

## SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON HEREDITY, MEDICINE, AND EUGENICS IN BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA, 1900-1950\*

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*ABSTRACT* - The selected bibliography should provide some help in tracing the trends both in Mendelian approach in medicine and eugenics in Bohemia and Moravia from 1900 until 1950. It includes primarily studies and articles, contributions to compendia, synthetic monographs, but also some articles intended for general public. The selection of relevant authors was determined mainly by geographical considerations. The bibliography includes fifty-one authors of more or less three generations, starting with the first pioneers who wrote their key works in 1890-1920, and ending with those whose career started in the second half of 1920s.

In 1950s the genetic knowledge in medicine made an astonishing progress and medical genetics, in fact practical utilization of basic genetic research, became rapidly developing field. It achieved a recognized role as a core discipline that deals with human variability and human heredity as it relates to health and disease.<sup>1</sup> In 1953, based on previous demonstration by O. Avery, C. MacCleod and M. McCarty that deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) was the hereditary material, the now well-known double helical structure of DNA was presented by M. Wilkins, R. Franklin, J. Watson, and F. Crick. In 1956 J. H. Tjio and A. Levan in Sweden and C. E. Ford and J. L. Hamerton in Great Britain concretized 46 rather 48 chromosomes in man. In 1959 the chromosomal basis of the Down syndrome was demonstrated. In 1955 S. C. Reed presented the concept of the genetic counselling in the US.

In many countries this period marked a significant shift from older developments, when the genetic knowledge was an important element of preventive medicine, incorporated into national health care programs under the name of eugenics. This was rather significant development also in Bohemia and Moravia (Czechoslovakia).

Like elsewhere in contemporary Western and Central Europe, or the US, intellectuals and scientists in Bohemia and Moravia were 1900 onwards largely motivated by efforts to avoid the negative effects caused by a modern industrialised society. They attempted to create a 'healthier' society in the face of crisis of the individual and worsening of the general condition of the population. This was probably the most important shared concern which inspired the 'reform of life' (*Lebensreform*) movement in Central,

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predominantly German speaking Europe.<sup>2</sup> During this period, it was generally perceived that 'degeneration' could take two forms: mental and physical.

'Diagnoses' were proposed and specific 'symptoms' were then attached to them. That is also the reason why the professional physicians and public health administrators who were acquainted with modern explanations of hereditary phenomena were also mainly involved in eugenics. At first, familiarisation with eugenics usually took the form of deliberations and conceptual clarifications pertaining to theories of heredity. The exploration of heredity encompassed different types of methodological approaches as well as research strategies.<sup>3</sup> At least three scientific disciplines contributed to the systematic research of heredity in the Bohemian and Moravian context: cytology; plant breeding; and after 1900 also Mendelian genetics (or so called 'higher Mendelism'). The theory of heredity used by the older generation of physicians was in Bohemia based on older views and experiences rooted mainly in psychiatric practice.<sup>4</sup> 'Pathological heredity' was one of the issues seen as most pressing by physicians and others. For example in leading Viennese medical journals, the first mentioning of Mendelian principles (laws) happened not before 1905 and it took until the end of 1909 when they were appointed again by the otorhinolaryngologist Victor Hammerschlag (1870-1942) in his talk on 'Hereditary degenerative deaf-muteness and the laws of heredity (Mendelian law)' (Die hereditäre degenerative Taubstummheit und die Gesetze ihrer Vererbung (Mendel'sches Gesetz)).<sup>5</sup> Between 1900 and 1925, however, both Mendelian and Lamarckian concepts of heredity played a significant role in Bohemia and Moravia. Furthermore, the early acceptance of Mendelian principles of heredity was not an absolute prerequisite for those Czech scientists whose goal was the 'improvement' of human nature.

In the 1910s, Czech readers became familiar with English and American interpretations of eugenics based on Mendelian principles of heredity. In 1910, Artur Brožek (1882-1934), a botanist and later first Czechoslovak professor of genetics, began his experiments on plant hybridization.<sup>6</sup> After several years of experimentation, he published a comprehensive overview of American eugenic thinking entitled *Zušlechťení lidstva* (Refining Humanity).<sup>7</sup> English and American eugenics thus became an important source of inspiration for Bohemian eugenicists and proponents of hereditary approach in medicine. The first step towards a practical application of genetics in the name of eugenics ('pedigree genetics') in Bohemia before WWI took place on 12 June 1913, when a eugenic station (or 'central eugenic bureau') was established as part of a psychiatric asylum, the so-called *Ernestinum*, in Prague-Hradčany.<sup>8</sup> This was due to the initiative of four leading Czech eugenicists: Artur Brožek, Karel Herfort (1871-1940), a biologist and later physician, Jindřich Matiegka (1862-1941), the first Czech Professor of Physical Anthropology at the Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague, and František Čáda (1855-1918), Professor of Pedagogy at the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy at the same university. The station focused on compilation of detailed pedigrees and statistic processing of data based on the Family Record Questionnaires of individual patients.<sup>9</sup> Taking Mendelian rules of heredity as a starting point, they documented the incidence and inheritance of mental defects as well as disorders such as epilepsy, *dementia praecox*, and so on. Some of these authors published a special eugenic supplement, *Heredity and Eugenics* (Dědičnost a eugenika) to Haškovec's *Revue v neurologii, psychiatrii atd. (Review of Neurology and Psychiatry etc.)*, which remained the leading journal of Czech eugenics movement until 1924.

