and on the assumption that the rate of mortality by age and by sex as calculated for the Netherlands population is also applicable to the Jewish group—to

† National Central Bureau of Statistics.

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arrive at a 'forecast' of the figures in the years after 1953 of the female age groups between 17 and 45 years. This 'forecast', in addition to what has been said above, leads to the conclusion that the decline of the number of Jewish women from 20 to 30 years came to a halt after 1953, and in 1960 gave way to a rise.

For this reason, a rise in the number of births might be expected to take place in the near future. The fact that the number of Jewish births after 1953 specified by the N.C.B.S. has been more or less stationary could be a reflection of this situation.

There is yet another reason for not drawing any rash pessimistic conclusions for future years from the decline of Jewish natality during the period investigated. As already mentioned, the registration by the Jewish communities, on which the Committee counts are based, shows important gaps. Now nothing would be more plausible than an under-registration of births: first, because of delay in registering births in families of non-members or non-active members; second, because it is a difficult and frequently impossible task to register the children of those who, although formerly in contact with the Jewish community and therefore in many cases known to the local congregations, have eventually severed all relations with that community.

This is one of the reasons why we have not devoted a detailed discussion to marriage fertility in the Jewish group. The theoretical basis for such a discussion would have been narrow because the main data at our disposal consisted of figures describing a particular situation, and the data available per family were not sufficient for more than a very rough analysis. In addition, the reliability of the material at our disposal was quite inadequate.

5.2 *Mortality*

The downward trend established for births in the years 1946 to 1953 is not encountered in the mortality data for that period. On the contrary, there was an increase in the number of deaths among both men and women. A comparison of the Committee figures with the N.C.B.S. mortality figures (available only from 1948 on) indicates that this increase is not evident in the latter.

The remarks in the introduction to this Report on the incompleteness of data apply in large measure to mortality. The reason is that after the war many Jewish communities only gradually brought their membership files up to date—if they were at all available—and clearly the odds were that persons who died before that time were not entered, especially in the case of those who were not members of a Jewish community.

This is also apparent from the fact that the N.C.B.S. figures, though based on religious affiliation, are higher than those gathered by the Committee. It can also be demonstrated from the Committee figures: when we divide the number of members of Jewish communities alive

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at the end of 1953 by the number of persons dying from 1946 to 1953 who had been members of a Jewish community, we arrive at a percentage of 6.8. This corresponds to an average annual mortality of slightly over 8 per cent, which is not incredible. However, the same calculation for those for whom the question whether they were members of a Jewish community was answered by 'no' or 'unknown' results in a percentage which is hardly above 3. This clearly cannot reflect reality.

Such a great discrepancy can be explained only on the basis of incompleteness of data. This should make us particularly cautious in our attempts to draw conclusions from the available material. It is, specifically, not possible to determine whether mortality among Jews is higher than, equal to, or lower than that of the total population.

In Table 33, the mortality figures for the Jewish and general populations are juxtaposed; this has been done with all proper reserve; it lays no claim to reliability. It can only be said that in the later years of the period considered—when the under-estimation of mortality as mentioned above must have been relatively small—the Jewish and general mortality figures, as they appear in the table, come very close to each other.

It does appear from the figures that mortality among men reaches higher values than that among women, although the oldest age groups—responsible for a large part of the deaths—contain a high excess of women (Table 15). In most years there were more deaths among men than among women. It is indeed a general phenomenon that women have lower death rates, age for age, than men.

To complete the picture, Table 34 shows the excess of births in the Committee figures and in the Netherlands population according to the N.C.B.S. data. In view of the inaccuracies inherent in the birth and death data, the trend of these figures has only a very limited significance.

5.3 *Immigration and emigration*

Both immigration and emigration by Jews have been particularly extensive in postwar years.

Figures relating to immigration were not collected because it would have been impossible to extract them in a reliable manner from the material which was available. During the first years after the war, immigration consisted mainly of displaced persons (of whom a few hundred were admitted in 1947), a group of about 500 children, and a few smaller groups (excluding those who in 1945 returned from concentration camps and those who before or during the war had fled to Allied or neutral territory and then returned). In the later years we also find among the immigrants many persons who emigrated in the years 1946 to 1949 and subsequently returned.

In studying the emigration figures we should bear in mind that among

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TABLE 33. *Deaths per 1,000 Jewish Inhabitants,* 1946 to 1953*

Year	<i>Death rate of Jewish population according to</i>		<i>Death rate of Netherlands population</i>
	<i>Committee data</i>	<i>according to N.C.B.S.†</i>	
	<i>Per 1,000 members of the population</i>		
1946	3·6	—	8·5
1947	4·7	—	8·1
1948	5·3	7·6	7·4
1949	6·3	7·7	8·1
1950	6·6	7·4	7·5
1951	6·5	7·4	7·5
1952	7·7	8·2	7·3
1953	8·2	8·6	7·7

* Average population.

† Annual number of Jewish deaths according to N.C.B.S. data per 1,000 Jewish residents at the beginning of the year in question according to Committee data.

TABLE 34. *Excess of Births per 1,000 Jewish Inhabitants,* 1946 to 1953*

Year	<i>Excess of births in Jewish population according to</i>		<i>Excess of births in Netherlands population</i>
	<i>Committee data</i>	<i>births according to Committee data</i> <i>deaths according to N.C.B.S.†</i>	
	<i>Per 1,000 members of the population</i>		
1946	23·5	—	21·7
1947	19·2	—	19·7
1948	15·1	12·8	17·9
1949	11·0	9·6	15·6
1950	8·2	7·4	15·2
1951	5·9	5·0	14·8
1952	1·9	1·7	15·1
1953	-1·4	-1·8	14·1

* Average population.

† Number of Jewish births minus Jewish deaths per year; births according to Committee count, deaths according to N.C.B.S. data, per 1,000 Jewish residents at the beginning of the year according to the Committee data.

the emigrants there were, apart from those who were to return (mainly Dutch citizens), many persons—especially aliens and stateless persons—who during the first postwar years had entered the Netherlands and left again, after a shorter or longer time, either for Israel or the United States or Canada. This remark does not apply to the 500 children who in 1948 left for Israel, because they are not included in the emigration figures.

