

body, the International Federation for Theatre Research. Each society, and the federation, produces its own quarterly journals. Six American universities that I know of publish journals on specialist aspects of theatre history. All these, of course, provide a vast body of interesting and valuable information on theatre history all over the world. A man doing research in England or America—or anywhere else, for that matter—on the kind of stage performances given in London in the 1830's is astonished and delighted to find that much the same programmes were being given at this period in history not only in England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, America, and even India, but also in far away Australia. Even the design of Sydney's Theatre Royal tickets was much the same as those in use in the overseas theatres of the time—a direct carryover of a style established in England in the late eighteenth century.

In conclusion, ladies and gentlemen, I should like to say: Never accept a judgment on our history or on our forbears unless you are certain the one who makes that judgment has established his claims. In the case of Barnett Levey's Theatre Royal, if ever you hear anybody say, in effect: 'Nobody will deny that the first permanent Australian theatre was of little importance,' be like the famous German playwright, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing in a somewhat similar circumstance, and say: 'I am that nobody! I deny it absolutely!' Thank you.

AUSTRALIAN JEWRY IN 1966

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My earlier analysis, "The Demography of Australian Jewry",¹ based upon the 1961 Census, concluded with the observation that

... Jewish life in Australia has reached a peak. However, below the surface of the vitality of the committed and involved, the alluring pressures of the free society are causing a steady drift of the uninterested, if not disaffected, away from Jewish communal life. . . .

In the years ahead, numbers, emotional motivation, and intensity of involvement are likely to decline as second and third generation attitudes replace those of the colesly-knit communities deriving their current vitality largely from the impetus of first generation immigrants . . .

The 1966 Commonwealth Census has now offered a welcome opportunity to test these conclusions against the

changes and trends disclosed by the previous quinquennial census. As a result, a series of observations emerges clearly enough to enable us to conclude that:

1. the spectacular growth of Australian Jewry since the Second World War has slowed down and been almost arrested;
2. the birth rate of Australian Jewry is declining and is insufficient to maintain present numbers;
3. Australian Jewry, which I described in my earlier article as a predominantly first-generation immigrant community, is losing its immigrant character and, following the pattern of American Jewry,² is rapidly changing into one in which the native-born generation will outnumber its immigrant forbears; and
4. though detailed statistics of the religions of marriage partners are not yet accessible, an analysis of such particulars as are available points to a marked increase in the number of Jews who chose their spouses outside the Jewish community.

These conclusions will undoubtedly be disturbing to those who saw in the great progress made by Australian Jewry during the past two decades the emergence of a new and vital force in Jewish life. This paper is designed to examine in detail the evidence upon which my assessment is based.

The total number of persons declaring their adherence to the Hebrew religion in the 1966 census was 63,271 (59,329 in 1961)—an increase of 6.65 per cent. for the five-year period. This compares with an increase of 51 per cent. in the seven-year period 1947-54 and 18.4 per cent. between 1954 and 1961. However, during the five years under review (1961-66), 3,778 Jews are known to have migrated to Australia. (The nature of records kept in this regard is such that the true number of Jewish immigrants can be assumed to have been greater: the Australian Government does not classify immigrants according to religion; and the figure of 3,778 does not include the Jewish immigrants who came to Australia at their own expense and did not contact a Jewish welfare society for information or assistance). As a result, one is led to the inevitable conclusion that the natural growth (surplus of births over deaths and defections) of Australian Jewry is minimal and that the 1971 census may reveal a decline in the overall number of Jews in Australia.

Table 1 pinpoints the changes recorded in the various States and indicates that, for the first time since 1933, the growth in Victoria, home of the largest number of Jews in Australia, has been proportionately the smallest in all States. Even if the figures were adjusted to allow for the fact that disclosure of religion in the census is voluntary, this conclusion would not materially be affected since the rate of "no reply" has varied only slightly between the various States (from 9 per cent in New South Wales to 10.8 per cent. in Western Australia). Such tests as have been made (for instance, *Sociological Study of the Jewish Community of Melbourne*, 1967)³ have shown that the Jewish rate of non-disclosure follows closely that of the general population. We can therefore arrive at an adjusted Jewish population figure for the whole of Australia in 1966 of 69,481 (as against the 1961 adjusted total of 65,985).