Scholars working within the Mendelian tradition now focused on pathological manifestations of heredity. While Ladislav Haškovec (1866-1944), psychiatrist and professor at the Faculty of Medicine of the Charles-Ferdinand University, was as an early eugenicist interested in mental diseases and their causes, Vladislav Růžička (1872-1934),

the other leading figure of the Czech eugenics movement, the first professor of General Biology and Haškovec's colleague at the faculty and also the first lecturer on heredity and medicine in the summer term 1913<sup>10</sup>, tackled pathological heredity at a more theoretical level.<sup>11</sup>

The Great War of 1914–18 fundamentally changed the priorities and activities of the Czech proponents of eugenics. The need to protect both the 'quality' and the 'quantity' of the Czech population – defined after 1918 in the hereditarian sense – was seen as more pressing than ever before. On 2 May 1915, the Czech Eugenics Society (*Česká eugenická společnost*; hereinafter ČES) was established in Prague under the auspices of the Czech Provincial Commission for Protection of Children (*Česká zemská komise pro ochranu dětí*) and the Protection of Youth (*Ochrana mládeže*). The main tasks and aims of the society included a specialised study of biology, the dissemination of knowledge about the physical and mental health in all classes of the population, a struggle against inherited disorders and infant mortality, support of care for new mothers and newborns, and last but not least, a fight against alcoholism and tuberculosis, as well as against venereal diseases.<sup>12</sup>

In 1917, the first (and last) Austrian Ministry for Public Health (*Ministerium für Volksgesundheit*) was established in Vienna under the direction of Jan Horbaczewski (1854–1942), Professor of Medical Chemistry in Prague. In the same year, Czech eugenicists devised a resolution, which was in fact one of the very first documented attempts of genetically based health care strategy in Central Europe, covering the issue of eugenics according to the principles adopted earlier by the ČES. Due to wartime circumstances the proposal remained dormant.<sup>13</sup> However, in the newly established Czechoslovakia many of these ideas and projects could become reality. Eugenics was presented both as a demand of everyday life and an important scientific strategy.<sup>14</sup> In early 1919 members of the ČES submitted a similar proposal to Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (1850–1937), the newly elected President of the Republic, and to the Czechoslovak government in Prague. This resolution called for the establishment of a national institute of eugenic research, the adoption of special registries of the health of the population, the foundation of central eugenic stations, the establishment of an institute to study the development of human psychology and of a museum of comparative genetics, improvements in the protection of infants, a reform of midwifery, a reorganization of the system of modern hygiene education with emphasis on sex education, support for public eugenic education by means of public discussions, theatre plays and films, with emphasis on the need to establish a Museum of Hygiene as the central point of all instruction, and finally, the introduction of obligation to present health certificates prior to marriage.<sup>15</sup> These requests then become the platform on which the Czech (Czechoslovak) eugenics focused in the 1920s and 1930s.

Despite the diversity of definitions, heredity/inheritance was seen as phenomena that should be not only systematically studied but also taken into account in various practical measures. In 1921, for example, he described, this importance as follows: "*The research on heredity is of enormous importance in all spheres of life, family, society, nation, and state. The research of heredity and the prophylaxy, both of the inherited and inborn disorders, concerns not only the physician, but also the educator, teacher, lawyer, sociologist, and politician, and is today of great importance also for lawmakers*".<sup>16</sup> As eugenics began to influence discussions about social policy, the focus was on the necessity of demographic reform (concerning changes in marital regulations and including even the question of eugenically motivated sterilization and abortion). The latter were seen as negative eugenic measures. Positive eugenic measures, on the other hand, were proposed in the area of family and childcare policy and in population planning.

Yet it was the 'national eugenics' that was to be applied to society by a new specialized institution, an Institute of National Eugenics. The work of this Institute was to be guided by principles formulated in 1917. After 1918, it was argued that it should consist of three specialised Departments and one Museum. In particular, the Institute was to include a Department for the Research of Genetics in Man, a Department for the Research of the Ecology of Human Ontogenesis, a Department of National Psychology, and a Museum of Comparative Genetics.<sup>17</sup> An ambitious research programme was outlined, which was to include biometry, hybridization, vital statistics, family pedigrees, etc., in order to study the hereditary and biological constitution of the Czechoslovak population. The intention was to prepare specialised genealogies, special health certificates, and to collect various additional information of statistical nature about the hereditary status of the population.

In 1923, the *Czechoslovak Institute of National Eugenics* (Československý ústav pro národní eugeniku) was finally established in Prague with the support and participation of both the Charles University in Prague and the Ministry of Public Health and Physical Education. Despite earlier proposals, the Institute of National Eugenics was neither large nor independent, functioning as an affiliated branch of Růžička's Institute of General Biology at the Faculty of Medicine in Prague.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, since 1920 some Czech eugenicists worked in the newly established Masaryk Academy of Labour (*Masarykova akademie práce*; hereinafter MAP), where they formed a Commission for Eugenics (*Eugenická komise*).<sup>19</sup> Although Czech (and Czechoslovak) eugenics was intended and developed as a 'national' programme, the eugenicists viewed themselves as contributors to a 'eugenic universalism', whereby an 'improvement of mankind' was possible only through an improvement of smaller, nationally organized entities.<sup>20</sup>

In addition to their contribution to the international eugenic network, Czech eugenicists also contributed to the development of scientific cooperation in genetic research. On the occasion of the centenary of the birth of Gregor J. Mendel (1822-1884), the ČSE arranged two separate meetings in Brno and Prague to mark the occasion. Many distinguished international and local participants and guests convened in the Augustinian Monastery in Brno and at the Charles University in Prague to celebrate the "*person and the spirit of the father of genetics*".<sup>21</sup> In fact this was the first occasion for the international genetics community to meet after WWI.

The steadily increasing influence of Mendelian genetics was quite clear during 1920s. In 1924, A. Brožek, who later became the first professor of genetics, was proposed for a six-month fellowship in the US. During this period, Brožek intended to study the "*methodology of genetics and eugenics*" with Thomas H. Morgan (1866-1945) at Columbia University in New York and eugenics with Charles B. Davenport (1866-1944), particularly the "*correlations between feeble-mindedness and other physical as well as psychological traits*", and "*correlations between different physical states, both normal and abnormal, which accompany and characterize families with one or more suicides*".<sup>22</sup>

In the same year, he also proposed the most ambitious project to be undertaken by the Czech eugenicists: the genetic screening (*vlohový soupis*) of population of Czechoslovakia, known as a Registry of Traits of the Czechoslovak Population. The screening was to be carried out under the auspices of the Eugenic Commission of the MAP.

The 1920s became also a period which witnessed the first original Czech written synthesis in the field of medical applications of genetical knowledge. In 1923 Růžička published the most important theoretical work on heredity, medicine, and eugenics, *The Biological Foundations of Eugenics* (Biologické základy eugeniky).<sup>23</sup> The book became a standard text for Czech eugenicists throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Růžička viewed the

mechanism of heredity as part of genetics conceived of as a science dealing not only with 'internal factors' transmitted by heredity, but also with 'external' factors such as social environment, education, and so on. Heredity was identified with the biochemical entity of life, grounded in the metabolic ability to regenerate a specific structure of a living substance. According to Růžička, the main aim of eugenics was to improve the 'social and biological fitness' of humankind and increase the sense of "responsibility towards the community and future generations".<sup>24</sup> Eugenics thus aimed at regulating factors which determined the health of a population and influence reproduction and the development of the embryo. Růžička emphasized that the principal demands of eugenics should be a harmonic development of all social and biological virtues. At that time, Růžička's list of hereditary disorders contained over 190 items.<sup>25</sup> The second comprehensive textbook which originated in the interwar period was *Heredity in Nature and Society (Dědičnost v přírodě a ve společnosti)* of Dr. Bohumil Sekla (1901–1987), at that time time assistant at the Institute of National Eugenics, executive head of the ČES, and after the WWII the leading figure of Czechoslovak medical genetics.<sup>26</sup>

The seizure of power by the Nazis in Germany in early 1933 accelerated the adoption of already previously existing eugenic/racial hygienic proposals. The turning point was, however, the adoption of the Law for the Prevention of Genetically Diseased Offspring (Gesetz zur Verhütung erbkranken Nachwuchses; hereinafter GzVeN) which, among other things, permitted the implementation of forced sterilisations and even abortions. In Czechoslovakia, much like in other Central European countries, the implementation of the GzVeN was mainly discussed by medical and legal experts, including eugenicists.<sup>27</sup> Just several months after the adoption of the GzVeN, views such as that "it would be (...) useful to pay these problems more attention," began to appear in the Czechoslovak medical press.<sup>28</sup>

One of the first authors to present general information on eugenic sterilisation measures at the 23<sup>rd</sup> meeting of the Association of Czech Physicians held on 11 December 1933 in Prague was B. Sekla.<sup>29</sup> In his view, the main problem and also the justification of adoption of sterilisation measures consisted in the joint influence of three interconnected factors: depopulation, differential fecundity (i.e., the difference in birth rates of various social groups), and the lack of impact of natural selection, or rather insufficient counter-selection.<sup>30</sup> From his perspective, as a geneticist, the desired outcome of eugenic measures was a 'preservation of gene hygiene' and their 'regulation in population', that is, a sort of state-guaranteed 'care' of the gene pool of the population.<sup>31</sup> As far as the GzVeN was concerned, Sekla praised mainly its 'perfect' formal (juristic) aspect and repeatedly expressed a conviction that one needs to strictly distinguish between eugenics and racial theories, which he unequivocally and repeatedly opposed.<sup>32</sup>

In the fall of the same year, on 24 October 1935, the issue of eugenic sterilisations was also analysed and debated at an extraordinary meeting of the Czechoslovak Society for Criminal Law (*Československá společnost pro právo trestní*) in Prague. Much like in Austria, for example, where to perform a sterilisation for other than therapeutic reasons was considered (according to the Austrian Penal Code from 1803 or 1852 respectively) an infliction of grievous bodily harm,<sup>33</sup> here too discussion focused on the legal aspects of sterilisations. In addition to leading Czechoslovak experts in criminal law, the session was also attended by J. Bělehrádek who represented the ČES.<sup>34</sup> Except for critical remarks on the subject of castrations, the meeting concluded generally in favour of adopting eugenic sterilisations in Czechoslovakia.<sup>35</sup>

The following year, 1936, brought not only further debates among experts<sup>36</sup> and reflections upon the situation in Germany,<sup>37</sup> but mainly a fundamental shift towards preparing a Czechoslovak law on sterilisation. On 5 May 1936, the ČES, presided by

Prof. Josef Drachovský (1876–1961), an economist and its long-term member, organised in Prague an extraordinary session devoted to this subject.<sup>38</sup> The session was preceded by a survey of opinion on this matter of various physicians, lawyers, and economists affiliated both at universities and various governmental positions.<sup>39</sup> It was concluded that in case of certain particular diagnoses, sterilisation would be ‘useful’ and its adoption ‘desirable’.<sup>40</sup> Subsequently, the experts unanimously recommended its legalisation, that is, the establishment of a special commission (within the ČES) of “*experts who would critically investigate the currently valid eugenic legislature in various countries and, taking into account our situation, prepare a proposal of a law that would be presented to the relevant ministries and political circles.*”<sup>41</sup> The three-member committee included two physicians/eugenicists, namely Dr. Vladimír Bergauer (1898–1942)<sup>42</sup> and B. Sekla, and one lawyer, Dr. Jarmila Veselá (1899–1972).

