

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BOHEMIAN  
AND MORAVIAN JEWRY, 1918-1938

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*Prague*

The first Czechoslovak Republic was established on October 28, 1918, and was brought to an end as a result of the Munich Agreement on September 28, 1938. It was made up of several provinces of the pre-1918 Austro-Hungarian Empire, such as Bohemia, Moravia, and the Austrian section of Silesia which belonged to the Austrian part of the Habsburg monarchy till 1918, as well as Slovakia and Ruthenia which belonged to pre-1918 Hungary.

The history, administration, social structure and character of the Jewish population was not the same in the former Austrian provinces as in the Hungarian provinces. While Bohemian and Moravian Jewry were fairly assimilated, the communities in Slovakia and Ruthenia were Eastern European in character. Hence the development of Bohemian and Moravian Jewry is best studied separately from that of the former Hungarian provinces.

Of Czechoslovakia's total Jewish population in 1930, 67.05% lived in Slovakia and Ruthenia, 21.59% in Bohemia and 11.56% in Moravia.

Bohemia, with its area of 52,062 sq. km. and Moravia, with 26,808 sq. km., had hardly changed their frontiers for centuries. They scarcely changed their borders after 1918 either, excepting that part of pre-1918 Austrian Silesia was ceded to Poland, which involved a reduction in the Silesian area from 5,147 sq. km. to 4,421 sq. km., and a reduction in population from 775,995 inhabitants in 1913 to 672,268 inhabitants in 1921.

Under the Munich Agreement, Czechoslovakia was due to cede the border areas to Germany, with the 3,806,901 inhabitants they contained. Slovakia and Ruthenia were split off from Czechoslovakia on March 14, 1939. The following day, March 15, Nazi Germany occupied the rest of Czechoslovakia directly, establishing the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, which lasted until 1945.

After the 1945 liberation, Czechoslovakia was restored to its 1937 frontiers, save for Ruthenia which became a part of the Soviet Union. The total population of Bohemia and Moravia decreased due to the

expulsion of the German population after 1945, so that in 1961 Bohemia had 5,711,005 inhabitants and Moravia 3,557,087.

Bohemian and Moravian Jewries at first increased in size after the 1848 emancipation. In 1890 Bohemia had a peak Jewish population of 94,479; in 1900 Moravia had a peak Jewish population of 56,293 representing 1.62% and 1.82% of the total population, respectively. Up to the beginning of 1930, the number of Jews decreased. The first Czechoslovak census, in 1921, showed 79,777 Jews in Bohemia who were 1.19% of the total population, and 45,306 Jews in Moravia who constituted 1.43% of the total population. By 1930 their number had fallen to 76,301 in Bohemia (1.07% of the total) and 41,250 in Moravia (1.16% of the total).

From 1933 onwards, the number of Jews in Bohemia and Moravia went up gradually, probably as a result of the arrival of German Jewish immigrants, so that by 1938 Bohemia had 78,612 Jews and Moravia 42,899. But in 1946, after the Holocaust, Bohemia and Moravia together had 18,970 Jews, almost half of these being immigrants from Ruthenia and other Soviet territories who had not lived in Bohemia and Moravia before 1938. In 1948 the number of Jews was 19,123, and in 1958 there were some 3,000, although if we include Jews who did not identify themselves as such, the number would have been 10,000. In the whole of Czechoslovakia there were some 20,000 Jews in that same year, a figure which has since decreased.

During the inter-war period, all citizens could adhere to the ethnic nationality of their choice, and Jewish nationality was considered a statutory choice like others, a situation which did not obtain under the Austro-Hungarian Empire before, or in the post-1950 period subsequently.

The Czech Jews' choice of ethnic nationality indicated their degree of assimilation, culturally, to the Czech or German peoples. Bohemia was the area where the highest proportion of Jews—half in fact—considered themselves Czech by nationality. This proportion hardly changed after 1918. Before that year, most of the remaining half of Bohemian Jewry considered themselves German by nationality, but after 1918 many of them took advantage of the new possibilities under Czech law, and declared themselves Jewish by nationality (around 20% in 1930). In 1910, 13.9% of Moravian Jewry considered themselves Czech and 84.1% German. But in 1930 17.6% considered themselves Czech, 29.0% German and 51.6% Jewish.

These statistics on Jewish ethnic nationality show that Jewish accultura-

tion to the Czech people was much stronger in Bohemia than in Moravia, even before 1918. This trend of acculturation was fostered by the leadership of the Czech national movement towards the end of the 19th century, and by the Czech government later. The organizations of assimilated Jews also backed the Czech movement for national independence before and after 1918<sup>1</sup>. For these reasons, assimilated Czech Jews could in the main regard themselves as Czechs and not as Jews after 1918 as well.

The German minority, as it grew increasingly chauvinistic and anti-Semitic, gradually squeezed the Jews further and further out of its midst. Moreover, Jews whose culture was German and who lived in purely Czech areas, mainly in Moravia, were adversely affected by the nationalist struggles. During the Czechoslovak period some of them were regarded as representatives of the defunct Austro-Hungary, which made life still harder for them. Some Jews whose culture was German could not regard themselves nationally as either Germans or Czechs, so they chose Jewish nationality.

The professional and social structure of Bohemian and Moravian Jewry was much the same as that of German and Austrian Jewry<sup>2</sup>. The percentage of Jews in the economically active population<sup>3</sup> who engaged in business, finance and the free professions was one of the highest in Europe. Finance, business and communications (to take one Czechoslovak statistical category) accounted for 60.8% of the Jews of Bohemia, and 55.9% in Moravia in 1930. The free professions, the army and the public services accounted for 22.6% in Bohemia and 14.6% in Moravia. Crafts and industry accounted for 22.6% in Bohemia and 28.5% in Moravia, while agriculture accounted for a mere 1.8% in Bohemia and 1.0% in Moravia. The very same reasons as in other European countries explained why the professional structure of Bohemian and Moravian Jewry differed from that of the population at large.

In the main, Bohemian and Moravian Jewry belonged to the middle or upper classes. In 1921, 61.8% of Bohemian Jewry and 62.4% of Moravian Jewry were self-employed; 22.7% of Bohemian Jewry and

1. I. VYSKOCIL, 'Die tschechisch jüdische Bewegung'. In: *Judaica Bohemiae*. No. III. 1967, pp. 36-55.

2. S. KUZNETS, 'Economic structure and life of the Jews'. In: Finkelstein, L. (ed.) *The Jews — their history, culture and religion*. Vol. II., New York 1960, p. 1608.

3. In the official Czechoslovak statistics the economically active population included also students, pensioners, unemployed, etc. These groups have been excluded from our tables.

20.2% of Moravian Jewry were employees; only 15.4% of Bohemian Jewry and 17.3% of Moravian Jewry were workers. During the Czechoslovak era, the industrialization of the country brought about an increase of Jewish workers and a decrease in the number of Jewish self-employed.

Bohemian and Moravian Jewry's adherence to the middle and upper classes, with their high cultural standard and their social and intellectual aspirations, was also mirrored in the large number of Jewish students at high schools and universities, which greatly exceeded their comparative numerical proportion. The number of Jewish students at secondary schools remained constant after 1870, to fall very slightly during the Czechoslovak period. But their percentage at such schools decreased as more and more non-Jewish pupils attended, so that their proportion of 11.49% in 1891/92 in Bohemia fell to 4.57% in 1931/32, while in Moravia it fell from 16.59% to 5.00% over the same period.

The position was different at universities. The number of Jewish students at Bohemian and Moravian institutions of higher learning rose steadily before 1918, and very sharply after 1918. In 1925/26 there were 2,501 Jewish students in Bohemia (12.85% of the total), whereof 1,828 in Prague (15.37%), and 731 in Moravia (13.96%).

This statistical shift bespeaks the large number who before 1918 went to German and Austrian universities, but preferred to study in Czechoslovakia after 1918 because of the problems generated by the new political structure in Central Europe. The percentage of Jewish students at Bohemian and Moravian universities was almost the same as before 1918, because the number of non-Jewish students went up as well.