Figures have been collected about emigration (Table 37). They add up to a total of 4,453 for the years 1946 to 1953. There are various indications that this number is an underestimate, among other reasons

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because of the incompleteness of the material in a large number of smaller Jewish communities. It is in particular remarkable that 3,682 persons should have emigrated from Amsterdam during the period from 1945 to 1953 and only 810 persons from the remainder of the country, so that 80 per cent of the total would be from Amsterdam, whereas less than 60 per cent of the total Jewish population resides in that city (cf. Section 4.2). Since in our opinion there is no indication whatever why the number of emigrants from Amsterdam should have been so much larger than from the remainder of the country, the inference would be that outside Amsterdam the material about those who permanently left the Netherlands cannot have been complete.

Incompleteness in the figures is also apparent from the data on emigration to Israel. According to the Committee count, 987 Jews emigrated to Israel in the years 1948 to 1953. However, according to the Netherlands Bureau of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1,501 Jews emigrated to Israel during that period, i.e. over 50 per cent more.

The latter figure is supported by the statistics of foreign migration of the N.C.B.S. (Table 38): according to this source 1,272 persons (excluding alien emigrants in 1948 and 1949) emigrated to Israel in the years 1948 to 1953; it may be assumed that this figure relates almost exclusively to Jews; for the years 1948 and 1949 it may have been influenced by delayed registration of the emigration of those who went to Palestine under the so-called *Aliyah Beth* (illegal immigration to Palestine in the years of the British Mandate). The same statistics, based on the principle of religious affiliation, give for the years 1952 and 1953 such a high number of Jewish emigrants that this is another reason for concluding that the Committee figures are incomplete.

The N.C.B.S. immigration figures (Tables 37 and 38) indicate that immigration (frequently in the form of re-immigration) must have been considerable in the years 1948 to 1956. The absence of immigration data in the Committee's study should therefore be considered a serious gap. Probably the trend of the Committee emigration data gives a more accurate picture of the trend of the balance of migration in those years than of the development of emigration as such. This should be taken into account in all further interpretations of this material.

The destination of the emigrants in the years 1945 to 1953 according to the Committee study was as follows (cf. Table 39): United States 1399, Israel 1209, Canada 440, Australia 286, South America 186, Indonesia 128, Netherlands West Indies 74, South Africa 56, New Zealand 31, other countries 648, and unknown 35 (total 4,492).

The high rate of emigration to the United States is remarkable. The number of Jews who emigrated from the Netherlands to that country is relatively considerably higher than that of the non-Jews. It is well known that the regulations for immigration into the United States are rather strict. The fact that they affected Jews to a lesser extent is in all proba-

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bility to be attributed to the greater ease with which stateless and displaced persons were enabled to leave for America.

It is not surprising that *aliyah* (emigration to Israel) was considerable; it was also relatively high in comparison with that from other Western European countries.

It is interesting that the greatest emigration to the United States took place in 1947. In 1949, the year after the Jewish State had been established, Israel was the main country of destination of emigrants. Later the relative interest in Israel declined again and, especially in 1951 (owing to Korea?), Canada, Australia, and New Zealand began to play a greater part as countries of immigration in addition to the United

TABLE 35. *Excess of Women among Jewish Emigrants, 1945 to 1953*

Age	Men	Women
up to 40 years	1,262	1,450
over 40 years	866	914
	2,128	2,364

TABLE 36. *Average Age of Jewish Emigrants, 1946 to 1953*

Average age in years	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
All emigrants	34	34	32	32	30	28	29	30
Ditto, excluding ages 0-5 years	35	35	34	34	33	33	33	33

TABLE 37. *Jewish Emigration and Immigration, 1946 to 1956*

Year	Emigration according to Committee investigation	Migrations according to N.C.B.S.		
		Emigration	Immigration	Balance of migration
1946	338	—	—	—
1947	676	—	—	—
1948	471	—	—	—
1949	602	—	—	—
1950	474	—	—	—
1951	796	—	—	—
1952	522	457*	—	—
1953	509	699	271	428
1954	—	514	331	183
1955	—	389	318	71
1956	—	405	353	52

* Exclusive of aliens.

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States. Other countries also began to attract immigrants, but this development did not reach its peak until 1952. It is clear that these shifts were influenced both by current political problems and by changes in the migration policies of the various countries. The enthusiasm for Israel reached a peak in the years 1948 and 1949; Israel opened its gates and there were large groups of people who intended to emigrate there. In later years the emigration policy of the Netherlands Government became increasingly active. At first it was mainly directed towards the newer countries of settlement, but later it looked for other outlets as well.

The emigrants of the years 1945 to 1953 consisted of (Table 40) 2,128 men and 2,364 women. An excess of women of any significance among the emigrants is present only in the years up to 1948 (this is true for emigration to Israel as well as to other countries). Among the emigrants to Israel, women continued to form a majority in later years as well, although not nearly so great as in the years 1946 and 1947. (This is confirmed by the N.C.B.S. emigration statistics; cf. Table 38.)

A closer analysis of these figures indicates that the excess of women among emigrants occurs in all age groups. However, for persons over 40 years old the excess is considerably lower than among those under that age, as shown in Table 35.