Based on surviving archival documents, it is not possible to fully reconstruct the progress of the law’s preparation and the relevant debates which took place in the remaining months of 1936 and in early 1937. Evidence suggests, however, that the basic principles and outlines of the law in question were spelled out, in the name of the ČES, in a ‘Memorandum on the Issue of Eugenic Sterilisation’ dated 5 March 1937.<sup>43</sup> It is interesting to note that the memorandum coincided with the publication of the second original Czech textbook of genetics and particularly medical genetics, Sekla’s book *Heredity in Nature and in Society*, in which the author repeated his support for the adoption of eugenic sterilisations in Czechoslovakia.<sup>44</sup>

The 1936–37 Memorandum represented the most detailed proposal for the implementation of eugenic sterilisation in Czechoslovakia.<sup>45</sup> Most likely and for reasons unknown, it has never been further elaborated to become an actual draft bill. Quite possibly, one should not underestimate the negative attitude of representatives from the Ministry of Public Health, who stated that an introduction of forced eugenic sterilisations “(...) *would constitute an interference in personal freedom, which is clearly granted by the Constitution of the Republic*”.<sup>46</sup> Even the 1938 publication of Veselá’s comprehensive work advocating eugenic sterilisations<sup>47</sup> did not change the fact that during the interwar period, eugenic sterilisation was neither legalised nor introduced in Czechoslovakia. On the contrary, the relevant authorities prepared new proposals aiming at legal protection of the feeble-minded.<sup>48</sup>

Parallel to the dispute on forced sterilisations in Germany the Czech eugenicists took also part in the criticism of Nazi racial theories and emergency of so-called racial eugenics from the very beginning. Already in the early 1920s, they strongly and repeatedly opposed German racial hygiene or, as they called it, ‘selective national eugenics’.<sup>49</sup> They viewed the German application of pure principles of selection as aristocratic and undemocratic. In their view, the ‘external conditions’ were of greater importance than the idea of a pure selection of the ‘carriers’ of hereditary factors. Another argument levelled against the German racial hygiene and/or hereditary biology was that it focused exclusively on selection – thus dealing with ‘complete racial traits’ and not the question of their origin – which was seen as a limited task.<sup>50</sup> In the 1930s was significant that it was conducted by professional scientists, included professionals of different fields of science (mostly biology, medicine etc.), interacted with each other, and were designed as an international response.

After 1933 many of the Czech eugenicists (J. Bělehrádek, V. Bergauer, B. Sekla) sharply objected to linking eugenic efforts and Nazi racial theories, pointing to the dangers of ‘racial eugenics’. They co-operated with a physician (radiologist), Dr. Ignaz Zollschan (1877–1948), who already before the WWI, together with other Jewish physicians, biologists and anthropologists, set out to establish a Jewish racial science.<sup>51</sup> During the

1930s, Zollschan understood the main core of the Nazi racism the so-called “Rassenlehre” in both scientific and ideological terms. Later he used also the denominations ‘racial ideology’ and/or ‘racial philosophy’.<sup>52</sup> He suggested from the very beginning was actually an interdisciplinary throughout-analysis (Querschnittanalyse) from the perspective of several scientific disciplines, especially anthropology, biology, psychology, prehistory, comparative linguistics, ethnology, history, and sociology. Such an analysis, he inferred, should answer the question whether or not “*racial philosophy is a scientifically relevant or just a blunder science.*”<sup>53</sup> He supported establishment of an international coalition of notable intellectuals and scientists opposed by scientific investigation to the destructive implications of Nazi racial concepts.

But it should also be noted that many geneticists, however, did not abandon the eugenic perspective as such. Consequently, they also did not reject the possibility of implementing biology for the purpose of social engineering, though as far as implementation of eugenic measures was concerned, they required further progress in the working methods of genetics in medicine. It needs to be emphasised, however, that unlike in Germany – where the debate was subjected to ‘Gleichschaltung’ – in Czechoslovakia, until 1938, a wide range of views was represented, including leftist ones. One could even claim that the most important representatives of Czech eugenics (Bělehrádek, Sekla, Meisner) belonged to markedly left-oriented intellectuals. Czech eugenicists (as well as anthropologists) already quite early actively opposed what Hermann J. Mueller (1890–1967) a few years later called “*the hopeless, perverse eugenics.*” This point of view was expressed just one year after the Nazi’s seizure of power in *Equality of European Races and the Means of Their Betterment* (Czech title here needed) (also published in German as *Die Gleichwertigkeit der europäischen Rassen und die Wege zu ihrer Vervollkommnung*), although the basic eugenic positions remained unchanged (Růžička). The volume appeared due to Zollschan’s initiative at Masaryk’s suggestion and under the auspices of the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts (Česká akademie věd a umění) in Prague. It was based on a session organised at the Academy on 2 March 1934. In the same year, special features by anthropologists dealing with description of the racial situation in Central Europe appeared in the official pro-governmental daily *Prager Presse*.<sup>54</sup> Also, Dr. Josef Meisner (1904–1978), at that time an assistant at the Czechoslovak Institute for National Eugenics, published another significant book, *Racism Is Threatening Culture (Rasismus hrozí kultuře)*.<sup>55</sup>

The last evidence of the mutual co-operation between the Czech eugenicists and Zollschan occurred in June 1938, with the establishment of the *Society for the Scientific Research of the Race Question* (Gesellschaft zur wissenschaftlichen Erforschung der Rassenfrage) in Prague under the leadership of the Czech-American anthropologist Aleš Hrdlička (1869–1943) and leading Czech biologists (e.g. botanist Bohumil Němec, J. Bělehrádek).

After the Munich Treaty and the German occupation of Bohemia and Moravia in March 1939 the general conditions changed dramatically and Czech eugenicists were confronted directly with the reality of the Nazi ‘racial state’ (Rassenstaat).<sup>56</sup> Especially during the initial period (1939–41), eugenic agenda pertaining to the Czech population remained under the competence of the authorities and institutions of the established Protectorate with a population of about 7,7 mil. inhabitants. New institutions, following the German model based on official Nazi doctrine of hereditary health care (Erbgesundheitspflege), were established and hereditary and racial hygiene became an official part of German medical science and education until May 1945.<sup>57</sup> It focused primarily on the German population of the Protectorate but gradually its institutions also

provided expert background to the local authorities of the Reich District of Sudetenland (Reichsgau Sudetenland; hereinafter Sudetenland) that is former Bohemian and Moravian border territories with a population of about 3,3 inhabitants.