A statistical comparison of university students and secondary school students indicates that the post-1918 political structure had no effect on the number of Jews in secondary schools, because almost all of them studied in Bohemia and Moravia before 1918. A statistical comparison of the number of Jewish secondary school students and Jewish university students indicates that most of them did not give up studies when they finished secondary school, but preferred higher studies.

Czech Jewry had made considerable progress in its urbanization process, which was virtually completed in Bohemia, and was to be completed in Moravia, after 1918.

In Bohemia, before emancipation, most Jews lived in villages or country towns where they were a small fraction of the local population. In Prague, the capital of Bohemia, there was also a large Jewish community numbering some 10,000, which accounted for half of Bohemian Jewry down to the middle of the 18th century.

From the end of the 18th century, the number of Jews in the Czech capital steadily increased. In 1869, Prague's community accounted for only 14% of Bohemian Jewry. Because of the trend towards town-life in the second half of the 19th century, the percentage of Jews residing in Prague continued to rise, and in 1930 represented 46.4% of all Bohemian Jewry. Apart from the switch between the Czech countryside and the Prague community, the post-emancipation period after 1848 saw Bohemian Jewry concentrating in the other big towns which had been barred to them ever since the 16th century. The percentage of Jews living in towns which had more than 50,000 inhabitants rose from 26.2% in 1880 to 60.2% in 1930. The proportion of Jews living in medium-sized towns, of 5,000 to 50,000 population, scarcely changed between 1880 and 1930. But in localities with less than 5,000 inhabitants there was a strong outward movement, so that whereas in 1880 these had accounted for 50% of Bohemian Jewry, they accounted for only 16.6% in 1930.

Before emancipation, most Bohemian Jews lived in country areas where their neighbours were mainly Czech. Scattered as they were throughout the Czech countryside, the Jews often found it impossible to live a distinctive life of their own, and instead were compelled to live in close contact with the non-Jews. Thus, even before 1848, Bohemian Jewry had become assimilated to the Czechs, and the traditional Jewish customs had lost much of their force. In Prague, on the other hand, where the Jewish community was large and well-established, a distinctive Jewish life was possible. Later, an assimilatory trend developed towards the Germans.

In the period after emancipation, the Jews left the country areas to move to big towns with a Czech or German population, depending on the region where the town was situated. During the second half of the 19th century, part of Bohemian Jewry settled in towns where German influence predominated, so they assimilated generally to German culture; others settled in towns where Czech influence predominated, so they partially adopted Czech culture.

In Moravia, after 1848, most Jews lived in places with a population of between 2,000 and 10,000, where they formed a compact entity, and often represented a large proportion of the total population. Because of this specific situation, they could live apart from their non-Jewish Czech neighbours, maintain their traditional culture, and assimilate German language, although they lived mostly among the Czechs. In Moravia they did not have the same natural centre which Prague repre-

sented for Bohemia, because the Jews had been banished from all the big towns ever since the 15th century. It was only after emancipation that they established new communities in towns which had a strong German population element. In 1930, 50.1% of Moravian Jewry lived in towns with over 50,000 inhabitants, and only 19.3% in places with between 2,000 and 10,000.

The structural differences between Bohemian and Moravian Jewry, in relation to the size of the places they lived in, became of minimal significance during the Czechoslovak period.

The Jews who left the countryside did not only move to towns in Bohemia and Moravia, but to large centres in Austria, Germany and Hungary as well. This emigration, which mostly took place under the Empire, before 1918, was not inconsiderable and was not balanced by immigration or by substantial natural increase in the Jewish population. Records were not usually kept of migratory movements in the days of the Empire, and statistics about Vienna's Jewish community, for example, only give a general idea of such movements.

Jewish emigration from Bohemia and Moravia after 1918 fell off. This was because of the changes in the structure of Central Europe, the poor economic situation in Germany and Austria by comparison with that of Czechoslovakia, and the political situation from the 1930s onwards, which made emigration to neighbouring countries almost impossible. After 1918, most Czech Jewish emigrants headed for Western Europe or America.