A more detailed analysis of the age of emigrants is possible from the classification of the emigrants according to age and year of emigration. It appears that in the course of the years the average age of emigrants lowered somewhat (Table 36), but this is substantially due to a relative increase of the number of very young children (0 to 5 years old) among the emigrants. In the years from 1950 on especially the number of emigrants aged between 20 and 44 years was large as compared to the age structure of the total population (Table 15), namely, about 3 per cent

TABLE 38. *Migration from and to Israel, 1946 to 1956*

Year	Emigration according to investigation Committee			Emigration according to N.C.B.S.			Immigration according to N.C.B.S.
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	
1946	68	23	45	—	—	—	—
1947	142	51	91	—	—	—	—
1948	159	72	87	237*	108*	129*	68*
1949	297	141	156	167*	73*	94*	31*
1950	164	73	91	25	13	13	12
1951	171	80	91	386	184	202	91
1952	75	31	44	242	104	138	132
1953	100	53	47	215	104	111	134
1954	—	—	—	175	82	93	167
1955	—	—	—	183	84	99	151
1956	—	—	—	163	57	106	177

* Exclusive of aliens.

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TABLE 39. *Jewish Emigration to Principal Countries of Destination, 1946 to 1953*

Year	Total	Israel	U.S.A.	Canada	Australia and N. Zealand	Remaining countries	Unknown
1946	338	68	108	7	7	139	9
1947	676	142	334	2	25	166	7
1948	471	159	144	13	29	120	6
1949	602	297	167	12	17	109	—
1950	474	164	120	9	57	121	3
1951	796	171	187	187	107	140	4
1952	522	75	152	93	46	153	3
1953	509	100	163	102	26	116	2

TABLE 40. *Jewish Emigration by Sex, 1946 to 1953*

Year	Total	Men	Women
1946	338	139	199
1947	676	277	399
1948	471	205	266
1949	602	297	305
1950	474	243	231
1951	796	403	393
1952	522	262	260
1953	509	256	253

per year. In the younger age groups the average emigration figure was about 2 per cent; in the age groups over 44 years it amounted to approximately 1 per cent.

VI. SOME DATA ON THE TIES WITHIN THE JEWISH POPULATION IN THE NETHERLANDS

6.1 *Membership of Jewish religious communities*

The data collected on different aspects of Jewish orientation in the Netherlands—i.e. the extent to which those who belong to the Jewish group give evidence of their being Jews—make no claim to be exhaustive⁵⁸ because of the great deficiency of the basic material. They do not allow many conclusions, so that this chapter is largely confined to a concise statement of such facts as became available.

The most obvious criterion of Jewish orientation is membership in one of the Jewish religious communities. Although such membership says little about the measure of religious interest, it does usually indicate that people wish to maintain a tie with the Jewish group. Of the 23,723 persons counted by the Committee, 13,845 were members of the Ashkenazi and Sephardi Communities, 1,916 were not members, and of the

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remaining 7,962 persons the membership was not established. The last group mainly covers persons who made no clear statement about their membership; a number of them probably did not wish to consider themselves members.

6.2 *Solemnized marriages*

The data on the percentage which religious marriages form of all marriages are very incomplete. (In the Netherlands, only civil marriages are legal so that any religious ceremony must come after the civil formalities.) In more than half the cases, no pertinent details were available at the local Jewish communities (Table 41). This applies in particular to those who had lost their husband or wife. For this group, it was known in only about 25 per cent of the cases whether their marriage had been religiously solemnized.

It is interesting to note that the number of times this question was answered in the negative was practically the same as the number of mixed marriages. It was established of only 186 persons who had not married non-Jews that their marriage had not been solemnized according to the Jewish rite. Leaving the mixed marriages out, we find that, of the total of 8,833 persons having a Jewish spouse, 3,063 are known to have had a religious marriage ceremony; 186 were not so married; and for the remaining 5,584 persons no data are available. These data are so incomplete as to make it impossible to draw many conclusions from them.

Of the large group for whom the question on marriage solemnization could not be answered it may be observed that it probably consists largely of persons who were married before the war and persons who were married at a place other than where they resided at the time of the census. In this connexion it may be said that as late as the years 1931 to 1933 the proportion of solemnized Jewish marriages in Amsterdam amounted to 92 per cent.⁵⁹

TABLE 41. *Solemnization of Existing Jewish and Mixed Marriages, 1 January 1954*

<i>Type of marriage</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Number of persons with</i>	
		<i>Jewish spouse</i>	<i>non-Jewish spouse</i>
Civil and religious	3,063	3,063	—
Civil only	3,296	186	3,110
Unknown	5,584	5,584	—
Total	11,943	8,833	3,110

In conclusion, Table 42 lists the data of the Amsterdam Jewish communities on marriages solemnized during the years 1945 to 1953.

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6.3 *Circumcisions*

The data obtained on the number of circumcisions are also so incomplete as to be useless. In the first place, the question related only to the circumcision of children forming part of a household. But even this information was received in a very incomplete manner: of the total of 3,654 male children (which included own children, stepchildren, and

TABLE 42. *Marriage Solemnizations in the Jewish Religious Communities in Amsterdam, 1945 to 1953**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Marriages solemnized</i>		
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Ashkenazi</i>	<i>Sephardi</i>
1945	38	36	2
1946	121	114	7
1947	110	98	12
1948	99	89	10
1949	60	52	8
1950	45	41	4
1951	52	42	10
1952	34	29	5
1953	33	28	5
Total	592	529	63

* Source: Ashkenazi and Sephardi Communities.

foster children) 1,058 had been circumcised, 219 had not been circumcised, and for 2,377 the answer was 'unknown'.

The supposition is justified that a large proportion of the children of whom it was not known whether or not they were circumcised actually were, except in the case of sons of Jewish mothers and non-Jewish fathers.

To this we may add that, according to Boekman,⁶⁰ less than 10 per cent of the Jewish boys had not been circumcised in 1934, the last pre-war year for which figures are available.

6.4 *Burials in Jewish cemeteries*

According to Boekman,⁶¹ the great majority of Jews dying in Amsterdam in the years 1929 to 1933 received Jewish burial. The figures which have now become available indicate that this has been the case to a much smaller extent since the war, even though the figures are not entirely comparable, since the Committee in its investigation used a standard which was different from Boekman's.

It was known of 76 per cent of the total number of deceased counted for the years 1945 to 1953 that they had been buried in Jewish cemeteries. The figure was 88 per cent for those who had been members of a Jewish religious community (Table 43).

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It is striking that the question whether people had been buried in Jewish cemeteries was answered in the negative in only 18 cases and by 'unknown' in 281 cases. This is at variance with experience, so that there is reason to believe that a large part of these 281 cases relates to persons who either received a non-Jewish burial or were cremated.

TABLE 43. *Jewish Deaths, 1945 to 1953, by Type of Burial and Membership of a Jewish Religious Community*

<i>Member of Jewish religious community</i>	<i>Buried in a Jewish cemetery</i>							
	<i>Yes</i>		<i>No</i>		<i>Unknown</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Yes	449	390	6	2	61	49	516	441
No	21	10	3	2	27	14	51	26
Unknown	40	28	4	1	78	52	122	81
Total	510	428	13	5	166	115	689	548

It is remarkable that of the 280 persons who were not members of a Jewish religious community, or of whom this was unknown, as many as 99, or about 35 per cent, had been interred in a Jewish cemetery.

6.5 *Destination of emigrants*

In addition, Jewish orientation can also be inferred from the direction of emigration. This is especially true of *aliyah*, which, according to our incomplete data, amounted to 1,209 persons of the total of 4,492 emigrants during the period from 1946 to 1953. This accounts for well over 25 per cent. Although nothing is known of the reasons which motivated emigration, it is somewhat surprising that only a quarter of those who left the Netherlands went to Israel.

It is conceivable that among those who selected the United States there were a number of persons who went there motivated by the knowledge of finding a large Jewish community.

6.6 *Gifts to Jewish Institutions*

Because the collection of funds for Jewish institutions is mainly centralized in three organizations—the *Centrale Financierings-Actie voor Joods-Sociaal Werk* (Cefina-J.M.W.), the *Collectieve Israël-Actie* (C.I.A.), and the *Joods Nationaal Fonds* (J.N.F.)—it is possible to obtain a general idea of the course of the funds which have become available for Jewish purposes in postwar years (Table 44). For Cefina and C.I.A. the numbers of donations are known as well. The available data relating to the years 1946 and 1947 are too incomplete to be included.

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It should be borne in mind that these details can convey only a limited picture of the willingness of Jews to make donations for Jewish purposes, so that they also should be interpreted with caution as a symbol of the cohesion of the Jewish population. Specifically, the available data do not cover the returns of taxes assessed by the Jewish religious communities; a few less important items of benefit to community life are also excluded; the amounts collected are not only the

TABLE 44. *Donations to Jewish Institutions, 1948 to 1959*

Year	Total	Institution			Number of donations	
		Cefina- J.M.W.*	C.I.A.†	J.N.F.†	Cefina- J.M.W.*	C.I.A.†
		<i>In thousands of Dutch guilders</i>				
1948	1,711	488	955‡	268	3,200	2,650§
1949	1,211	441	575	195	3,140	3,630
1950	1,405	496	671	238	3,522	4,056
1951	1,446	483	646	317	4,082	4,314
1952	1,265	425	460	380	3,833	3,608
1953	1,093	408	473	212	3,859	3,263
1954	1,129	425	482	222	3,921	3,282
1955	1,261	440	585	236	3,904	4,770
1956	1,213	494	483	236	3,872	3,542
1957	1,418	537	525	356	4,040	3,497
1958	1,412	579	517	316	4,068	4,103
1959	1,505	545	748	212	4,019	4,205

* Source: Cefina-J.M.W.

† Source: Annual Reports Netherlands Zionist Association (N.Z.B.).

‡ Hagana and Keren Hayesod (the then most important collection funds).

§ Keren Hayesod.

result of campaigns directed at private persons but have been obtained in part also by testamentary dispositions and from Jewish institutions and communities in the Netherlands; relatively smaller amounts have come from Jewish institutions and persons abroad as well as from non-Jewish sources.

The year 1948 shows the largest total for the three institutions. The foundation of the State of Israel and the war which followed apparently served as strong incentives. After 1951 there was an overall downward trend of income which reached its lowest point around 1953. Thereafter the total of monies received has consistently increased, and the Cefina results from 1956 on have clearly been even better than in 1948.

The number of gifts did not follow the pattern of amounts received. Especially as far as Cefina is concerned, a stable level is observed from 1951 on. Any decrease in the number of Jews in the Netherlands therefore is not manifested in the number and amount of contributions to

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Jewish institutions. In view of the number of households and single persons established, the number of donations per institution may be said to be high.

VII. FORECASTS OF THE POPULATION FOR 1960, 1965, AND 1970

7.1 *Selection of the method followed*

The choice of the method to be used for a population forecast depends on its purpose and the quality of the available data.

For the Committee, the chief interest of such a forecast lay in obtaining some insight into the needs to be expected in the foreseeable future—until about 1970—with regard to the social care of children and old people. In addition, it hoped to provide in a more general way a picture of the future structure of the Jewish population in the Netherlands.

It follows that it was not enough to carry out a simple extrapolation from the development of the whole population as observed in the past or to prognosticate the total of births, deaths, and migrations; it was also necessary to aim at separate projections by age group because this is the only possible method which permits an opinion on future population structure.

Apart from that, there is no basis for a direct extrapolation from the growth of the population in the recent past. First of all, the enormous disruption in structure caused by the deportations was followed until 1954 by a development which certainly cannot be considered 'normal'; furthermore, not enough reliable data on births and deaths are available for the said period, which in addition is extremely slender as a basis for extrapolation. The absence of a reliable starting point naturally applies also to the more refined methods which, as far as natality data are concerned, are based on age-specific fertility figures and, with regard to mortality, on age-specific death rates. It was therefore necessary to introduce a number of radical assumptions.

The population trend after a given starting date (in our case, 1 January 1954) can be considered the resultant of the following components:

- (a) The distribution by age and sex on the starting date;
- (b) The chances of survival by age and by sex;
- (c) The development of the birth rate;
- (d) The development of emigration and immigration;
- (e) The development of the number of mixed marriages.

Now we have attempted, by means of reasonable postulations as to factors (b) and (c) and with the aid of the data mentioned under (a),

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to arrive at a detailed forecast by age group and by sex. In addition, we have tried to apply corrections to the total figures for factors (*d*) and (*e*).

In the first place, it has been tentatively assumed that the number of Jews counted by the Committee is correct. It has furthermore been assumed that the chances of survival for the Jewish population in the period from 1954 to 1970 by age and by sex are equal to those for the general Netherlands population which are specified in the mortality tables for the Netherlands, 1947 to 1949, N.C.B.S., The Hague, 1950.⁶² Although this is the only possible practical assumption, it is not quite without drawbacks. In earlier years (cf. E. Boekman, *op. cit.*, pp. 106 ff.) mortality among the Jews was indeed appreciably lower than in the general population. This was no longer so after 1910, so that there is no question of a general trend. The well-known deviation in urbanization and occupational structure of the Jews might even now have entailed differences in relative death rates per age group. Again, however, any supposition other than that of equal chances of survival would have no actual basis in fact.

In arriving at suppositions regarding the trend of births after 1 January 1954 no use could be made of marriage-fertility figures simply because they are not available. The pronounced downward trend of the birth figures according to the Committee count for the years 1948 to 1953 would lead to the expectation of a continued decline in the birth rate for subsequent years also. Such an expectation, however, would conflict with the trend of Jewish births from 1954 to 1958 according to the N.C.B.S., which shows a more or less stable birth rate (an average of 112 births per year). Although these figures are too low, because they cover only the children of Jews who could be recognized as such in the vital statistics by the mention of religious affiliation, their trend does give an idea of the trend of the real birth figures. If we supposed that natality actually declined constantly between 1953 and 1958, this would imply—because of the stable N.C.B.S. figure—that during this period an increasing percentage of Jewish births had been reported as such in the population registers. This is unlikely because the percentage during the period from 1948 to 1953 actually diminished continuously, according to the Jewish birth figures in the Committee count and N.C.B.S. data.

In view of these figures, the most likely supposition is that the actual number of Jewish births between 1954 and 1970 will have been stable⁶³ and should be between 125 and 200, i.e. 10 per cent and 75 per cent more than the N.C.B.S. average figure for the years 1954 to 1958. This leads—together with the starting points referred to before and the supposition that the ratio of births of boys and girls will be equal to that of the boys and girls of 0 to 4 years old counted on 1 January 1954 (Table 15)—to a minimum and a maximum forecast (for 1960 an

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TABLE 45. *Forecast of Jewish Population in the Netherlands, by Sex and Age Group (excluding Balance of Migration), 1 January 1960, 1 January 1965, and 1 January 1970*
Alternative I (Minimum)

Age in years	Absolute numbers			Percentages		
	1 Jan. 1960	1 Jan. 1965	1 Jan. 1970	1 Jan. 1960	1 Jan. 1965	1 Jan. 1970
A. Men						
0-5	400	333	333	3.6	3.1	3.2
6-10	695	400	333	6.3	3.7	3.2
11-15	980	693	399	8.8	6.5	3.9
16-19	553	889	483	5.0	8.3	4.7
20-24	761	637	1,090	6.9	5.9	10.6
25-29	551	751	633	5.0	7.1	6.1
30-34	556	547	750	5.0	5.1	7.3
35-39	698	551	542	6.3	5.0	5.3
40-44	749	687	545	6.8	6.5	5.3
45-49	970	735	674	8.8	6.8	6.6
50-54	995	942	714	9.0	8.8	7.0
55-59	969	949	901	8.7	8.8	8.8
60-64	764	904	887	6.9	8.4	8.6
65-69	606	682	807	5.5	6.4	7.8
70-74	410	501	565	3.6	4.7	5.5
75-79	} 421	298	362	} 3.8	2.8	3.5
80 and over		213	255		2.0	2.4
Total	11,078	10,712	10,273	100	100	100
B. Women						
0-5	350	292	292	3.0	2.6	2.7
6-10	613	350	292	5.2	3.1	2.7
11-15	905	613	349	7.7	5.5	3.2
16-19	519	811	451	4.4	7.2	4.2
20-24	745	607	966	6.4	5.4	9.0
25-29	599	743	604	5.1	6.6	5.6
30-34	628	597	738	5.4	5.3	6.9
35-39	864	623	592	7.4	5.5	5.5
40-44	926	854	616	7.9	7.5	5.7
45-49	1,157	910	840	9.9	8.1	7.8
50-54	1,048	1,131	890	9.0	10.0	8.3
55-59	894	1,011	1,089	7.7	9.0	10.1
60-64	739	843	953	6.3	7.5	8.9
65-69	675	670	763	5.8	6.0	7.2
70-74	488	565	563	4.2	5.0	5.2
75-79	} 537	362	417	} 4.6	3.2	3.9
80 and over		278	332		2.5	3.1
Total	11,687	11,260	10,747	100	100	100

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TABLE 46. *Forecast of Jewish Population in the Netherlands, by Sex and Age Group (excluding Balance of Migration), 1 January 1960, 1 January 1965, and 1 January 1970*

Alternative II (Maximum)