After the closure of Czech universities on 17 November 1939, the former Institute for National Eugenics that was part of the university Institute of Biology of the Faculty of Medicine of the Charles University was de facto also forced to close. In the early 1940s, active efforts to influence the population policy in the Protectorate were closely linked with eugenics. To this effect, an independent Institute for National Biology and Eugenics (*Ústav pro národní biologii a eugeniku*) was established under the auspices of the Protectorate Ministry of Social and Health Administration. It was headed by Dr. Jaroslav Stuchlík (1890-1967), a psychiatrist, former student of Eugen Bleuler (1857-1939), and a Social Democrat. This institute managed to bring together the Czech eugenicists of the middle generation (such as V. Bergauer, J. Bělehrádek, and B. Sekla), who lost their jobs due to the closure of the Czech universities in November 1939. Little documentation pertaining to its activity survives but one can infer that these focused on health and social care as well as on experimental research, especially in connection with psychiatry and pathopsychology. The Institute, however, did not survive long and its activities ended most probably at the latest in spring 1942. Its closure was undoubtedly linked to the participation of all three abovementioned experts in anti-Nazi resistance - V. Bergauer, for example, was executed together with his wife in the Mauthausen camp in October 1942.<sup>58</sup>

Until the end of the war, genetical issues in medicine in the Protectorate endured mainly in the form of lectures, publications, and popularisation activities within a number of officially allowed associations. An example of this activity is, e.g., Sekla's 1940 booklet *Růst národa* (Growth of a Nation)<sup>59</sup>, which repeated older claims from 1930s about the importance of quantitative and qualitative population policy, or the collectively authored *Šťastné dítě* (Happy Child) from 1942, which attempts to bring together eugenic argumentation including the need of genetical based counselling and the Czech humanistic tradition (inspired for example by John Amos Comenius).<sup>60</sup> Within this context, Czech eugenics was in fact re-assuming older, nationally defensive positions known already from the late Habsburg era of 1910s. Scholarly debates pertaining particularly to medical aspects of genetics took place mainly within the officially permitted Czech Society for Biotypology (*Česká společnost biotypologická*) represented by Bohumil Krajník (1895-1966), which started as a Czechoslovak-French project in the second half of the 1930s.<sup>61</sup>

The first time after the end of WW2 and re-establishment of Czechoslovakia eugenics still remained the relevant issue.<sup>62</sup> Granted the first full professorship solely to genetics (B. Sekla), the leading position was taken by the Faculty of Medicine of the Charles University in Prague. In his letter to Guido Pontecorvo (1907-1999) on the current situation in Czechoslovakia, Sekla stated: "*We are organising with great help of Professor Bělehrádek an Institute of Population Research at the Medical Faculty, where a Genetical Department is proposed.*"<sup>63</sup> In 1947 Sekla also shifted from eugenics to medical genetics, which term he used for the first time.<sup>64</sup> This happened, however, shortly before the Communist coup d'état in February 1948 and officialy forced rise of Lysenkoism in Czechoslovakia.

## SOURCES

The selected bibliography offered below should provide some help in tracing the above described trends from 1900 until 1950. It includes the works of scholars engaged in application of mainly Mendelian oriented research of heredity within medicine and



eugenics. These works can be seen as a contribution of scientists working in Bohemia and Moravia (later Czechoslovakia) during the foundational period of a new scientific field of genetics who had a close in the first half of the twentieth century. It includes primarily studies and articles, contributions to compendia, synthetic monographs, but also some articles intended for general public. Our selection of relevant authors was determined both by geographical considerations, that is, we focused on scholars born or being active in Bohemia and Moravia. In some cases, we also included authors who were prominent representatives of Austrian genetics but had a close link to developments in Bohemia or Moravia. The bibliography includes authors of more or less three generations, starting with the first pioneers who wrote their key works in 1890–1920, and ending with those whose career started in the second half of 1920s.

This framework helps close a gap which still persists not only in bibliographical supplements to the history of biology (or genetics)<sup>65</sup> but also in the narrower field of Mendelian studies, especially in medicine. In an easily navigable form, it also improves the accessibility of less known works written and published exclusively in the Czech language. When some of them have also been already reprinted, it is mentioned in a special note.

The bibliography is based on a wealth of source material, both primary (archival) and secondary (published). The archival material contains personal collections of select authors or documents related to their scientific work.<sup>66</sup> Published materials include both contemporary bibliographic overviews or memoirs,<sup>67</sup> and information gained by research of bibliographic columns of select contemporary scientific journals.<sup>68</sup> Bibliographic summaries published either at the occasion of some round anniversary or in memoriam, represent another category of sources.<sup>69</sup> Of importance were also various published biographical handbooks and overviews dealing with particular scientific institutions such as universities<sup>70</sup> or academies<sup>71</sup>. We have also decided to use information from two comprehensive memorial volumes dedicated to Gregor Johann Mendel.<sup>72</sup>

Where the work in question has been translated, it is clearly indicated at the entry. Same holds for existing summaries of articles in foreign languages. If the work was reprinted, even as part of a series, this is also noted.

The bibliography presented below contains no contemporary reviews of works listed therein, and no reviews by authors here listed that pertain to the work of other authors. It also does not contain the works of German authors who published on racial and hereditary hygiene during the German occupation of Bohemia and Moravia in 1939–45.