Statistics in Czechoslovakia, like in Austro-Hungary, did not record the extent of the migrations. They only published the number of new Czechoslovak citizens, and of those who lost their Czechoslovak citizenship. These incomplete figures show that more Bohemian and Moravian Jews were assuming Czechoslovak citizenship than were losing it.

A comparison of statistics on the natural movements of the Jewish population with data on population size from the official census can give us some idea of the migration movements. In Bohemia for instance, between 1921 and 1930, the balance-sheet of natural movements of the Jewish population showed a decrease of 3,645, whereas a comparison between the censuses of 1921 and 1930 showed a decrease of only 3,476. If we allow also for conversions, the inference is that there probably prevailed a slightly positive migration balance among the Jews — a situation quite different from the previous Austrian period. (Exact figures for conversions were not published for Bohemia, but only for

Prague, where there were some 160 conversions from Judaism and only 50 conversions to Judaism each year.)

The migration balance in Moravia was different. Between 1921 and 1930, the balance of the natural movements showed a decrease of 1,408, whereas the Jewish population of Moravia fell by 4,056 between those same years. Even if we add the number of conversions as well, which cannot have been so high as in Bohemia, we must assume that the migration balance showed a deficit in Moravia.

The Jewish migration balance in Bohemia and Moravia, and the comparison between the numbers assuming Czechoslovak citizenship and those losing it, indicate a difference between the situation in the two provinces. This could stem from the differences in the ethnic association and the historic circumstances between Bohemian and Moravian Jewry.

We can follow the development of marriage statistics by comparing 1930 figures with those of 1910 — since the 1921 figures mirrored an atypical situation. The marriage rate, among Bohemian Jewry, was 7.85 in 1910, 10.51 in 1921, and 5.86 in 1930. In Moravia the comparative figures were 6.08 in 1910, 9.07 in 1921, and 6.15 in 1930.

The changes in the marriage rate among Bohemian and Moravian Jewry indicate that the Jewish population's age structure differed from that of the total population, because of the large number of aged persons and the mixed marriages and conversions, which were numerous. These characteristics, which certainly helped to bring the marriage rate down, were offset by the large number of divorces among the Jews which enabled them to re-wed, and thus increased the number of marriages.

Before 1895, mixed marriages were rare. Between 1895 and 1918 they increased slightly, though they never involved more than two per cent of Jewish grooms. By 1921, 9.4% of Jewish grooms, and 11.8% of Jewish brides, were marrying non-Jewish partners; in 1932, 31.1% of Jewish grooms and 28.1% of Jewish brides were marrying non-Jewish partners in Bohemia — the figures for Moravia being lower (see Table 5). The number of Jews actually marrying non-Jewish partners was higher, because many Jews changed their religion before marrying non-Jews.

Like mixed marriages, Jewish divorces in Bohemia and Moravia before 1910 were not very frequent, never exceeding more than five percent of the number of Jewish marriages. But during the Czechoslovak period, the divorce-to-marriage ratio was 30% in Bohemia and 20% in Moravia.

The large number of mixed marriages and divorces, mainly in Bohemia, indicates a rapid weakening of Jewish religious tradition, and a strong

Jewish assimilation. In Bohemia after 1897, and in Moravia after 1902, the Jewish birth rate fell steadily. After 1918 it fell even faster, in Bohemia from 12.9 to 7.4, during 1921–1930, and in Moravia from 13.4 to 7.8. Over the same period, 1921 to 1930, the fall in the birth rate for the total population was from 24.6 to 15.6 for Bohemia, and from 28.1 to 18.6 for Moravia.

The Jewish death rate in Bohemia and Moravia was lower than that of the total population in the 19th and the early part of the 20th century. In Bohemia, between the end of the 19th century and 1930, the Jewish death rate hardly changed, maintaining itself between 13.2 and 13.6. In Moravia, the Jewish death rate was on a similar level, ranging between 13.1 and 15.4, and it remained lower than that of the total population till about 1930.

The death rate for the total population, on the other hand, decreased steadily from the 19th century onwards, till it was lower than that of the Jewish population by the 1930s. This difference in the death rate trend between Jews and the total population was mainly due to the different age structure.

In Bohemia and Moravia, from the end of the 19th century, the balance of the natural movement of the Jewish population was less positive than that of the total population. During the Czechoslovak period, it even became negative. In Bohemia there was a decrease of 1.5 per thousand in 1921 and 8.0 in 1930; in Moravia there was a slight increase of 0.2 per thousand in 1921 and a decrease of 6.4 in 1930.

The negative balance of the natural population movement of the Jews in Bohemia and Moravia was also mirrored in their age structure. A comparison with the age structure of the total population showed the number of children under 14 to be less among the Jews — 13% — than among the non-Jews — 22.6% — in Bohemia in 1930. The same year in Moravia it was 14.2% among the Jews and 26.1% among the non-Jews.

The statistics show that the age group 14 to 49 years accounted for almost the same proportion of the Jewish as of the general population. But there were more Jews aged over 50 years, *proportionately*, than among the general population. The statistics showed 29.7% Jews aged 50 years and over against 21.0% of the general population in Bohemia in 1930, and 29.0% Jews against 19.6% of the general population in Moravia.

In 1947, after World War II, this disproportion increased still further. In Bohemia, a mere 6.5% of Jews were under 16 years, 84.6%

were aged between 17 and 56 years, and 8.9% were aged over 57. The comparative figures for Moravia were 6.2%, 77.9%, and 15.9%, respectively. The relatively large number of people aged between 17 and 56 years was due to the considerable immigration of Jews from Ruthenia and other Soviet territories.

The age structure was also mirrored in the composition of the Jewish households. In 1921, among the Bohemian and Moravian Jews, the number of households with one child or none was higher than among the population generally, whereas the number of households with three children and more was lower among the Jews. In 1930, in Bohemia, the average number of children in Jewish households was 1.2, compared with 2.6 among the general population; in Moravia it was 1.9 compared with 2.9 among the general population.

The development of Bohemian and Moravian Jewry during the years 1918 to 1938 can be compared to the situation in Germany and Austria over the same period, as a result of the same factors. On the other hand, various phenomena typical of Eastern European Jewry may be demonstrated in Moravia. The differences between Bohemian and Moravian Jewry are of two types:

1. Fairly large differences existed between them which expressed themselves in ethnic association, the immigration of Eastern European Jews, differences in historic development and, less markedly, in their migratory movements, the extent of conversions and the degree of religiosity.

2. Minor differences existed comparable to those among the general Bohemian and Moravian populations, which expressed themselves in age and household structure, in natural movement, and in professional and social structure. To some extent, presumably, these differences were due to the same causes as among the Bohemian and Moravian population generally.

A comparison of the two types of differences between Bohemian and Moravian Jewry could speculatively point to influence due either to the local conditions of the country or to the specific character of the Jewish population.

## TABLES

TABLE 1.

## NUMBER OF JEWS IN BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA

## A. 1890-1938

	Bohemia		Moravia	
	Number	Percent among general population	Number	Percent among general population
1890	94,479	1.62	55,367	1.99
1900	92,746	1.47	56,293	1.82
1910	85,826	1.27	54,600	1.58
1921	79,777	1.19	45,306	1.43
1930	76,301	1.07	41,250	1.16
1938	78,612		42,899	

B. Nazi occupation: *Protectorat Böhmen and Mähren* — Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. "Free" Jewish population, not counting the number of Jews in prison or at Terezín — Theresienstadt

	Jews by religion	Jews according to race laws
1939	103,960	118,310
1941	75,678	88,686
1943	3,565	8,695
1945	820	2,803

## C. After World War II

	Jews by religion		Jews according to race laws	
	Bohemia	Moravia	Bohemia	Moravia
1948	16,119	3,004	20,454	3,941
1958 (estimate)	Jews affiliated communally 3,000		All Jews (both provinces) 10,000	

TABLE 2.

ETHNIC ASSOCIATION OF JEWS IN BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA  
1910-1930

	Czech		German		Jewish		Other	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
A. Bohemia								
1910	43,181	50.3	40,647	47.4	—	—	1,998	2.3
1921	37,234	46.7	26,058	32.7	10,983	13.8	5,502	6.8
1930	35,418	46.6	23,660	31.0	15,463	20.5	1,526	1.9
B. Moravia								
1910	7,205	14.0	43,299	84.1	—	—	966	1.8
1921	6,087	15.7	13,623	35.0	18,955	48.7	223	0.5
1930	7,251	17.6	11,997	29.0	21,315	51.6	687	1.6

TABLE 3.

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE (a) JEWISH POPULATION, BY OCCUPATION  
AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

## A. Occupations of the Jews in Bohemia and Moravia, 1930

	Bohemia		Moravia	
	Number	%	Number	%
Agriculture and forestry	609	1.8	174	1.0
Industry and crafts	7,514	22.6	5,006	28.5
Business, finance, and communications	20,224	60.8	9,797	55.9
Public service, army, and free professions	4,929	14.8	2,557	14.6
Total	33,276	100.0	17,534	100.0

(a) See note 3 in the text.

## B. Occupations and occupational status of the Jews in Bohemia and Moravia, 1921 (Percent)

	Bohemia				Moravia			
	Total	Self-employed	Employed	Workers	Total	Self-employed	Employed	Workers
Agriculture and forestry	100.0	83.9	8.9	7.2	100.0	65.8	15.0	19.2
Industry and crafts	100.0	54.2	27.9	17.9	100.0	49.7	26.7	23.6
Business and finance	100.0	67.6	15.7	16.7	100.0	75.8	8.3	15.9
Transport and communications	100.0	27.3	57.6	15.0	100.0	53.7	53.7	17.0
Public service and free professions	100.0	46.1	48.7	6.2	100.0	37.1	54.9	8.0
Total	100.0	61.8	22.8	15.4	100.0	62.4	20.3	17.3

C. Occupations of the Jews in Bohemia and Moravia, 1947 (Percent)  
(The economically active Jewish population represented 44.8% of all Jews)

Workers (excl. agricultural)	35.3
Employees	29.1
Peasants	3.1
Agricultural workers	2.0
Industries and crafts	10.7
Administrators of confiscated German property	8.4
Free professions	9.2
Army	2.2
Total	100.0

TABLE 4.

## THE JEWISH POPULATION OF BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA, BY SIZE OF LOCALITY: (Percent) 1921, 1930

Number of inhabitants in locality	Bohemia		Moravia	
	1921	1930	1921	1930
Over 50,000	43.7	60.2	28.6	50.1
20,001-50,000	12.8	9.1	24.6	13.2
10,001-20,000	12.6	9.0	9.2	13.4
5,001-10,000	7.8	5.0	17.1	8.3
2,001-5,000	8.6	6.8	13.4	10.8
1,001-2,000	5.7	3.9	3.9	2.2
501-1,000	5.5	3.0	2.0	1.5
Under 500	3.3	3.0	1.2	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 5.

## MIXED MARRIAGES OF JEWS IN BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA

## A. Persons contracting mixed marriages per 100 Jewish grooms or brides 1921-1933

Year	Bohemia		Moravia	
	Grooms	Brides	Grooms	Brides
1921	9.4	11.8	12.2	10.5
1925	20.5	19.7	17.7	16.0
1926	22.4	20.3	15.0	15.0
1927	24.3	22.0	14.4	17.0
1928	26.1	19.4	14.2	16.2
1929	28.6	23.0	18.8	15.0
1930	30.8	24.0	19.4	14.2
1931	32.0	25.7	19.1	15.5
1932	31.3	28.1	21.6	17.8
1933	30.7	25.3	22.9	14.7

## B. Mixed marriages, according to the denomination of the non-Jewish partner 1925-1933

Denomination	1925/29	1930/33	1925/29	1930/35
Catholic	64.3	63.6	73.8	72.0
Other Christian	12.1	13.4	10.9	11.7
Not stated	23.6	23.0	15.3	16.3