Age in years	Absolute numbers			Percentages		
	1 Jan. 1960	1 Jan. 1965	1 Jan. 1970	1 Jan. 1960	1 Jan. 1965	1 Jan. 1970
A. Men						
0- 5	635	530	530	5.6	4.8	4.8
6-10	695	635	530	6.2	5.7	4.8
11-15	980	693	633	8.6	6.2	5.7
16-19	553	889	483	4.9	8.0	4.4
20-24	761	637	1,090	6.7	5.7	10.1
25-29	551	756	633	4.9	6.8	5.8
30-34	556	546	730	4.9	4.9	6.8
35-39	698	551	542	6.2	4.9	5.1
40-44	749	687	545	6.7	6.2	5.1
45-49	970	735	674	8.6	6.5	6.2
50-54	995	942	714	8.8	8.5	6.6
55-59	969	949	901	8.5	8.5	8.3
60-64	764	904	887	6.8	8.1	8.1
65-69	606	682	807	5.4	6.1	7.3
70-74	410	501	565	3.5	4.5	5.2
75-79	} 421	298	362	} 3.7	2.6	3.2
80 and over		213	255		1.8	2.1
Total	11,313	11,148	10,901	100	100	100
B. Women						
0- 5	565	471	471	4.7	4.0	4.2
6-10	613	565	471	5.1	4.8	4.2
11-15	905	613	563	7.5	5.3	5.0
16-19	519	811	451	4.4	6.9	3.9
20-24	745	607	966	6.3	5.3	8.5
25-29	599	743	604	5.0	6.3	5.3
30-34	628	597	738	5.3	5.2	6.6
35-39	864	623	592	7.3	5.4	5.2
40-44	926	854	616	7.7	7.2	5.4
45-49	1,157	910	840	9.7	7.8	7.5
50-54	1,048	1,131	890	8.8	9.7	7.9
55-59	894	1,011	1,089	7.5	8.7	9.6
60-64	739	843	953	6.2	7.2	8.5
65-69	675	670	763	5.7	5.8	6.9
70-74	488	565	563	4.2	4.9	4.9
75-79	} 537	362	417	} 4.6	3.1	3.6
80 and over		278	332		2.4	2.8
Total	11,902	11,654	11,319	100	100	100

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estimate) for 1 January of the years 1960, 1965, and 1970. These are shown in Tables 45 and 46 as 'Alternative I' and 'Alternative II'.

7.2 *Results of the forecast*

According to the forecasts specified in Tables 45 and 46, the number of Jews in the Netherlands will have receded from 1954 to 1970 from 23,723 to between 21,020 and 22,220, i.e. by 1,500 to 2,700 persons. It will be clear from what has been said in previous chapters that it is necessary to apply a number of radical corrections to these estimates. We shall return to this question in the course of the present section after a discussion of some developmental trends which can be inferred from Tables 45 and 46 and which are not affected by the said corrections.

The results of the forecasts indicate a very considerable ageing process during the years until 1970. The proportion of all age groups up to 60 years, both male and female, will show a downward trend. An exception is formed by the age groups 20 to 24 and 30 to 34 years (in the case of women, also the group 55 to 59 years), all of which show a rather sharp increase. In the youngest age groups, up to 15 years, the number in the period mentioned would drop from 4,965 to a number between about 2,000 and 3,200, i.e. to about half its original value.

The number of persons aged 70 years and over, on the other hand, would increase during the same period from about 1,400 to 2,500, i.e. by about 75 per cent.

The number of women in the reproductive age groups, i.e. from 16 to 44 years, would decline somewhat, from about 4,200 to 4,000. The number of women in the age groups 20 to 34 years, by whom the majority of children are borne, would increase from 1,849 in 1954 to about 2,300 in 1970, i.e. by about 25 per cent. This implies an appreciable rejuvenation within the group of fertile women, naturally entailing a rise of the birth rate above the values assumed above.⁶⁴

As noted earlier, a number of corrections should be applied to the above forecasts; however, since it is impossible to specify them by age and by sex, they have not been processed in the detailed forecasts.

In the first place, it should be taken into account that, as demonstrated in Section 4.1, the number of Jews on 1 January 1954 was higher than 23,723, possibly by as much as 6,000 to 7,000; the forecast figures would then have to be increased proportionately.⁶⁵ Furthermore, the increase of the birth rate which may be expected to take place in the years immediately before 1970 would also lead to an increase in the numbers of the younger age groups.

On the other hand, there are two other factors which would lead to lower forecasts. The first is the balance of foreign migration. It is not possible to make any sound or reasonable statement about its future course. The N.C.B.S. has published figures relating to Jewish emigration and immigration for the years 1953 to 1956 only (Table 37). From them

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we might conclude that the balance has greatly receded, namely from 428 persons in 1953 to 52 persons in 1956. Although the reliability and the relevance of these data leave much to be desired, there is nevertheless no reason to put the balance of migration for the years 1957 to 1970 at less than an annual number of 50 to 100 persons. It can be calculated that, with the births from emigrants taken into account and the N.C.B.S. data used as starting point, the forecasts for 1970 would have to be reduced, by about 1,650 to 2,400 persons.

A rise in the number of mixed marriages would affect the forecasts in a similar manner. It is well known (cf. Table 27) that the average number of children of mixed marriages is lower than that of Jewish marriages. There are reasons to expect such a rise for the period from 1954 to 1970, but no data are available from which its extent might be reasonably inferred. It is furthermore to be expected (cf. Table 25) that the relative number of Jewish women married to non-Jews will rise more sharply than the relative number of Jewish men entering into mixed marriages, a development which naturally would entail an increase in the number of Jewish births. In the circumstances, it seems best to assume that the development of the number of mixed marriages will not affect the Jewish birth rate.

On the basis of these assumptions—which are inherently very rough—the number of Jews in the Netherlands by 1970 might be estimated at 25,000 to 28,000. As compared to 1954 (cf. Section 4.1), this would be a decrease of about 2,000 to 5,000 persons, i.e. 7 to 17 per cent.

VIII. SOME CONCLUSIONS

8.1 *Characteristics of the Jewish population of the Netherlands*

Despite the incompleteness of the material collected, it is possible to draw some conclusions.

To begin with, it is evident that the group of Jews who survived the years of the occupation (about 30,000) is a mere fraction of the prewar Jewish population (about 140,000); furthermore, it shows to an increased extent the trend of reduction which was apparent even before the war; it is probable that the number of Jews in the Netherlands will continue to decrease between 1945 and 1970. According to the rough estimating methods which have had to be used, the 1945 figure of over 30,000 may be expected to decline to between 25,000 and 28,000 by 1970. The primary cause of this reduction is a relatively low rate of birth, which showed a continuous decrease after 1946 and seems to have become stabilized since 1954; a contributory factor has been the high excess of emigration over immigration, especially in the years 1947 to 1954.

The structure of the Jewish population is furthermore characterized by a relatively high proportion formed by the older age groups and by

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a relatively low number of women of reproductive age. The population pyramid (see Part One of this article) thus presents a highly abnormal picture, with a constriction at the ages between 20 and 30 years. Moreover, the ageing process has been and will continue to be very considerable in the years after the census conducted by the Committee (1 January 1954), all the more so because emigration quotas for elderly persons will be small. The probability of an increase in the number of old people therefore will have to be taken into account for a number of years to come.

A sociological threat, with biological implications, lies in the marked increase in the relative number of mixed marriages. This number is much greater than it was before the war and applies both to those who married for the first time and to those who entered into a second or subsequent marriage.

The growing number of mixed marriages is not necessarily a sign of a conscious tendency towards assimilation. Additional contributory factors are that the annihilation of almost 80 per cent of the Jewish population has greatly impaired its internal structure; that many of the Jews who returned found themselves in a predominantly non-Jewish environment; that the group which survived contains a relatively high percentage of persons belonging to the intellectually and economically superior strata who even before the war established contacts with non-Jews more easily than others; and that Jews who spent the war years in hiding formed many new ties with non-Jews. It is not surprising, therefore, that there has been such an upsurge in the number of mixed marriages.

Mixed marriages almost always entail for their issue a separation from the Jewish community, and if no such separation occurs there is, at best, a situation of conflict: for children of Jewish fathers because they are no longer considered Jews even by the Jewish community, and for children of Jewish mothers because in their non-Jewish environment they are not looked upon as Jewish.

Another—biological—consequence of mixed marriages is related to the fact that men statistically contract more mixed marriages than do women. Because of this, a relatively large number of Jewish women have remained single or have not remarried after the war. This phenomenon necessarily keeps the birth rate down. A decrease in the birth rate is inherent in an increase in the number of mixed marriages. Historically, Jewish marriages have always had higher fertility rates than mixed marriages.

In connexion with our remarks about mixed marriages, the Jewish population contains a relatively high percentage of single persons and childless couples or households.

Even before the war, the Jews were characterized by a relatively high concentration in Amsterdam, where about 60 per cent of all Jews

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resided. The war has brought about no change in this situation; the percentage of Jews residing in Amsterdam is about the same as it was before. Despite the annihilation, the number of municipalities where Jews live has undergone comparatively little change. Many rural municipalities, however, have no more than one or two Jewish families left, or one or a few single Jewish persons not living with Jewish families, so that there is no possibility of any Jewish communal activities in such places. There is no doubt that this phenomenon is very much more pronounced than it was before the war.

With regard to other characteristics which constitute a means of cohesion for the Jewish community—such as membership in Jewish congregations, religious marriage ceremonies, circumcisions, number of burials in Jewish cemeteries, contributions and donations to Jewish charities and institutions—the data available are very incomplete.

It is likely that a relatively large proportion of the Jewish population (about one-third of those counted by the Committee) do not desire to be considered members of a Jewish religious community. On the other hand, at least 75 per cent of those who died in the period from 1946 to 1954, in so far as they are included in the Committee's census records, received Jewish burial, while the number and the amount of donations to Jewish institutions are relatively high, considering the number of Jewish families and single persons.

Therefore, although the Jewish group has shown certain phenomena of disintegration of a demographic as well as of a sociological nature in postwar years, and will undoubtedly undergo a still further numerical decline in the course of the present decade, there is no question of a catastrophic process of deterioration. Certainly the numerical decline is serious in itself and constitutes, at least outside the larger towns, a real menace to the preservation of community life within the group, but it is not certain that the social causes of this decline, of which mixed marriages and emigration are manifestations, will assume the same significance in the course of the next few years as they had in the period from 1946 to 1954. Should these social causes lose some of their significance in the years ahead, it is even conceivable that the Jewish population of the Netherlands may again increase somewhat. In such a case, the greatly increased birth rate during the years 1946 and 1947 certainly would positively affect the reproduction rate of future years. The Jewish community seems to have sufficient cohesive power to absorb such an increase in the spiritual sense as well.

8.2 *The significance of the expected development of the population for future welfare work*

During the period from 1953 to 1958, and certainly also in the years after, the need for Jewish child welfare declined sharply. For example, the number of children living in Jewish children's homes diminished

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from 93 on 31 December 1953, to 62 on 31 December 1958. The total number of active contacts of the welfare department of the Gefusion-eerde Joodse Instellingen voor Kinderbescherming (Joint Jewish Institutions for the Protection of Children) rose from 258 in 1953 to 291 in 1956, then dropped again to 224 in 1958. This decrease is wholly a consequence of the continuous reduction in the number of minors among the war foster-children, namely from 1,219 at the end of 1953 to 803 on 31 December 1957. The data shown in Table 47 have been taken from the Annual Reports of the Joint Jewish Institutions for the Protection of Children.

TABLE 47. *Resident Children in Jewish Homes, 1953 to 1958*

<i>Situation on 31 December of the year</i>	<i>War foster-children in homes</i>	<i>Children, non- orphans, in homes</i>	<i>Total children in homes</i>
1953	90	3	93
1954	85	3	88
1955	63	27*	90
1956	46	38*	84
1957	37	41	78
1958	22	40	62

* Minimum.

There has even been a constant increase in the number of non-orphaned children residing in homes and institutions. Table 48 reflects the same trend.

TABLE 48. *New or Renewed Contacts of Welfare Department* with Jewish Foster-Children outside Homes and Institutions, 1952 to 1956*

<i>Year</i>	<i>War foster-children</i>	<i>Non-orphaned children</i>	<i>Total</i>
1952	35	50	85
1953	34	60	94
1954	21	71	92
1955	17	73	90
1956	54	73	127

* Annual Report for 1956 of the Joint Jewish Institutions for the Protection of Children.

The influence of the decreasing birth rate of the preceding years is not shown in the figures for the number of non-orphaned children who received welfare care. This is understandable, for the number of these children is also conditioned by factors which were more than normally active during the period mentioned. Among these factors should be counted the problems of mixed marriages and the numerous postwar

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marriages the basis of which proved unsteady. Owing to these circumstances, it is difficult to infer the future needs of Jewish child welfare work from the present figures on child welfare and the probable trend of the birth rate. Since the phenomenon of war foster-children will definitely disappear and the number of other children requiring welfare or protection is not likely to rise to a figure higher than that for the years 1956 to 1958,⁶⁶ there is the possibility that, in view of the above figures, the requirements in this area, including spare capacity, may drop to about 50 places at children's homes and the need to handle approximately 80 newly active cases of child welfare per year.

A little more certainty can be obtained on the future need of old-age assistance. It has been shown before (Tables 15, 45, and 46) that the number of Jews 70 years of age and over will probably increase from 1,417 on 1 January 1954 to approximately 1,860 by early 1960, and to about 2,500 by early 1970.

TABLE 49. *Number of Residents and those on Waiting Lists of Old-Age Homes*⁶⁷

<i>Mid-June of the year</i>	<i>Residents</i>	<i>Waiting lists</i>	<i>Need</i>
1953	215	132	281
1959	278	190	373

As appears from information received from spokesmen for the Boards of Jewish old-age homes, it may be assumed that roughly 60 per cent of those on waiting lists may be regarded as actively interested applicants. The last column of Table 49 has been computed accordingly. The numbers therefore comprise the actual residents plus 60 per cent of those on waiting lists.

In the middle of June 1953 this need appears to have amounted to 16.9 per cent of the number of persons aged 70 years and over counted on 1 January 1954, and in the middle of June 1959 the need was 20.1 per cent of that category counted for 1 January 1960. Using the mean of both percentages as an estimate of the corresponding percentage for 1 January 1970, and taking into consideration the number of 2,500 old persons for that date as estimated above, we arrive at a need of about 460 places in homes. This is naturally a very rough estimate.

8.3 *Some suggestions for further study*

Attention has been repeatedly called to gaps in the data obtained by the Committee in its census. These relate specifically to mixed marriages, the numbers of Jews residing outside the large cities, those who moved to new industrial municipalities (like Eindhoven and Enschede), immigration, mortality, marriage fertility, and the indices of Jewish

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community life (religious marriage celebrations, circumcisions, and membership of the Jewish Communities).

Further investigation is therefore urgently needed. Such a study would need to have a permanent basis and should be founded on a continuous registration of the population so as to attain a reasonable measure of reliability and completeness of the data as well as a sufficiently wide range of data, specifically with regard to births, deaths, and migrations. Such vital statistics should include not only personal data, but also such family relations as are required to make possible a study of marriage fertility. This continuous registration could be supplemented by decennial censuses, so as to make it possible to correct registration errors and to collect data on such additional characteristics as occupation, education, and the spiritual and religious orientation of the Jewish population.

However, these hopes can materialize only if it proves possible to fulfil certain conditions. It would be necessary first of all to standardize and co-ordinate to the greatest possible extent the registration systems of the Jewish communities.

In addition, a small permanent body would have to be set up, equipped to perform such demographic and sociological investigations and authorized to make use of the population accounts created. This body would also need to maintain contacts with other statistical and social research institutes.

NOTES

⁵³ E. Bockman, op. cit., p. 74, Table 27.

⁵⁴ E. Bockman, op. cit., p. 133.

⁵⁵ *Statistische gegevens van de Joden in Nederland*, Part I.

⁵⁶ This phenomenon did not reduce the proportion of the youngest age groups in the Jewish population as compared with 1930 (cf. Section 4.2), which is due to the fact that the highly increased birth rate of the years 1946 and 1947 has also affected these youngest age groups.

⁵⁷ Cf. also the statistics of the course of population from 1938 to 1954, Table 4, p. 18, N.C.B.S., 1955.

⁵⁸ An exception is formed by the data yielded by the 1947 Census for the Jewish group. They, too, may be deemed to supply, to some extent, a standard for the measure of Jewish orientation if they are related to the Committee census data.

⁵⁹ E. Bockman, op. cit., p. 68, Table 25.

⁶⁰ E. Bockman, op. cit., pp. 104-5.

⁶¹ E. Bockman, op. cit., pp. 119 and 120.

⁶² Mortality tables have in the meantime also been published for the periods from 1950 to 1952 and 1953 to 1955, but the pertinent calculations had then already been carried out. Recalculation of the later chances of survival would theoretically have been more correct, but would actually have constituted—in view of the objections to the procedure as such—an unwarranted refinement.

⁶³ This supposition does not take into account the fact that the female survivors of the high birth rate of the years 1946 and 1947 will continue to contribute to reproduction some years prior to 1970, while the continuous increase between 1954 and 1970 of the number of women in the age groups from 20 to 34 years will naturally lead also to a rising number of births. In reality, the selection of various possible alternative suppositions has little influence

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upon the forecast for 1970 and earlier years because the children born after 1954—the starting point for the forecasts—form only a small portion of the total Jewish population until that year. We have also abstracted the consequences of any possible changes in nuptial trends.

⁶⁴ From the figures in Tables 45 and 46 it might also be inferred that the excess of women over men would recede from 1,064 in 1954 to between 1,024 and 1,046 in 1970. This, however, is exclusively a consequence of the incompleteness of the 1954 figures (cf. Section 4.2).

⁶⁵ This proportionality naturally would apply only in so far as it may be assumed that the age structures of the registered and non-registered portions of the population are identical.

⁶⁶ In the case of a steady birth rate (cf. Section 7.2) and the disappearance of various postwar phenomena interfering with family life.

⁶⁷ Annual Reports of the 'Joodse Invalide' and communications from members of the Boards of the other homes and institutions in Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam, Enschede, and Arnhem.