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- 13 *Memorandum České eugenické společnosti o základních potřebách eugeniky c. k. ministru veřejného zdravotnictví dr. Janu Horbaczewskému [A Memorandum of the Czech Eugenic Society on the Basic Needs of Eugenics to Dr. Jan Horbaczewski, Royal and Imperial Minister of Public Healthcare]*. *Revue* 14(11-12), p. 434-437, 1917.
- 14 KRÍŽENECKÝ, J. *Organisace vědy - Česká eugenika [Organisation of Science - Czech Eugenics]*. *Nové Atheneum* 1, p. 209-212, 1919; KRÍŽENECKÝ, J. *Cile a program snah eugenických [The Aims and the Programme of Eugenic Efforts]*. *Osvětová škola sokolských žup pražských* 1(2), p. 3-28, 1919.
- 15 *Zpráva o činnosti české eugenické společnosti za rok 1918 [Report on the Activity of the Czech Eugenic Society for 1918]*. *Revue* 14(1-2), p. 143, 1919; see also RŮŽIČKA, V. *Ústav pro národní eugeniku [Institute of National Eugenics]*. *Národ* 3, 2, p. 17-18, 1919.
- 16 HAŠKOVEC, L. *Opening Speech of the Chairman*. In: RŮŽIČKA, V. (ed.) *Memorial-Volume in Honor of the 100th Birthday of J. G. Mendel*. Prague: F. Borový, 1925, p. 2.
- 17 RŮŽIČKA, V., *Biologické základy*, pp. 737-739.
- 18 *Statutes of the Czechoslovak Eugenic Society in Prague, 1922*. *Pražské policejní ředitelství - spolkový katastr (Prague Police Headquarters - registry of associations)*, IX/287-357, *Archiv hlavního města Prahy (Archives of the Capital City Prague; hereinafter AMP)*. See also CUŘÍNOVÁ, L. *Ústav pro národní eugeniku [Institute for National Eugenics]*. In: JANKO, J., TEŠÍNSKÁ, E. (eds) *Technokracie v českých zemích (1900-1950) [Technocracy in the Czech Lands (1900-1950)] (= Studia historiae academia scientiarum Bohemicae, Vol. 3)*. Praha, A AV ČR, 1999, p. 151-157.
- 19 RŮŽIČKA, V. *Proč potřebuje a žádá česká eugenika samostatné zastoupení v Masarykově akademii práce? [Why Does the Czech Eugenics Need and Demand Independent Representation in the Masaryk Academy of Labour?]* *Národ* 3(19), p. 319-320, 1919.

- 20 Handwritten 'Remarks on Eugenics' (1916), Archiv Akademie věd (Archives of the Academy of Sciences, hereinafter A AV) Praha, Čada František, box 17/no. 155. See also RŮŽIČKA, V. (1923), p. 599.
- 21 Haškovec (1925), p. 1.
- 22 A letter from Rose to Morgan, April 30, 1924. Rockefeller Archive Centre (hereinafter RAC) New York, International Education Board (hereinafter IEB); 9I-3 B46#665 (Artur Brožek). See also a letter from Rose to Davenport, May 7, 1924, RAC New York, IEB - 9I-3 B46#665 (Artur Brožek).
- 23 It was divided into three sections: 'On Genetics in General', 'Questions of Genetics in Man', and finally, 'Social Genetics and National Eugenics'.
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- 25 RŮŽIČKA, V. (1923), p. 387-391.
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- 27 HERFORT, K. Sterilisce dědičně zatížených a nenapravitelných opilců [Sterilisation of Persons with Hereditary Defects and Incurable Alcoholics]. Úchylná mládež 9(1, 2, 3), p. 102, 1933.
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- 30 Ibid. and SEKLA, B. Eugenicke sterilisační zákony [Eugenic Sterilisation Laws]. Praktický lékař 14(2), p. 48, 1934.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 47.
- 32 *Ibid.*
- 33 SPRING, C. Zwischen Krieg und Euthanasie. Zwangssterilisationen in Wien 1940-1945. Wien-Köln-Weimar, Böhlau, 2009, p. 52.
- 34 VESELÁ, J. Sterilisce. Problém populační, sociální a kriminální politiky [Sterilisation. An Issue of Population, Social, and Criminal Policy]. Praha, L. Mazáč, 1938, p. 124.
- 35 *Ibid.*
- 36 Členská přednášková schůze župy čs. lékařů v Ostravě (Sekla B., Může sterilisce regulovati moderní populační vývoj? [Presentation Meeting of the Regional Chapter of Czechoslovak Physicians in Ostrava - SEKLA B., Can Sterilisation Regulate Modern Population Trends?]. Praktický lékař 15(6), p. 142, 1936 and cf. VESELÁ, (1938), p. 124, 126. See also SEKLA, B. Ubývání duševního nadání v populaci následkem moderního populačního vývoje [Decrease in Mental Abilities in the Population Due to Modern Population Trends]. Sborník MAP 10(55), p. 1-24, 1936.
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- 38 See SEKLA, B. Diskuse o eugenické sterilisaci' [Discussions on Eugenic Sterilisation]. Národní osvobození, May 10, 1936.
- 39 VESELÁ (1938), p. 124-125.
- 40 SEKLA, B. (1936).
- 41 *Ibid.* See also HELLMER, H. V. Eugenics in Other Lands. A Survey of Recent Developments. Journal of Heredity 28(8), p. 274, 1937.
- 42 See ŠIMŮNEK, M. V. Vladimír Bergauer and Czech Eugenics. In: SVOBODNÝ, P., ČERNÝ, K. (eds), *Historia, Medicina, Cultura. Sborník k dějinám medicíny* [Historia, medicina, cultura. Special Volume on the History of Medicine]. Praha, Karolinum, 2006, p. 205-243.
- 43 Memorandum on the Issue of Eugenic Sterilisation, March 5, 1937, A AV Praha, MAP/58, Reference No. Pres 5, 433, II7a.