The increase in the number of Jews in Tasmania is worth noting. Although the overall numbers of Jews in Tasmania is small, and Tasmanian Jewry has been regarded as a "dying" community, this accession of mainly Australian-born Jews (142 in 1966 as against 61 in 1961) appears to have been due to an internal migration from other States of some younger families with children.

An examination of the age distribution of Australian Jewry (Tables 2 and 3) shows that the major growth has not taken place in the age group 0-5 where it would indicate the natural growth factor, but rather in the middle age groups as well as in the age groups 10-19, indicating the continuing influx of migrants with children as the main source of strength. The age groups 55 years and over disclose the expected losses through death. Of overriding importance, however, is the fact that the number of children in the 0-4 age group is significantly smaller in 1966 than it was in 1961 (3,990 in 1961; 3,435 in 1966; a drop of almost 15 per cent.). In 1966 the Jewish fertility ratio (children aged 0-4 as a percentage of females aged 15-44) in Australia dropped to 22.7 (general population 48.3), a rate somewhat half-way between those recorded in 1933 (23.3) and 1921 (35), and significantly lower than that of 1954 (39.4) or 1961 (35.3). The larger number of 15-19-year-olds may hold some promise of increased fecundity in the near future, but the sharp drop in the number of younger children indicates that, even should this materialize, it will be only a very temporary respite from the general low birth-rates.

Finally, the lower birth-rate and possibly also the longer expectation of life are reflected in the fact that 33.6 per cent. of the community is aged 50 and over, compared with 22.6 per cent. of the Australian nation as a whole; while 30.1 per cent. of the Jewish community is under 20 years of age compared with 38.5 per cent. of the Australian general population.

An overall analysis of net changes in the Jewish population by country of birth between 1961 and 1966 shows (see Table 4) that there has been a marked increase in the number of Australian-born persons (2,925). In contrast to the earlier post-war pattern, the United Kingdom is now emerging as the major country from which immigrants join the Australian Jewish community (net increase 561), while Asia (primarily Israel) follows with a net increase of 341.

The 1966 Census has also revealed that, with the exception of Victoria, all the States of the Commonwealth now have a majority of Jews born in Australia and the United Kingdom. Even in Victoria, the Australian-born component has risen from 37.5 per cent. in 1961 to 40.3 per cent. in 1966, while the percentage of those born in the United Kingdom has not diminished: 6.8 in 1961 and 6.9 in 1966.

Table 4 also shows that although there has been an increase in the total number of Jews born in continental Europe, the percentage of that component in the total Jewish population has in fact decreased from 44.4 in 1961 to 41.2 in 1966. (Some States show a net loss in the number of Jews born in continental Europe: Western Australia, Tasmania, the Northern Territory, and Victoria in particular where the loss amounted to 488. Other States record increases: New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, and the Australian Capital Territory).

To sum up. The spectacular post-war growth of the Australian Jewish community has clearly been arrested and, failing further immigration, the future of the community rests precariously upon the generation of young people currently aged 10-20. Only if this relatively small group (5,811 males and 5,483 females) marry Jewish partners will Australian Jewry have a prospect of surviving in some strength. However, assimilatory trends and disaffections from the community of many young people point to only a proportion of them remaining within Jewish society. The pattern of intermarriage previously noted⁴ will probably continue to aggravate the imbalance of the sexes, thus causing us to conclude that, unless a

remarkable consolidation and revival of Jewish identification and loyalties occur in the next few years, Australian Jewry will have passed the peak attained during the past two decades.