## JAN HERMAN

TABLE 6.  
 FROM JUDAISM AND TO JUDAISM IN PRAGUE  
 1934-1938

	From Judaism					To Judaism				
	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
Absolute numbers	153	187	207	194	384	40	50	61	47	16
Denominations (percent)										
Catholic	12.4	15.5	12.1	13.4	18.0	17.5	20.0	31.1	25.5	25.0
Other Christian	6.5	9.6	7.7	8.8	18.5	17.5	18.0	16.4	23.4	—
Not stated	81.1	74.9	80.2	77.8	63.5	65.0	62.0	52.5	51.1	75.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 7.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN JEWISH HOUSEHOLDS IN BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA  
 1921

Children	Bohemia	Moravia
0	32.6	30.7
1	29.6	26.7
2	21.7	22.4
3	10.2	11.4
4	3.7	5.4
5	1.4	2.0
6 and over	0.8	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0

## BOHEMIAN AND MORAVIAN JEWRY

TABLE 8.  
 STRUCTURE OF THE JEWISH POPULATION IN BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA  
 AFTER THE HOLOCAUST  
 1946

Jews returned to Czechoslovakia from	Jews by religion		Jews according to race laws only		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Nazi prisons	284	1.5	140	2.8	424	1.8
Concentration camps	2,341	12.3	668	13.3	3,009	12.5
Terezin (Ghetto)	2,099	11.1	747	14.9	2,846	11.8
Terezin transport AE(a)	1,344	7.1	1,424	28.3	2,768	11.5
Ruthenia (USSR)	8,192	43.2	263	5.2	8,455	35.2
Army	1,906	10.1	101	2.0	2,007	8.4
Silesia	116	0.6	7	0.1	123	0.5
Abroad	878	4.6	118	2.3	996	4.2
Jews who remained in Bohemia-Moravia, neither imprisoned nor interned	1,500	7.9	1,449	28.8	2,949	12.3
Various	310	1.6	114	2.3	424	1.8
Total	18,970	100.0	5,031	100.0	24,001	100.0

(a) Transport AE included mainly Jews who had contracted mixed marriages.

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## JEWISH IDENTIFICATION AND JEWISH FERTILITY IN THE CHICAGO JEWISH COMMUNITY

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St. Louis, Missouri

### Previous Research

Among the major factors associated with variations in family size and child spacing in the United States are religion and religiosity. However, in previous large-scale studies such associations stemmed primarily from Catholic-non-Catholic differentials and, to a lesser extent, from the differences between fundamentalist and other Protestants. Within the Catholic community a strong and consistent association has been found between a greater degree of Catholic religiosity and bearing a large number of children with close child spacing.<sup>1</sup>

Whelpton, Campbell, and Patterson report no significant relation between frequency of church attendance and number of births yet expected for Protestants; nor do they find any relationship between the importance of religious activities in daily family life (either when the wife was a child or now) and birth expectations. Also, they found no relationship between recently increasing, constant, or decreasing interest in religion on the part of the wife and birth expectations.<sup>2</sup>

In *The Third Child*, Westoff, et al., do report a tendency for religiously active Protestants to report fewer pregnancies in the previous three years than religiously inactive Protestants. They also report slight negative correlations among Protestant wives on additional pregnancies during the previous three years and frequency of church attendance or

1. National surveys reporting these findings, and also with citations on local studies, can be found in:
  - a) Ronald Freedman, Pascal Whelpton and Arthur Campbell, *Family Planning, Sterility, and Population Growth*, New York: McGraw Hill, 1959, Chapter 4;
  - b) Charles Westoff, Robert Potter, Jr., Philip Sagi and Elliot Mishler, *Family Growth in Metropolitan America*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961, Chapters 11 and 12.
  - c) Charles Westoff, Robert Potter, Jr. and Philip Sagi, *The Third Child*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963, Chapter 8;
  - d) Pascal Whelpton, Arthur Campbell and John Patterson, *Fertility and Family Planning in the United States*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966, Chapter 3.
2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 82–90.