- 44 SEKLA, B. (1937), p. 295–309.
- 45 It was foreseen that proposals for sterilisation would be submitted by either the affected persons themselves or by their legal guardians, but also by the relevant “(...) *official institutions which come in contact with persons of that kind*”, that is, nursing, social, and healthcare institutes, and so on. The execution of a sterilisation procedure was supposed to be conditional upon the consent of the person in question or his or her legal guardian, or rather upon the medical, genetic/eugenic, and official analysis of the case in question, which would be reviewed by a special committee. The proposal thus did not recommend forced sterilisations. The memorandum identified a total of four diagnostic groups which, if the recommended measures were adopted, would be affected by eugenic sterilisation. According to the original proposal, the relevant diagnoses included: hereditary feeble-mindedness, severe hereditary nervous and mental diseases, severe hereditary sensory deficiencies, some other severe hereditary physical defects. The establishment of several committees was proposed, which would be centralised and attached to the health departments of the provincial authorities. The decision of these committees could be appealed, whereby the final authority would rest with the Ministry of Public Health in Prague.
- On the basis of earlier discussions, the memorandum spoke of the genetic determination of certain medical diagnoses where the “collective interest in the quality of future generations” combined with qualitative considerations pertaining to ‘differential fertility’. Eugenic sterilisation was seen as the ‘most effective means’ to achieve this goal. Sterilisation was thus viewed as ‘the only safe barrier to further procreation’ since other ways of controlling fertility, were not seen as irreparable. Vasoligation and vasectomy (in men) and salpingectomy (in women) were recommended as the surgical procedures by which infertility would be achieved; sterilisation by X-rays was found unsuitable.
- 46 Document ‘German Law on the Prevention of Hereditarily Diseased Offspring – information for Mr. Minister’, prepared by Dr. Žofka, August 1936, Národní archiv (National Archives; hereinafter NA) Praha, MVZd, box 482.
- 47 Contemporary reviews of Veselá’s work varied widely.
- 48 See NEČAS, J. Úkoly péče o slabomyslné [The Tasks of Care for the Feeble-minded], *Úchylná mládež* 13(9–10), p. 229–230, 1937 and *ibid.* ŠONKA, J. Zákonná ochrana slabomyslných [Legal Protection of the Feeble-minded], p. 230–237. See also criticism of sterilisation expressed in ŠONKA, J. Dědičné choroby a sterilisace [Hereditary Diseases and Sterilisation], *Úchylná mládež* 14(3–4), p. 101–105, 1938.
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- 50 *Ibid.*, p. 673 and RŮŽIČKA, V. K biologické definici pojmu národa a ‘národní eugeniky’ [On the Biological Definition of Nation and ‘National Eugenics’], *Revue* 15(1–2–3), p. 32–35, 1919.
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- 52 ZOLLSCHAN, I. Was gebietet die Stunde. Karlsbad, 1933, p. 6, 11, 17.
- 53 ZOLLSCHAN, I. Wissenschaft zur Rassenfrage. Prager Presse, January 27, 1935.
- 54 It was organized by anthropologists, professors of the Charles University in Prague Lubor Niederle (1865–1944) and J. Matiegka.
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- 57 ŠIMŮNEK, M. V. Ein neues Fach. Die Erb- und Rassenhygiene an der Medizinischen Fakultät der Deutschen Karls-Universität Prag 1939–1945. In: KOSTLÁN, A. (ed.) *Wissenschaft in den böhmischen Ländern 1939–1945* (= *Práce z dějin vědy*, Vol. 9). Praha, KLP, 2004, p. 178–190; ŠIMŮNEK, M. V. Ein österreichischer rassenhygieniker zwischen Wien, München und Prag: Karl Thums (1904–1976). In: BAADER, G. et al. (eds), *Eugenik in Österreich. Biopolitische Strukturen von 1900 bis 1945*. Wien, Czernin Verlag, 2007, p. 393–419.
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- 61 See ŠIMŮNEK, M. V. “Biotypologie”. Der tschechische Beitrag zur Konstitutionswissenschaft der 30er und 40er Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts. In: PREUB, D., HOBFELD, U., BREIDBACH, O. (eds), *Anthropologie nach Haeckel* (= *Wissenschaftskultur um 1900*, Vol. 3). Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006, p. 195–220.
- 62 HRUBÝ, K. Eugenika. Člověk v zrcadle dědičnosti [Eugenics. Man in the Mirror of Heredity]. Praha, J. Vilímeš, 1948.
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- <sup>64</sup> SEKLA, B. Genetika v medicíně [Genetics in medicine]. Skalpel 1, p. 10, 1947.
- <sup>65</sup> As far as general bibliographies of genetics are concerned, see e.g. BÄUMER, A. Bibliography of the History of Biology, Frankfurt–Berlin–Bern etc., P. Lang, 1997, p. 100–105. Cf. also FRÜH, D. Der Einfluß der Mendelgenetik auf die Humangenetik in Deutschland zwischen 1900 und 1914 im Spiegel ausgewählter populärwissenschaftlicher Zeitschriften [The Influence of Mendel's Genetics in Germany in 1900–14 in the Mirror of Some Popular Scientific Journals], Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, 1997; The Mendel Web Bibliography run by R. Blumberg at <<http://www.mendelweb.org/MWbib.html>>. From local special bibliographies especially the series of Bibliographia medica Čechoslovaca for the years 1945–50 were used.
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- <sup>66</sup> Such personal collections are located primarily at the Národní archiv [National archives] Prague, collection Ministerstvo školství a národní osvěty [Ministry of Education etc., hereinafter MŠK]: this holds especially for E. Babák, A. Brožek, J. Kříženecký, J. Matiegka, A. Mrázek, B. Němec, V. Růžička, and J. Stuchlík. Parallel to these are the collections of the Archiv Univerzity Karlovy [Archives of the Charles University] in Prague, Archiv Masarykovy univerzity [Archives of the Masaryk University] in Brno, and Archiv Kanceláře prezidenta republiky [Archives of the Presidential Office] in Prague. Personal collections are also kept by the Universitätsarchiv [University Archive] of Halle-Wittenberge (A. v. Tschermak-Seysenegg), Archiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften [Archives of the Austrian Academy of Sciences] in Vienna (E. v. Tschermak-Seysenegg), Archiv Akademie věd [Archives of the Academy of Sciences] in Prague (A. v. Tschermak-Seysenegg), Archiv Genetického oddělení Moravského zemského muzea [Archives of the Department of Genetics of the Moravian Museum] in Brno (V. Růžička, J. Kříženecký, B. Sekla, H. Iltis, F. Schindler), and Archiv Mendelovy zemědělské a lesnické university [Archives of Mendel's University of Agriculture and Forestry] in Brno (J. Kříženecký).
- <sup>67</sup> E.g. HYKES, O. Literární činnost profesora E. Babáka [Literary Activities of Professor E. Babák]. Biologické listy 9(5), p. 307–315, 1923; BERGAUER, V., KRÍŽENECKÝ, J. (eds), Zákonitosti života. Sborník věnovaný k šedesátým narozeninám univ. Prof. Dr. Vladislava Růžičky [Patterns of Life. Memorial Volume in Honour of the 60<sup>th</sup> Birthday of Prof. Dr. Vladislav Růžička]. Praha: Aventinum, 1930, p. 19–28; ZEMAN, J. (ed) Soubor prací univ. prof. MUDr. Karla Herforta [Collection of Writings of Prof. Dr. Karel Herfort]. Praha, Spolek pro péči o slabomyslné, 1932; MALÝ, J. Jindřich Matiegka. Praha, ČAVU, 1949, p. 22–39; OREL, V. POŠADKOVÁ, A. List of Scientific Papers by Professor Jaroslav Kříženecký, DrSc. Časopis moravského muzea Brno, res. nat.,

p. 307–334, 1964. See also SEKLA, B. Profesor Ladislav Haškovec a československá eugenika [Ladislav Haškovec and Czechoslovak Eugenics]. *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – medica* 12(8), p. 561–566, 1966. The published papers of K. Herfort are included in a collection edited by Jan Zeman, *Soubor prací univerzitého profesora MUDr. Karla Herforta* [Collection of Works by University Professor Dr. Karel Herfort] (= Knihovna úchylné mládeže, Vol. 7). Praha: Spolek pro péči o slabomyslné v RČS, 1932.

<sup>68</sup> We have used the special supplement of the journal *Revue v neuropsychopathologii* etc. called *Heredity and Eugenics* (Dědičnost a eugenika) issued with the volume 11(5–6), 1914.

Following journals were excerpted: *Verhandlungen des Naturforschenden Vereines Brünn* (1900–30), *Lotos* (1900–30), *Časopis lékařů českých* (1900–30), *Živa* (1900–14), *Prager medizinische Wochenschrift* (1900–18), *Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschaftsbiologie* (1904–30), *Zeitschrift für induktive Abstammungs- und Vererbungslehre* (1904–30), *Revue v neuropsychopathologii* etc. (1904–26), *Medizinische Klinik* (1904–30), *Příroda* (1907–30), *Biologické listy* (1911–30), *Tierärztliches Archiv* (1921–25), *Verhandlungen des Vereines deutscher Ärzte in Prag* (1920–30); *Věda přírodní* (1921–30), *Anthropologie* (1922–30), *Resumptio genetica* (1924–31), and *Biologia Generalis* (1925–31).

<sup>69</sup> For example NĚMEC, B. *Artur Brožek*. Praha, ČAVU, 1935.

<sup>70</sup> LOMMATZSCH, H. Die Personalbiographien der Professoren und Dozenten der Anatomie, Histologie und Pathologie, Pharmakologie und Physiologie an der Medizinischen Fakultät der deutschen Karls-Ferdinands-Universität in Prag [Personal Biographies of Professors and Associate Professors of Anatomy, Histology, Pathology, Pharmacology, and Physiology of the Medical Faculty of the German Karl-Ferdinand University in Prague]. Erlangen-Nürnberg (med. diss.), 1968; MAAB, K. Die Personalbibliographien der Professoren und Dozenten der Anatomie, Histologie und Physiologie an der medizinischen Fakultät der Deutschen Karl-Ferdinands-Universität in Prag im ungefähren Zeitraum von 1900–1945 [The Personal Biographies of Professors and Associate Professors of the German Karl-Ferdinand University in Prague in the Period of 1900–1945]. Erlangen (med. diss.), 1971; HLAVÁČKOVÁ, L. (ed.) Biografický slovník pražské lékařské fakulty 1348–1939, díl I [Biographical Dictionary of the Prague Faculty of Medicine, 1348–1939; Vol. I]. Praha, Karolinum, 1988 and Vol. II 1993; HLAVÁČKOVÁ, L. SVOBODNÝ, P. Biographisches Lexikon der deutschen medizinischen Fakultät in Prag 1883–1945 [A Biographical Lexicon of the German Faculty of Medicine in Prague, 1883–1945]. Praha, Karolinum, 1998.

<sup>71</sup> Publikace České akademie vydané v letech 1891–1903 [Publications of the Czech Academy Printed in 1891–1903], Praha: ČAVU, 1904.

<sup>72</sup> *Studia Mendeliana. Ad centesimum diem natalem Gregorii Mendelii a grata patria celebrandum*. Brünn–Leipzig, 1923; RŮŽIČKA, V. (ed.) Memorial-Volume in Honor of the 100<sup>th</sup> Birthday of J. G. Mendel (= Eugenická knihovna, Vol. 3), Praha: F. Borový, 1925.