NOTES

- 1 W. M. Lippman, *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, Dec., 1966, pp. 213-39.
- 2 Jacob Marcus, "Background for the History of American Jewry", in Oscar I. Janowsky, ed., *The American Jew*, Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1964, and Community Survey Reports: San Francisco, 1959; Providence, R.I., 1964; Rochester, N.Y., 1961; Greater Washington D.C., 1957; and Los Angeles, 1968.
- 3 Unpublished manuscripts by R. Taft and Walter M. Lippmann. The Jewish Social Service Council of Victoria sponsored this study, which was directed by the authors in 1966-67.
- 4 Lippmann, op. cit.

TABLE 1: *Jewish population of Australia*

	1966			1961			General Population Growth 1961-66	1966 Proportion of Population
	Male	Female	Total	Total	Number	Percentage		
Victoria	15,456	15,602	31,058	29,932	1,126	3.6	9.88	0.96
N.S.W.	12,627	13,286	25,913	24,026	1,887	7.8	8.09	0.61
Western Australia	1,510	1,486	2,996	2,782	214	7.7	13.43	0.36
South Australia	622	627	1,249	985	264	26.0	12.52	0.11
Queensland	839	790	1,629	1,334	295	22.1	9.54	0.10
A.C.T.	118	85	203	111	92	82.9	63.21	0.21
Tasmania	119	88	207	136	71	34.3	6.02	0.06
N. Territory	10	6	16	23	—7	dec.		0.05
Australia	31,301	31,970	63,271	59,329	3,942	6.65	9.92	0.55

Australian Jewry in 1966

TABLE 2. *Numbers of Persons who stated "Hebrew" in answer to the religious question by age* (grouped ages): Australia—Census, 30 June, 1966*

	<i>Age last birthday (years)</i>																	90 Total and all ages	
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80-84	85-89	over
Males	1,765	2,168	2,689	3,122	1,976	1,268	1,308	1,628	2,373	2,484	2,756	2,810	1,931	1,328	846	508	235	86	20
Females	1,670	2,172	2,510	2,973	1,885	1,395	1,349	1,964	2,844	2,538	2,640	2,263	1,810	1,571	1,031	723	440	151	41
Persons	3,435	4,340	5,199	6,095	3,861	2,663	2,657	3,592	5,217	5,022	5,396	5,073	3,741	2,899	1,877	1,231	675	237	61

* Recorded ages adjusted by the distribution of ages "not stated".

TABLE 3.
Variation in age distribution of Australian Jewry

	<i>1961 figures projected by 5 years</i>	<i>Actual 1966</i>	<i>Variation + or —</i>
0-4		3,435	— 555
5-9	3,990	4,340	+ 50
10-14	4,758	5,199	+ 441
15-19	5,699	6,095	+ 396
20-24	3,832	3,861	+ 29
25-29	2,510	2,663	+ 153
30-35	2,504	2,657	+ 153
35-39	3,381	3,592	+ 111
40-44	4,854	5,217	+ 363
45-49	4,780	5,022	+ 242
50-54	5,232	5,396	+ 164
55-59	5,126	5,073	— 53
60-64	3,882	3,741	— 141
65-69	3,220	2,899	— 321
70 and over	5,561	4,101	—1,460

TABLE 4.
Origin of Australian Jewry

	<i>1966 Number Percentage</i>		<i>1961 Number Percentage</i>	
Australasia	26,133	41.3	23,208	39.1
United Kingdom	5,754	9.1	5,193	8.8
Western and Central Europe ¹	12,247	19.4	11,588	19.5
Southern Europe ²	194	0.3	167	0.3
Eastern Europe ³	13,533	21.4	12,712	21.4
Other Europe	93	0.1	1,908	3.2
Total Europe	26,067	41.2	26,375	44.4
Israel	1,787	2.8		
Other Asian	1,517	2.4		
Total Asian	3,304	5.2	2,963	5.0
Africa	1,555	2.5	1,273	2.2
America	437	0.7	302	0.5
Unspecified	21		15	
Total	63,271	100.0	59,329	100.0

1 Western and Central Europe includes : Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland.

2 Southern Europe includes : Greece, Italy, Malta, Portugal, Spain.

3 Eastern Europe includes : Bulgaria, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia.