

AUSTRALIAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY JOURNAL



VOL XVI 2003



PART 4

AUSTRALIAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY JOURNAL

The Australian Jewish Historical Society was founded in Sydney in August 1938. The Victorian Branch of the Society was founded in October 1949. A Branch also exists in Canberra and Western Australia has its own Jewish Historical Society.

The Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal has been published since 1939. From 1988 the production of the Journal has been shared by New South Wales (June edition) and Victoria (November edition).

The Journal is edited and published by an Editorial Committee whose members are:

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A complete list of the Society's office-bearers is printed on the back cover.

The Editors welcome suggestions for articles and manuscripts dealing with any aspect of the history of the Jewish people in Australia. The Journal is national in coverage and deals with the whole sweep of Australian Jewish history from 1788 to the contemporary period.

Material submitted for consideration for publication in the Journal should be presented on a 3.5 inch Macintosh or DOS computer diskette. The data format preferred is Microsoft Word or Microsoft's generic intermediate data format, Rich Text Format (RTF). If you can only supply data as 'text only/ASCII' you must note which platform the data was prepared on (Macintosh/DOS/Windows). The disk should be sent with a double-spaced printout or typescript, and may be accompanied by illustrations. References should be in the form of endnotes rather than footnotes. Please submit a 100 word abstract with your article. No payment can be offered for any contribution. No handwritten submissions will be accepted.

For the NSW edition, communication should be sent to The Editor, Dr S.D. Rutland, or Mrs Helen Bersten, Honorary Archivist, AJHS, Mandelbaum House, 385 Abercrombie Street, Darlingtown, NSW 2008, Australia, from whom information about membership of the Society and its other activities and resources may also be obtained.

For the Victorian edition, communications should be sent either to the Editor, Dr Howard Freeman, or to the Honorary Secretary, Mr Ronald Aarons, PO Box 608, Carnegie 3163, from whom information about membership of the Society and its other activities and resources may also be obtained.

Front cover: B'nai B'rith Inaugural Dinner, 1944

ISSN 0819-0615

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Opinions expressed are those of the authors, and do not reflect the official position of the Society.

EDITORIAL

This 2003 edition of the *AJHS Journal* is the fourth and last part of Volume 16. The diversity of the papers reflects the maturity of Australian Jewry and its historians and it again gives me great pleasure to offer you this interesting selection of readings.

The first article by Russell Stern is a substantial study of Australian Jews and the Boer War, a previously unresearched subject. Russell Stern has undertaken substantial primary research in order to create this detailed picture of Jews and the Boer War, including the mixed reactions to the war. Reading the antisemitic accusations, blaming the Jews in general and Jewish financiers in particular for the outbreak of the war, and indicating that Jews would enjoy the profits of the war, I could not help but be struck with parallels with present tensions. Jews were again accused as being the root cause of both the attack on the twin towers in New York and the recent American invasion of Iraq with the 'coalition of the willing'. Similar prejudices which manifested themselves at the time of the Boer War, have re-emerged today, particularly in relation to Jewish world conspiracy theories. In this situation, Russell Stern's discussion of key newspaper articles and the accusations made against Jews in the period from 1899 to 1902 is very enlightening.

A continuing issue in Australian Jewish history is that of Jewish identification with issues of integration and assimilation. Morris Forbes has written a thought-provoking article in relation to these issues. In a wide-ranging discussion, drawing on recent scholarship, he has analysed the careers of many leading Australian Jews in relation to their Jewish identification and involvement. There is no doubt that his thorough research and personal perceptions will provide readers with much food for thought.

I have included two stories, each with a personal element, in relation to Jewish immigration during what I have called the 'watershed period' of Australian Jewish history, before and after World War II. Ruth Wirth had provided an interesting social study of the factors which led to the formation of B'nai B'rith in Sydney during the war

years. She has produced her study based on both archival research and oral history. She has interviewed some of the children of formative figures in the early history of B'nai B'rith and has been able to create a clear picture of the factors which led to its formation. One of these men was Ernst Goldschmidt, Ruth Wirth's grandfather.

High Rassaby's personal account of his migration to Australia from India helps to shed light of the government's policy of discrimination against Jewish migrants wishing to leave India. Both myself and Dr Rodney Gouttman have published articles about this story of prejudice and discrimination as revealed from government documents in the Australian Archives in Canberra. However, a personal account from someone who, himself, knows those who experienced problems helps to add colour to this archival story which has been published.

This year, I have included a number of articles about educational and rabbinical leadership which show a diversity of backgrounds from England and Palestine and the fact that Australian Jewry has been fortunate to have some great leaders. Three different personalities are explored in the *Journal* by different authors. Morris Ochert outlines the life of Max Lebanon, a Hebrew teacher both in Sydney and Brisbane. Nate Zusman discusses the contribution of Rabbi David Isaac Freedman of Perth who should not be confused with Rabbi Dr Harry Freedman of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation and later the Central Synagogue, Sydney. Freedman was a great scholar whose contribution has not been sufficiently acknowledged. Between these three figures, we cover all the main Australian Jewish communities, outside of Adelaide.

Three of our book reviews deal with personal stories: the Holocaust memoir by Gary Fabian, the incredible story of Mara Mustafine's family and Paulette Goldberg, a child survivor. These valuable stories add to an understanding of our history, as do the institutional histories reviewed.

Once again, I would like to thank wholeheartedly my *Journal* sub-committee without whose assistance this issue could not have been produced. As in past years Judy Shapira has done the sub-editing and I wish to acknowledge her eagle eye for spotting the gremlins that seem to appear. As always, I would also like to thank Helen Bersten for all her invaluable assistance both in the sub-editing and in supplying information and photos from our archives. I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Sydney committee and the wonderful team of volunteers. I acknowledge the financial assistance we receive from the Jewish Communal Appeal (JCA) which enables the Australian Jewish Historical Society in Sydney to function effectively.

Suzanne D. Rutland

THE ANGLO-BOER WAR 1899–1902: AN AUSTRALIAN JEWISH PERSPECTIVE

Russell Stern

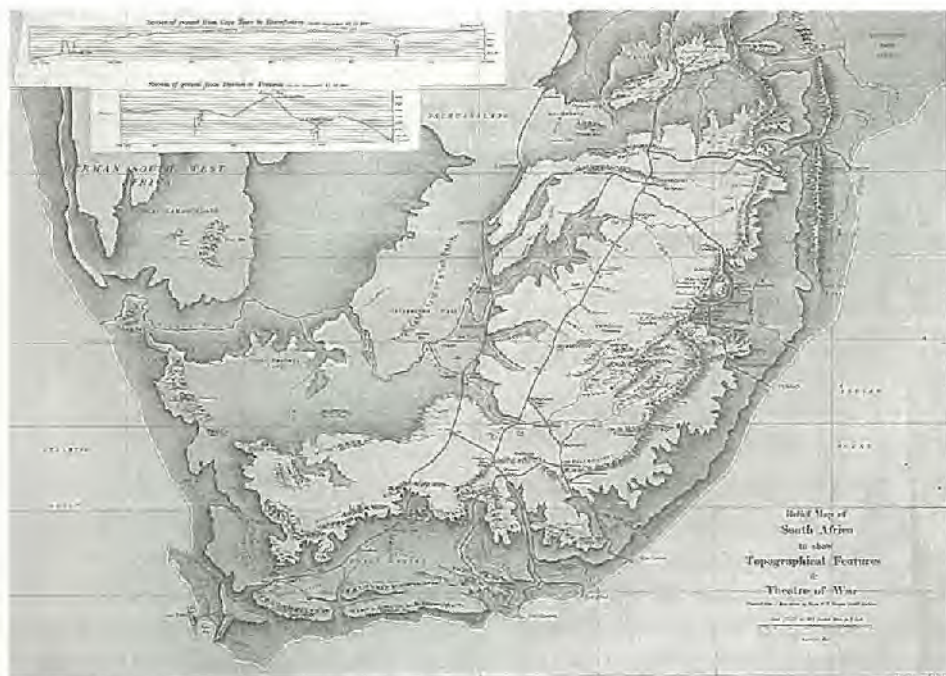
INTRODUCTION

AUSTRALIA'S BOER WAR: *the war in South Africa, 1899–1902* is the title of the 'official' history of Australia's participation in the Boer War of 1899–1902, written by Craig Wilcox and published in December 2002.¹ Included in the index there is the heading 'Jews', the reader being directed to pages 13, 180 and 277.² There is a sub-heading 'antipathy towards' and here the reader is referred to pages 19³, 21⁴, 22⁵, 264⁶, 323⁷, 324⁸ and 357⁹. Then, there is a further sub-heading, 'war blamed on', and here the reader is referred to pages 187, 324 and 325.¹⁰ This article will investigate the attitude of Australian Jewry to the Boer War, their participation and reactions to it.

Craig Wilcox makes specific reference to the Jewish background of Walter 'Karri' Davies in his discussion of Davies' role in the war. Davies is included in the specific listing of Australians in South Africa in the book. Samuel Harris also is cited in this listing, but there is no mention of his Jewishness. Rose Shappere is mentioned in the section of the book dealing with nursing. The fact that she was Jewish is not mentioned. There was no need for it to be, as her religious affiliation was not her motivation for volunteering to join the Australian contingent. The fact that Australian Jews participated in the war in South Africa does not merit any detailed examination in the context of Craig Wilcox's story of Australian involvement in the Boer War. Religious ideology for volunteering was not his concern. However, within the context of Australian Jewish history, it is of interest to analyse Jewish issues relating to the Boer War.

A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE WAR

The Boers had established two rural republics in central southern Africa, north of the British Cape Colony and west of the British Natal.



Topographical map of Southern Africa

Britain asserted the right to dictate the foreign policies of the Orange Free State, in the south, and the South African Republic (Transvaal) in the north. British settlers had been entering the republics. In 1886 gold was found on the Witwatersrand. There was a flood of immigrants to the burgeoning city of Johannesburg. At least a thousand came from Australia, one being 'Karri' Davies. The Transvaal government refused to give these *uitlanders*¹¹ civic rights, at least not until they became Transvaal citizens. Transvaal law forbade Jews and Catholics from participating in public life. At the end of 1895 Leander Starr Jameson attempted to invade the Transvaal with the support of Cecil Rhodes. An Australian Corps had been organised in Johannesburg to maintain order in the city, if Jameson was successful. The Jameson raid, however, was a fiasco and in the upshot, the Reform leaders in Johannesburg were arrested, tried and jailed, one being 'Karri' Davies.

In 1899 General Sir Redvers Buller organised an expeditionary force for use if war occurred involving the British Empire. The British High Commissioner in the Cape sought to push the Transvaal government into making concessions to the *uitlanders*. Paul Kruger had agreed to give them the vote after seven years' residence. There was an increase in the number of British soldiers in

Natal and Cape Colony, leading to tension with the Transvaal government, which demanded that the number be reduced.

Their patience exhausted, and their ultimatum ignored, Boer commandos advanced into Natal and Cape Colony on 11 October 1899. Their advance in northern Natal swept the British forces, notwithstanding the sturdiness of the Imperial Light Horse,¹² before it, leaving Ladysmith under siege. In the west the Boers surrounded Mafeking and to the south, Kimberley, and by late November it seemed as if they might prevail. With the arrival of Buller's force, the British tried to turn the Boer tide. Then in the week of 11 to 15 December 1899 the British were defeated at Colenso, Stormberg and Magersfontein. The week was given the name *Black Week*. As a result of Buller's failures, London sent Lord Roberts to assume overall command, with General Kitchener to assist him.

In the meantime Australian and other colonial contingents had been arriving in South Africa. These came to include contingents of *Bushmen* who, it was thought, could equal the Boer horsemen. By February 1900 Roberts was ready, and the tide was turned, Kimberley being relieved on 15 February. His army rolled on into the Orange Free State, its capital Bloemfontein being occupied on 13 March 1900. Johannesburg, the principal city of Transvaal surrendered on 30 May 1900, and by 6 June 1900 Pretoria, the capital of the SAR was under British control.

In Natal, Buller was now moving, having put the horror of Spion Kop behind, relieving Ladysmith on 28 February 1900 and then slowly moving forward pushing the Boers back from Natal into Transvaal. One of the irregular units which participated was the South African Light Horse, of which Samuel Himmelhoch was a member. His letters home appeared in Sydney and Lismore newspapers.

Through July and into August the Boer government was pushed north and east, until it went into neighbouring Portuguese East Africa. However, Boer commandos had remained in the rear, the nature of the terrain assisting guerilla warfare. Raids were made into Cape Colony and the British lines of supply. Following the retirement of Lord Roberts, General Kitchener assumed command. He decided that the only way to defeat the Boer would be by depriving him of the succour to be found in Boer homesteads where his womenfolk stayed. Concentration camps for Boer women and the elderly were established, while sweeps were made for the remaining commandos. Kitchener's tactics achieved success, and the Boer leaders such as Paul Botha and Jan Smuts decided that they could not win the war, but that they might win the peace. On 31 May 1902 a peace treaty was signed at Vereeniging.

1. AUSTRALIA AND AUSTRALIAN JEWRY IN 1899

In 1899 'Australia' was a geographical concept¹³, and was on the verge of becoming a political concept. The colonies that comprised the islands of Australia and Tasmania had voted to federate into an Australian Commonwealth and this was to take effect on 1 January 1901. When the threat of war arose in Southern Africa between the Boer Republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State on the one hand and the British Empire, represented in Africa by the colonies of Cape Colony and Natal to the South and East and Bechuanaland and the British South Africa Company's Rhodesia to the west and north on the other hand, the Australian colonies were still separately represented. Each of the colonies, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania, made its own decision on the troops to be sent to assist the 'Mother Country' in her hour of need.

One of the reasons why Australians and New Zealanders were so interested in the stirring political events that were occurring in Southern Africa was that with the development of the gold producing Witwatersrand, many Australians had flocked there. There was a sizable population of ex-Australians who were affected by the struggle for political rights amongst the immigrant dwellers of Johannesburg. Their plight became magnified in the view of their brothers and sisters in Australia. It was not just something happening in a far off country in which fellow Australians were not involved.

At the time the population of Australia was 3.5 million¹⁴, divided as follows:

<i>Colony</i>	<i>Population</i>
New South Wales	1,355,355
Victoria	1,201,070
Queensland	498,129
South Australia	358,346
Western Australia	184,124
Tasmania	172,900

In arriving at these figures the aboriginal population of the country was not included. At the time they were not counted as Australians. In contrast, the first Jews arrived in Australia at the same time as the European occupation began in 1788 and Jews were always included in the census.

2. THE WIDE SPREAD OF AUSTRALIAN JEWS IN 1899

During the 1800s Jews arrived in Australia from Great Britain, Germany, Austro-Hungary and Russia. Others reached here by way of

the United States, many brought to the eastern colonies by the gold rushes of the 1850s, and to Western Australia by that of the 1890s. During the depression of the 1890s Jews from Victoria were attracted to the gold rush towns of Western Australia and also to South Africa.

By the end of the nineteenth century, organised congregations existed in Sydney and in many towns in rural New South Wales (some such as at Forbes in 1862, for a brief period only during the flowering of the town as a by-product of a gold rush), Hobart and Launceston in Tasmania, Melbourne and Ballarat, Bendigo and Geelong in Victoria, Brisbane in Queensland, Adelaide in South Australia and Perth, Fremantle and Kalgoorlie in Western Australia. Jews could be found throughout the country; they owned and managed country properties, they were stockmen, and they worked the land.¹⁵ They were also shopkeepers and merchants, hoteliers and innkeepers and some were professionals such as engineers, veterinary surgeons and doctors. From the late 1800s extending to the period prior to World War 1, wherever one went in rural and regional Australia, it was more than likely that there would be a Jewish family in the neighbourhood, and if there was not a family, there would at least be a Jewish born male. In New South Wales, for example, young men who were Jewish and who volunteered for service in South Africa came from Bombala in the south-east, Narrabri in the north-west, and Lismore on the North Coast as well as towns and properties throughout the rest of the colony.

Many who had been Jewish did not maintain their affiliation with Judaism. Intermarriage was common. Others adopted the religion of the dominant population, usually some form of Protestantism rather than the Catholicism of those who derived from Ireland. That did not mean that the settler forsook the memory of his/her former Jewishness. In some cases he, as it was usually a he, would speak proudly of his Jewish heritage if the occasion arose,¹⁶ but others of Jewish ancestry did try to suppress the fact of their heritage.

In 1901 the Jewish population of Australia was 15,239¹⁷ comprised of:

<i>State</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Males</i>
New South Wales	6,447	3,450
Victoria	5,907	3,051
Queensland	733	416
South Australia	786	406
Western Australia	1,259	755
Tasmania	107	59

Based on the census figures quoted above, these indicate that there was one Jew for every 230 persons in Australia, not that much

different from the present day's one in 200 based on census acknowledgment of Jewishness.

3. WHY VOLUNTEER?

In this article I do not include as an inducement to volunteer, either in an official Australian contingent, or in an irregular unit in South Africa the inducement of payment, though the prospect of receiving five shillings a day for a private for up to a year was a powerful motivation.

Unfortunately, there is very little to be found on the subject of why volunteer so far as Australian Jews are concerned, with perhaps the exception of John Jacob Davis of South Australia and Leopold Woolf Cohen of Sydney, and therefore, one has to rely on what has been published relating to Australians in general.

In the case of John Jacob Davis, the newspapers of the day tell us that he had been one of the South Australians who had been sent on the *HMS Protector*, the South Australian gunboat, to China in July 1900 to assist in the campaign against the Boxers. The *Protector* returned to Adelaide in January 1901. Davis had not had enough of war. The *Protector* had not been involved in any fighting. Accordingly, when a new contingent, the Fifth, was raised in South Australia for service in South Africa, Davis made sure his name was



John Jacob Davis



Gunner L. W. COHEN.
Honourable Artillery Company.

Leopold Woolf Cohen

on the list of enrolees, and in due course he went to South Africa. There he tasted combat, and was wounded as *The Jewish Herald* noted in their August 1901 issue.

Leo Cohen was the second son of George Judah Cohen¹⁸, the leader of Sydney Jewry and President of the Great Synagogue. Leo was in England in furtherance of a merchant banking career. His colleagues joined the City Imperial Volunteers formed under the sponsorship of the Lord Mayor of London, and so did he.

The white citizens of the Australasian Colonies, at least those who were not part of the Irish Catholic community, were proud of their British connection. They had an affection for England and had rejoiced in 1897 on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria. They were British as well as being Australians.

4. THE JEWISH PRESS AND THE PULPIT

One good reason for young Jews volunteering can be found in the outpourings of support that came from the pulpit and in the Jewish newspapers of the day. While the sermon may have been heard only by those present in synagogue that day, probably only a small proportion of Australian Jewry, most sermons were published in the Jewish press of the day, the weekly *Hebrew Standard*¹⁹ in Sydney and the fortnightly *Jewish Herald*²⁰ in Melbourne, and those papers had a wide circulation throughout Australia. Moreover, a number of significant sermons appeared in the general press, and so had a wide circulation. Australian Jews were proud to be British, and as much as their fellow citizens, publicly expressed their Britishness.

Reading the Jewish press of the day, it seems that Australia's Jewish ministry expressed unqualified support for Great Britain and the war undertaken by the British Empire.

The most outspoken supporter of the Empire was Rev. David Isaac Freedman of Perth.²¹ On Saturday 29 October 1899, his sermon was based on Psalm 55 'His mouth was as smooth as butter, but his heart was war. His words were softer than oil, yet they were drawn swords'. He characterised the Boers as Machiavellian, and suggested that they concealed a heart whose desire was war, while their mouths talked of peace. He criticised the lack of openness in dealings between nations, arguing that in private life juggling with words was at least reprehended, in public life it was applauded and called diplomacy. To be a great practitioner of diplomacy gained the practitioner high honours. Freedman stressed:

As for them, they must now view the struggle between Britain and the Boers with a mingled feeling of sadness and deep inter-

est — sadness in that the differences between the two countries should be decided by such cruel and horrible methods; deep interest, not only as British subjects, but also as Jews, in that the object and principle of the struggle so deeply affected them all, especially those who knew their own past history. On the part of England, to whose Queen they were so proud to owe allegiance, it was a struggle for a principle for which the Jewish race had for twenty centuries been contending, the principle of human rights, of equal civic and political privileges. ... 'One law there shall be for you and the stranger that dwelleth with you'. When therefore they saw a country, especially their own mother country, Britain, contending in order to implant this principle on a jealous nation, where she had a treaty right to do so, they could truthfully say that, though the method of contention might have been less severe, the object was a just, a righteous and a laudable one. That country, where as in the Transvaal, in a scheme of proposed concession of rights, it was proposed that even if the so-called Outlanders were granted a conditional franchise, yet the Polish and Russian Jews should be excluded, that country has still to be taught an elementary lesson of civilisation, a lesson of Divine right.²²

This sermon was published in the *West Australian*.²³ Freedman's views resulted in an exchange of letters to the paper during November 1899. Using the pen name 'Baruch D'Espinosa', during the correspondence, Freedman's antagonist evidences the mindset that in 1901 produced as the first law of the Australian Commonwealth, legislation antagonistic to Asian and Islander people within Australia, as well as to their future entry into Australia.

The first letter published in the *West Australian* was entitled 'England and the Boers' and appeared on Saturday 4 November 1899. This letter outlines the many arguments put forward by those who supported the Boer cause, and who dissented from the British failure to negotiate without increasing its army in South Africa in the months prior to October 1899.

'D'Espinosa' attacked Freedman for lack of moderation, indeed for fanning the fires of passion. He argued that if he installed himself as a guest in Freedman's home, and then demanded the right to rule the house, that would not be met with approval. In the same way he pointed out, even England did not grant civil rights immediately to foreigners, but required five years' residence:

Then why all this outcry about the Transvaal doing what the great Empire does? Simply because this is only the pretext,

and because the great shareholders in the Transvaal gold-mines would be able to reap far higher dividends if the Transvaal laws could be dictated by the English Government. And to this mercenary purpose Messrs. Chamberlain and Rhodes do not hesitate to sacrifice the lives of the English soldiers, of a useful farming population, and the millions paid by the British taxpayers. What does Rabbi Freedman, what do the English public in general, know about the constantly and ad nauseam reiterated statements as to poor Mr. Kruger's alleged duplicity? All this information emanates from those whose interest is to make a bad case good.

The case is then made that the citizens of the Transvaal were more intransigent than their President and that they objected to any concession to Britain. It is suggested that Paul Kruger prevaricated because he was just trying to avoid war, and to find the middle ground between British greed and Boer steadfastness.

The letter follows up with a consideration of the position of East European Jews and the proposal in the Transvaal that they be excluded from the franchise. 'D'Espinoza' points out that this merely replicated what had happened in England, that 'the presence of Russian and Polish Jews in the East End of London at one time was considered a very serious menace by a large proportion of the English public'. The letter is concluded by the thought that a leader of religion or thought should think twice before condemning a nation of which he knows little.²⁴

Freedman's reply was published on Thursday 16 November 1899. He commented that while some members of the public considered that a minister of religion should have no opinion on the important issues of the day and should not disagree with everyman, he was not such a coward, and never would be. Although he did not consider that he had set himself up as a leader of opinion, his view was that the time to express an opinion was when people needed guidance, even though what might be said might displease.

After dismissing 'D'Espinoza's' play with words about a stranger dwelling, Freedman observed that what was required in the Transvaal was equal laws of property, of taxation, of civic and political responsibility. Freedman referred to press files of the week of 1 July 1899 and the reporting of the packed and overflowing meeting of *uitlanders* held in Johannesburg on 28 June 1899 at the Rand Hotel which had resolved:

That this meeting, in view of the proposed exclusion from the franchise in this State of certain persons, desire respectfully to

draw the attention of his Honour the State President...to the extreme undesirability and unfairness of inserting such a restrictive clause in the proposed law.

Freedman's support for England is clear in his closing words:

...I consider it weak insight and weaker loyalty to say that the British Cabinet consisting of men like Lord Salisbury, Lord Hamilton, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Halsbury, the Viscount Cross and the Hon. A.J. Balfour, are either fools pulled by leading strings or wilful robbers advising the British Crown and compelling the British nation to oppress and shoot down, a weak, innocent and harmless State.²⁵

In his reply, which appeared on Tuesday 22 November 1899, 'D'Espinoza' took issue with Freedman whether or not *uitlanders'* property had been protected at law in the Transvaal:

...in view of the fact that some twenty large London companies own mining properties in that country representing an aggregate value of £100,000,000 from which they draw millions of money annually, it would seem that the Transvaal Government have given the property class pretty free scope to satisfy their greed. Why these people should also enjoy what the rabbi calls civic rights, before having gone through the term required in most countries to prove their intention of being citizens in the true sense of the word, this only seems clear to themselves and their defenders. ... The Australian Governments will not tolerate equal rights for Asiatics, nor will the United States. Yet Mr. Freedman justifies such Governments in sending troops to fight another nation on the plea that it deals in a similar manner with a class of people whom it probably considers as an equally 'undesirable element', the Polish and Russian Jews.

The letter concludes with an analysis of newspaper reportage, and an attack on the providers of deliberate lies which are intended to mislead the public as to the casualties suffered both by the British and Boer forces:

Is it extraordinary that I consider that the authorities are daily telling the English people deliberate lies, or does Mr. Freedman think that anyone can be gulled by cablegrams such as the public are treated to, which obviously conceal the numbers of English losses, and exaggerate those on the side of the

Boers? Does he think that honest people are blind to the manner in which hostility is artificially cultivated by poisonous writings...?²⁶

Freedman replied, but refused to debate 'D'Espinosa' further. He continued his strong support of Britain during World War 1, when he also served as a Chaplain for the Australian Imperial Force.

Rev. Jacob Lenzer, the minister of the East Melbourne Hebrew Congregation echoed Freedman during the course of his sermon on Saturday 28 October 1899, the day that the Victorian Contingent marched to its transport. In a firm and clear baritone he noted that:

Whenever there is anything in connection with Great Britain, be it joy or trouble, and the flag is raised, the scattered nation is drawn together as by electric power and becomes one immense mass of strength... it is again proved by the ready and practical sympathy which our government is showing to Great Britain in her present trouble, in sending troops to her assistance. Yes, I mention the word trouble because there can be no greater trouble than that of establishing peace and holding the balance of justice, and this is what England is fighting for. As our sages justly remark 'Through the neglect of justice, of violating each other's rights and representation of the law, war and plunder, and slaughter and famine come upon the earth.' (Talmud Sabbath, 32). England's aim has ever been to remove arrogant rulers from the earth and establish her wise laws which are acknowledged by every human being under her flag, to be righteous and just. England could not very well stand and look on with indifference at the cruel manner in which a large number of her subjects with others were being treated. Denying to human beings human rights is not much less than slavery, and that a just government like England cannot stand. What good is it to a man, though making a fortune, in a country where he is deprived of civil rights. In fact it is surprising that the Boers — who are said to be great believers in the Mosaic Law — should have lost sight of the repeated injunction that 'There shall be one law between you and the strangers that dwelleth among you' so as to cause this present crisis. We may sympathise with the Boers, or rather, pity them for their blindness to the true facts, first that England demanded justice without going to war, and secondly, that the power of Great Britain is invincible, and that once she is called out to war, it is most unlikely that she will leave her work half done and allow corruption to take the place of justice.

Lenzer's patriotism becomes almost jingoistic when he concluded this section of his sermon:

This... is the most important day in the history of the colony of Victoria on account of it being the first time that this colony can show her true loyalty to the Sovereign. Today the spontaneous and magnificent offer of our Government to render assistance to the mother country is being fulfilled, and our troops, or should I say, our noble fellow-countrymen are being embarked for South Africa. Leaving behind their native country, their parents and relatives, even their wives and children, cheerfully offering their lives for the protection of the honor of the British flag. As citizens, and as loyal subjects, we cannot allow this most important occasion to pass without expressing great admiration of their unflinching courage, and at the same time wishing them God-speed and a safe return.

The report of this religious service notes that at the conclusion of the sermon the congregation rose, the Ark was opened, and a prayer was offered.²⁷

In Brisbane, on the occasion of the departure of the first Queensland Contingent for South Africa on the same day of October 1899, Rev. Jonas Myers offered a prayer for the safe return of the volunteers, praising them for their patriotism.²⁸

Opinions expressed by the Jewish press also stressed this support of the Empire and the criticism of Boer intransigence. Alfred Harris' editorial in *The Hebrew Standard* of Friday 24 November 1899 is typical of the enthusiasm expressed in these early days of the war. It was headed 'The Transvaal Trouble':

The large number of Jews — some 10,000 we believe — who reside in the Transvaal, and the prominence which many have attained in that State, have lent a certain amount of interest to the question as to the attitude in which Jews in general, and the Transvaal Jews in particular, adopt in the presence of the unhappy quarrel which has arisen between Great Britain and the Republic. A good many rumours have been flying about in this connection, and the cables have been busy transmitting messages which we are afraid are as untrustworthy as they are for the most part contradictory. It has been said, for example, that all the Jews of the Transvaal strongly support the Boer Government. But as opposed to this, there is the remarkable meeting of Jews convened by a pro-Boer journalist to

sympathise with the Transvaal, which ended up by turning the tables on the promoters, like the Trafalgar gathering, and blessing the Uitlanders it was summonsed to curse. In addition to this, a great deal of sheer nonsense has been talked by Boerophile organs in England about the wickedness of going to war on behalf of Jewish capitalists — an argument which credits with Jewish origin a number of men who have only a German name to justify the honor.

Harris goes on to quote the *London Jewish Chronicle*:

(w)e do not see the necessity of discussing the attitude of Jews as Jews in this matter at all. In England Jewish opinion follows the ordinary lines of cleavage noticeable among the mass of citizens. In Holland it is certain that many Jews incline, like most Dutchmen, to support the Boers; and indeed in most lands outside those of the contending Powers, Jewish opinion is more likely to be coloured than not by its domicile. As for the Jews of the Transvaal, it is quite likely that many of them feel a filial interest and devotion to their motherland, while on the other hand, others who are themselves Uitlanders, and who share with the Catholics galling religious inequalities, side passionately with the British Government. In face of those facts, it is idle to talk of a Jewish attitude towards the crisis. So far as we ourselves are concerned, we can only express our hearty sympathy with every effort made to secure some approach to political equality in the Transvaal. What we deplore is that so reasonable an end should, owing to British magnanimity having been misconstrued as weakness, be incapable of solution by any but the dread arbitrament of war.²⁹

Harris had penned his first expression of support for the Empire in his editorial that appeared on 20 October 1899, a week after the war commenced with the Boer advances into Natal and Cape Colony on 11 October 1899. Harris was a supporter of the Anglo-Jewish establishment of Sydney, and promoted the support of the Empire.³⁰ For him Britain could do no wrong. The cause of the Empire was nailed to his masthead, as this initial war editorial testifies:

We sing songs in praise of the pen as being mightier than the sword, and if the pen is in truth the mightiest, the Boer struggle against the English must be the exception that

proves the rule. Without entering into the reason for the present war in the Transvaal, we must refer to the fact that England has given ample opportunity for the pen to have pointed out the way to avoid the ruthless destruction of human life that the Boer's ultimatum has rendered necessary. In Australasia very few realise the horrors of war, or know the sad havoc it plays in spheres far removed from the battlefield, counting the cost only in the misery that it causes to the homes of our own people.⁹¹

Harris followed up in the next issue of *The Hebrew Standard*, when praising the prayer formulated by Chief Rabbi Dr. Adler which was intended to be read in every Synagogue linked to the British Empire Chief Rabbinate. He stated:

The Chief Rabbi has been successful in gaugeing the feeling of his people, and transmitting their thoughts and wishes in a commendable and beautiful conciseness. The ending will bear repetition throughout the world when this war cloud has been burst, and the sentiment will be welcome to all mankind.

Harris then addresses the news being received from South Africa and he concludes his editorial in a different mood:

Telegrams reach us every day giving gruesome details of the carnage the modern artillery has caused among the human beings opposing each other in the hills of the Transvaal, and we cannot see the end of this fearful business yet. England has many men who are ready to risk their lives in her cause, and in the end there is little doubt but that victory will rest with the British arms....We do not intend to discount for one moment the nobility of fighting for 'Queen and country', or the valour that is necessary to make a soldier, still the truth is stubborn. The people who receive the reward of such sacrifice in the peace and comfort that follows need to be reminded of that apathy after the first fever of the excitement is over, and the war is a matter of history.⁹²

This editorial preceded the severe reverses that the British suffered during the Black Week. It is also remarkable for the foresight shown by Harris in anticipating the lack of interest in the war that enveloped the press, and in particular the Jewish newspapers after the lifting of the siege of Mafeking in May 1900.

The *Jewish Herald*, published fortnightly in Melbourne, also provided whole-hearted backing for the Empire's cause in the War. The editorials of Friday 19 January and 16 February 1900 are typical. The tenor of the editor was that there had been instances and manifestations of a lack of sympathy with British objectives. He argued that there could only be two bases for such views: either sheer ignorance or out-and-out opposition, the spirit which can always find fault, and which airs its views at every opportunity and attempts to stifle public discussion of the respective points of view. With respect to the latter he reminds the reader that it is the privilege of the British to be able to discuss all matters with the utmost freedom. However, that freedom can be abused, as he explained:

If ignorance is at the root of this want of loyalty it would be well for these people to make themselves acquainted with the facts. It is not for freedom that the Boers have provoked this war, but rather for the freedom to oppress others. For themselves they claim every right and privilege of free citizens; to the foreigner they would yield few rights or none at all. ... he must bear his disabilities and grin, simply because he was not born a Boer. For England to stand by quietly and allow her sons to be treated in such a manner would be shameful conduct and totally at variance with her noblest traditions. It is not the first time that England fights for liberty to all alike. She herself grants it to all who seek her hospitality, and she has a perfect right to demand equal treatment for her sons in other countries. It is useless to argue, as some seem to do, that the Boers have their own code of ethics on which they act, and that to judge rightly between the belligerent parties we have to view matters from the standpoint of the Boers. That is simply nonsense. It is Western civilisation that has conquered one part of the world, and is still engaged in conquering the other. Wherever Western civilisation and primitive ideas come into contact the latter must go to the wall. And it is well for mankind that it should be so....no progress means retrogression. It is by the friction of mind to mind that the world learns and progresses in all the arts and sciences that make for a higher life and greater capabilities. The Boers, much the same as the Chinese, would have none of all these, but would continue to be what they were ages ago, and put in force all the instruments of oppression which were so powerfully used in olden times. England on the other hand, will not permit the ardent spirits of her sons to be hampered by antiquated and

selfish considerations. She fights for liberty, truth and justice, and all who value these inestimable gifts and are not swayed by selfish interests, must necessarily sympathise with her and devoutly pray for the success of her arms³³.

A month later the *Jewish Herald* editorialised:

There is no cloud, they say, without a silver lining, and the war cloud at present enveloping the British Empire forms no exception. War is, beyond doubt, an evil. England has never looked upon it in any other light. She hesitated long enough — in the opinion of many of her ablest men too long — before she sent her men and armaments to Africa. No one will ever be able to say that she provoked the present war, or entered upon it in a light heart. She waited and waited to see if a peaceful settlement could not be brought about. But it was all in vain. What reasoning or moral suasion failed to effect the sword had to take up, and will in due time decide. That the wounds which will be inflicted on our own side will be severe and long-felt is certain. Many of our brave men will never see their homes again. Others will return maimed and crippled for life. Wives will be deprived of their husbands, children of their fathers, families of their bread-winners. These are evils inseparable from warfare. But there is this comfort, that they have called forth amongst all British subjects the most pleasing expressions of patriotism, a self-sacrificing desire to assuage suffering and minimise loss....³⁴

The attitude of the ministry (and not just the Jewish ministry) came under fire from some columnists. For example, one writer for the *Hebrew Standard* who used the pen-name Maskel wrote on 10 November 1899:

I do not agree with the ministers of religion who have found it necessary from their pulpits to champion or demonise England's cause in the Transvaal. If they had used their voices some months ago in an endeavour to avoid the war, they would have been doing something nearer their duty. Religion has nothing to do with the abstract principles or causes if they so wish to term them that may have precipitated the war, and view it as you may, it is a terrible spectacle. Fancy examining a body of men to see that they are physically sound, and then sending them to stop a death dealing shower of leaden hail. A minister ought to have other cares than those of government;

his sphere should be inducing the happiness of his flock and tending to their preservation. When the best form of human government is critically examined, it is found defective, and although England has the best of excuses for preserving one of the brightest gems in the constitution, and finds it absolutely necessary to maintain her position with guns, still the messengers of mercy should never have an excuse for preaching in a militant spirit.³⁵

It was not until after the relief of Mafeking that the editor of the *Jewish Herald* again visited the subject of the Boer War. He was responding to an article which had appeared the previous Saturday in the *Melbourne Argus* which had as its subject the fighting qualities of the Jew. Perhaps the *Argus* was replicating some of the latent antisemitism that has always existed, and which bubbles over from time to time, as in the Dreyfus Affair, a tragedy that was prominent at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

5. AUSTRALIAN JEWRY: AN ANGLO-JEWISH COMMUNITY

In the absence of significant Jewish community institutions, particularly in rural areas, Australian Jews participated in those spheres of community activity that involved the general community. For the menfolk, the most significant and colourful were the part-time 'volunteer corps' of infantry, artillery, cavalry and mounted riflemen. These had existed in many towns and suburbs for the previous thirty years and had sprung from the British soldier citizen tradition.

Most of the Jewish citizens of Australia had their origins in the British Isles, and for them Britain was also 'home'. Australia was Britannia's daughter, and the British government was the 'imperial government'. The doings at Westminster were as, if not more important, as the happenings in Macquarie Street, and were a highlight of the general press.

Australian Jewry was an Anglo-Jewish community, and despite the nascent immigration from Eastern Europe in the last years of the nineteenth century, it continued to be dominated by its Anglo-Jewish leadership.³⁶ With the outbreak of the Boer War, its leaders clearly expressed their enthusiasm for the Empire and the Queen.

Support for the war effort was also expressed by young Jewish Australia. Stanley Cantor, an 11 year old West Australian, wrote a poem which was published in the *Hebrew Standard* of March 30, 1900:

THE BOERS

A war just now is raging
 'Twixt the English and the Boer,
 Many armies have been sent
 To South Afric's shore,
 And yet the war is raging still
 Because it is Old England's will.

They're (sic) President is named Kruger
 And is very old I see,
 And as they fight for their lives,
 Very, very bold they be,
 But the British are e'en braver still,
 Because it is Old England's will.

Though the Boers have oft been beat
 Still they won't give in,
 The reason of this thing is
 Because they want to win,
 To try will help the graves to fill
 Because it is Old England's will.

And as to the very hard-hearted Boer
 We ought to crack his nut,
 The Laws of Battle they ignore,
 They're just bombarding Mafeking
 But we will avenge Majuba³⁷ Hill
 Because it is Old England's will.

And again to the hard-hearted Boer,
 Who is semi-civilised and outcast,
 They need not try to beat us, for
 We will fight to the very last
 To put the rest is nil, nil, nil
 Because it is Old England's Will.³⁸

However, although Australian Jewry may have publicly expressed their love of Britain, I have found no evidence that Australia's Jews were more loyal than the general populace of Australia. I suggest that they were as loyal as their fellow citizens of British descent.

6. HOW MANY?

There may have been as many as 70 Australian Jews (or perhaps double that number) who were involved in the Anglo-Boer War.³⁹ They came from New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia, and, based on the example of South Australia, with a similar Jewish population, there should also have been some from Queensland. There is at least one possibility in my preliminary listing. I have not been able to nominate any Tasmanian Jews as definite participants in South Africa. In any case the number of Jews in Tasmania was minute, as indicated in the statistical detail above.

Compared with World War 1, the number of Australian Jews who participated in the Boer War does not equal the level of support given by the Australian Jewish community in that later conflict. Both were voluntary, but in 1914-15 the number of Australian Jews in the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) and who served overseas, was far in excess of the 0.05% that they represented in the population.

If my calculations can be supported, using statistics again, as there were between 18,000 and 20,000 Australians in the South African conflict, of whom at least 5% died⁴⁰, Australian Jews were represented on an equivalent basis to their numbers in the country.

The number of Australian Jews who volunteered to serve in British forces [and in this analysis, I am calling British the various regular units which were officially or unofficially sent from the United Kingdom, the colonies in Australia and New Zealand as well as Canada, or which were organised within Cape of Good Hope, Natal or Rhodesia by the army itself or by its agents] and who participated in the Anglo-Boer War cannot be determined with accuracy.

There are a number of reasons for this, some of which I will attempt to deal with and dispose of within my analysis. There is, of course, the basic question of 'Who is a Jew'? Where I have ascertained that the participant in the war had a parent who was born a Jew but failed to maintain that status, either because they may have converted to Christianity, or in the case of a male, married a non-Jew, I have counted the offspring of that person as one with a Jewish background, but not still Jewish. They are noted in the appendix to the List.

Then again, many who participated did so under an assumed name⁴¹, and did not indicate in any enlistment papers that they were Jewish. Others nominated a religion other than Jewish. In the Australian archives only a few who were accepted to serve in South Africa in the official Australian contingents appear to have admit-

ted to being Jewish when signing a unit's nominal roll or other enlistment form.

However, the major reason is twofold. First, many Australians paid their way to South Africa and joined units formed in South Africa.⁴² We still have not, and may never be able to determine the number of Australians who did so. Many were Jewish, and perhaps were not accepted into the official Australian contingents because of the height restrictions. To be accepted you had to be 5ft 7in. Some had been rejected for the official Australian contingents. On a number of occasions the names of volunteers for the official contingents were given, only for the newspaper on a later date to report that the person had failed a riding test or ill-health had prevented him departing with the unit.⁴³

It is necessary to check the names of all Australians included in the irregular units. Some are shown as resident in Australia, and then again, their place of residence may not be correctly recorded. For example, in Bethune's Mounted Infantry, the residence of Samuel Kensell is shown as Liverpool, England. He was born in England, but resided at Austral Farm, Hoxton Park near Liverpool, New South Wales. Samuel's older brother, Isaac, had previously volunteered and had served in Roberts' Horse. Isaac had enlisted on January 1901 and been discharged on 12 August 1901. Perhaps his return to Sydney was the signal for Samuel to volunteer. Samuel enlisted in Durban on 8 October 1901.⁴⁴

One of the reasons that the Kensells decided to travel to South Africa may have been the fact that they had a foreign sounding name. There was a fear of foreigners, that maybe a foreigner would be more likely to support the Boers. When the Bushmen's Contingent was being called for in January 1900 a report was circulated warning about:



*Samuel Kensell in
World War I uniform*

foreigners endeavouring to secure positions in the military contingents for South Africa. The Government have been kept informed of the movements of these individuals who are being very closely watched. Every precaution is being taken to guard against the inclusion of Boer sympathisers or spies in the contingent, and if any traitor should be detected, they may expect a warm time... The Minister (Mr. See) does not think the Government would be justified in assuming that because some of the citizens are foreign by birth, they are disloyal subjects.⁴⁵

Although the Kensells had lived all or most of their young lives in an English speaking country, because their parents had come from a middle European background, and presumably did not speak English at home, Samuel and Isaac may have appeared as foreigners.⁴⁶

Perhaps more cogent reasons for an Australian deciding to travel to South Africa to enlist rather than being able to belong to one of the Australian Contingents, were firstly, the limitation on numbers who were accepted for the official contingents, frequently a limit of 500 being imposed, and secondly the rejection of married men with a family to support.

Australians with a spirit of adventure could get away to South Africa through to the end of 1901. By a proclamation of Lord Hopetoun, the Governor General of Australia, signed on 3 December 1901, published in the *Daily Telegraph* on 24 December 1901 and to commence on 1 January 1902, anyone proceeding from Australia to South Africa had to obtain a permit to be able to land at a South African port. The applicant had to have at least £100 and a formal permit which confirmed that the applicant could maintain himself in South Africa. To obtain a permit there had to be a certificate from a member of parliament, a Justice of the Peace, clergyman or officer of His Majesty's forces supporting the applicant.

The second cause is that many 'Australians' were already in South Africa, usually involved on the Witwatersrand or in Johannesburg. An example of this is the case of Walter David 'Karri' Davies, who came to South Africa in the early 1890s while convalescing from an illness suffered while an engineer in Broken Hill, New South Wales. He came to the Witwatersrand and saw that there was a market for his father's company's karri and jarrah timber in the mines and on the railroads.⁴⁷ With the coming of war these Australians joined the irregular units formed in South Africa to combat the Boer invasion. Australia has no definitive record of these

volunteers, and as we do not know their names, except where their units recorded their origin as Australia, and the unit rolls have become public (as with Bethune's Mounted Infantry) or they wrote a letter home to Australia, and it was published, we are not aware as to the number who were Jewish.⁴⁸

There is a third reason for uncertainty, namely the fact that a number of Australians who were in the United Kingdom in 1899 participated in British units such as the Imperial Yeomanry or the City Imperial Volunteers. One such was Leopold Wolfe Cohen, the youngest son of George Judah Cohen, the President of the Great Synagogue, Sydney. Leopold was in England to further a merchant-banking career.

A further reason flows from trans-Tasman relationships. A number of Australians who were living in New Zealand volunteered to serve in the New Zealand contingents to South Africa.⁴⁹

7. THE SOURCES AND THEIR PROBLEMS

As I have indicated, not all who volunteered for an Australian unit indicated that they were of the Jewish religion. Some did, many did not, or may have nominated the religion of the majority of the population. It is not possible at this time to record the names of all who did volunteer and who said that they were Jewish. Unfortunately, the authorities in the early years of the twentieth century did not recognise that later Australians would be interested in examining prime records relating to the Australian contingents to the Anglo-Boer War. Thus only some of the nominal rolls remain in the Australian Archives. The only enrolment forms are those of the Australian Commonwealth Horse, formed in 1902.⁵⁰

The Jewish newspapers of the day named those of whom they were aware, sometimes as a result of a letter sent back to Australia. Occasionally the newspaper would name someone as being Jewish relying on a Jewish sounding name, while in fact the person named was really of a different faith.⁵¹ Thus the *Jewish Chronicle* included in their issue of 26 October 1900, the name of Victor Sellheim. But as the Dictionary of Australian Biography notes, his parents were Lutherans.⁵²

It is remarkable that the Jewish newspapers did not record the name of Ernest Simon De Pass. Perhaps they did not connect the name of this member of the Imperial Yeomanry with the then 23 year old who had been a member of the New South Wales Contingent to the Sudan in 1885, and who is recorded as the only Jewish member of that Contingent. He returned to New South Wales in July

1885, travelling on the *SS Iberia*.⁵³ De Pass was born in London in 1862 and was, by occupation, a silver refiner. He was awarded the Queen's South Africa Medal and the King's South Africa Medal for service in the Boer War as a lieutenant and quartermaster in the 11th Imperial Yeomanry. His Australianness is testified to by the fact that those medals are in the Australian War Memorial in Canberra.⁵⁴

One example of the difficulties of identifying Jewish soldiers is the story of Stanley John Barnard. He died in South Africa and was named in the Chanukah Military Volunteer Service held in December 1901 in London under the auspices of Chaplain Rev. Francis Lyon Cohen. Barnard was a member of the 5th Victorian Mounted Rifles and was killed at Wilmansrust on 10 July 1901.⁵⁵ The nominal roll for the 5th VMR shows that he nominated his religion as Church of England. His occupation was that of a tram conductor, and his residence was at 62 Cassells Road, North Brunswick. Further doubt as to his Jewishness arises in his parentage. It would appear that they were James Spencer Barnard and Ellen Frances Morgan who had married in Gloucestershire in 1866. According to the Victorian Births Deaths and Marriages Index to 1888, he was born in Emerald Hill in 1877. As it happens, many of the Barnards who appear in the Births, Deaths and Marriages Index bore identifiably Jewish names. But Stanley John is not a traditional Jewish name.

Again, reliance on 'Jewish' names does not really help. The name Goldsmith might be thought to be Jewish, but then George Harnett Goldsmith of the 7th Battalion Australian Commonwealth Horse noted his religion as Church of England on the enlistment form. Was that a matter of mere convenience?⁵⁶ There were at least two other Goldsmiths, D.E. Goldsmith of South Australia who was in the 6th Imperial Contingent and Joseph Isaac Goldsmith, born in 1882, also of South Australia. The latter journeyed to South Africa and joined the Railway Pioneer Regiment on 18 June 1901 and continued with that unit until 17 March 1902. Joseph Isaac Goldsmith ultimately went to New Zealand, was a stalwart of the Wellington Hebrew Congregation and President of the New Zealand Boer War Association. Again, closer to New South Wales, the name Isaac Goodsell could be a Jewish one. His parents were John Goodsell and Rebecca (Hanfield), and he lived at Milton on the South Coast but the nominal roll asserts that he was Church of England.⁵⁷

Sometimes it is not possible to gather the evidence to support a conclusion as to possible Jewishness. One case in issue involves Major Reuter Emerich Roth. The surname Roth indicates a possible

Jewish connection, though his first names do not, nor do the names of his parents Mathias and Anna Maria Collins. [The 'Collins' is a possible Jewish surname and is the surname of at least one Jewish Australian volunteer at the Boer War.] ⁵⁸ One can add to the Roth name the fact that he married Lilian May Hart in Sydney on 28 July 1883 which should indicate further a Jewish affiliation. However, there is no record in the registers kept by the Great Synagogue, Sydney of their wedding. In fact the wedding took place under Congregational rites. When Roth died in New Caledonia in September 1924 it did not feature in any Jewish paper — as it might have when one considers that in World War 1 Roth had advanced to the rank of Major General.

It is an interesting exercise to compare the names of volunteers for the Boer War with the names that appear in *Australian Jewry Book of Honour: The Great War 1914-1918* compiled and published by Harold Boas in 1923. I have included in my listing of possibles in Schedule II a number who appear to be kin to those listed by Harold Boas. Many do not have a Jewish sounding name. The task of verification has just begun with the more than 130 names that now appear in the various analyses that I have attempted with these names.

8. ANTI-JEWISH FEELING WITHIN AUSTRALIA

Richard Mendelsohn in his article 'The Jewish Soldier — Anglo-Jewry at War, 1899-1902' which appeared in the special issue of *Jewish Affairs* commemorating the centenary of the Boer War⁵⁹, noted that in 1899 and early 1900 there had been a number of accusations levelled at Jews. They were blamed for the war between the British Empire and the Boer Republics. He cited as an example the writings of the radical English journalist, John Atkinson Hobson in *Capitalism and Imperialism in South Africa* and *The War in South Africa: Its Causes and Effects*⁶⁰. The charge was that behind the war's apparent patriotic facade there lurked a conspiracy of mining capitalists, mainly Jewish, who sought the overthrow of Paul Kruger's republic and its replacement by an administration that was more supportive of their needs, particularly for a supply of cheap and docile black labour.

Hobson's views were broadcast by Liberal pro-Boer sympathisers as well as by Labour whose MP, John Burns speaking in the House of Commons in February 1900, stated that:

The British Army, which used to be for all good causes the Sir Galahad of History, has become in Africa the janissary of

the Jews.... Whereever we examine there is a financial Jew operating, directing, inspiring the agencies that have led to this war.

This speech was reported in England and the report cabled to Australia. It appeared in the metropolitan daily press throughout Australia on 9 February 1900.⁶¹ Somehow, it did not feature in John Norton's weekly *Truth* (published on Sundays) until the 1 April 1900 issue, even though Norton was strongly anti-Jewish.⁶² That issue featured a front-page article headed 'The Jews' Janissary' with the House of Commons speech by John Burns. The way it was reported there, the speech went: 'England in the past had been the knight errant in the interests of the smaller peoples, while now unhappily in Africa she was the janissary of the Jews'. Burns is then reported to have listed a number of shareholders in the Chartered Company.⁶³ None of those named in the House by Burns were in fact Jewish.

However, already in the issue of *Truth* that appeared on Sunday 11 February 1900, Norton had given expression to his antisemitic views. According to him (or his ghost-writer):

It is in defence of this wicked policy that the shrieks of the bloodthirsty priests of the Jewish War-God — the Lord of Hosts — have been raised. It is not a proud thing to be a British subject at this pitiable moment of our national existence....That the design of the Jewish and Gentile Ooflanders⁶⁴ was to do away with the toil and labour of white men, and to supplant it with the black slave system which Rhodes and his gang use in the Kimberley and Rhodesian mines.⁶⁵

These views had already found currency in Australia. They were held by working-class representatives such as W.A.Holman of the Labor Party. The *Bulletin* and *Smith's Weekly* also gave expression to them. They filtered through to ordinary Australians. For example, the *Hebrew Standard* of 10 November 1899 had published a letter from Simon Lipstine of Rockhampton, initially written to the *Morning Bulletin*:

Sir — In an issue of the 'Daily Record' of last week there appeared an account of the situation in the Transvaal supplied by a lady who had recently been resident of that place. In her statement to the representative of the paper she is reported, amongst other things, to have said that 'should her house in

the Transvaal escape demolition in the impending conflict there is a vile class of people described as 'old Jews' who may be safely counted on to loot everything of the least value'. I called on the editor of the *Record* after the article I allude to was published. He admitted it was a mistake to have allowed the allegation which I complained of to appear in print, and volunteered the old school-boy promise, 'I'll never do it again'. But when I asked him to rectify his acknowledged error, by endeavouring to remove the uncharitable impression he was the means of creating, he refused. It is for this reason, Sir, that I am obliged to ask your indulgence to allow me to make a few brief remarks with a view of supplying an antidote to the poison with which the *Record* so unblushingly tries to dose its readers.⁶⁶

The letter continues in a moralising frame, not relevant to a consideration of Australian attitude to Jews, or the Boer War.

Prejudice against Jews had increased in the 1890s and had been fuelled by the economic depression. It was expressed by such representatives of the working class as Henry Lawson, who blamed Jews for the depression.⁶⁷ In relation to the Boer War he wrote:

The dirty Jew talon reached from palaces and slums
Till a hundred thousand Englishmen died to stop the farmers'
drums.⁶⁸

The repetition in the Australian newspapers of the critical speeches of John Burns in an apparent approving manner caused at least Rev. David Freedman of Perth to write to the Perth newspaper, the *Western Australian* to respond. His letter was also published in the *Hebrew Standard*.⁶⁹ In his response, David Freedman commented upon his amazement that a professed labour leader like John Burns would be the author of such insults and libels. He notes that throughout history and even at that hour, whenever a scapegoat was needed, the Jews were blamed.

Freedman continues in his letter to examine the alleged grounds for the calumny. Is it because amongst the host of capitalists in South Africa there have been some who were Jewish? Have they forced England into the war, with the hope of destroying Kruger? Freedman responds with the names of a number of prominent Jewish supporters of the Boer Republic such as Mendelssohn, the editor of the official and most pronounced Boer Journal in the Transvaal. Freedman concludes with the example of Jewish loyalty to the Queen and Empire. With no more than 150,000 Jews in the

Empire, there were more than 400 Jews, men and officers in the British forces in South Africa.

Alfred Harris, the editor of the *Hebrew Standard* also had occasion to pen articles such as that which appeared on 26 January 1900 entitled 'Are the Jews a Fighting Race?'. Often these replies were based on articles that had earlier appeared in the *London Jewish Chronicle*.

In discussing the issue of dissent in Australia, Craig Wilcox mentions the petition from Victoria's Peace and Humanity Society to Allan McLean the premier of Victoria a fortnight after Mafeking's relief was being celebrated. He notes that the members of the Society knew Hobson's arguments but that middle-class radicals were generally immune to antisemitism.⁷⁰

In June 1900, an article appeared in the *Argus* that described the typical anti-Jewish stereotype of the disloyal Jew. It commenced with a comment about the letter written by Lord Roberts to Lord Rothschild praising the fighting qualities of his Jewish soldiers. It then said:

It will surprise most people, we suspect, to learn that there are many Jewish soldiers marching and fighting at the present moment under the British flag in South Africa. It is difficult, indeed, for the human imagination to picture Tommy Atkins with a Semitic nose and well-oiled ringlets; or to conceive of 'the absent minded beggar'⁷¹ of the nineteenth century as a lineal descendant of the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament....

The admission is made by the writer of the *Argus*' article that a Jew has a long heritage as a fighter and considers some examples of English Jewry involved in the Boer War. It then proceeds to suggest that:

The Jew is ... the one insoluble human problem of the modern world. He is present in every land, yet belongs to a landless race.... Let it be admitted that the Jew is everywhere; that by some special combination of gifts he prospers everywhere; that some vocations seem to specially suit his genius, and in them he not seldom outstrips the rest of mankind. It yet remains that the Jew is the most indigestible bit of humanity the race knows. In many lands he is a mere irritant. In all he remains unassimilated, a man apart, with race characteristics scarcely softened by the friction of so many centuries and the pressure of so many civilisations. And no one quite knows what is the unique quality in the Jew which enables him to

preserve everywhere, with almost the sharpness of an ancient cameo, all the peculiarities of his race.

The writer of the article concluded with an attack on those Jews who had recently immigrated from Poland and Russia to England, the same Jews who unbeknownst to the writer, were volunteering for service in South Africa. What he wrote was:

Only in England and in America is the Jew treated with fairness and granted his just measure of civic rights. The question of whether, under the just laws of England, the Jew can be made a loyal and patriotic citizen is one of real importance to England herself. The number of Jews on British soil grows fast. The Board of Trade returns show that during the first three months of this year 25,000 foreign aliens landed in English ports, most of them Jews, and Jews of the lowest type — Russian or Polish. In London whole streets formerly occupied by English households are as completely Jewish as was the Ghetto of Rome during the Middle Ages. Can this great alien population learn to regard the British flag with something of the patriotic love the Englishman himself knows? Lord Roberts' testimony to the fighting quality of the Jewish soldiers seem to prove this is the case. The Jew can love England, not because he belongs to it by stock, but because it has given him all that a civilised man wants — a home, a career and just treatment.

These anti-Jewish views were by no means unique in the 1890s and 1900s in Australia when there was a fear of an influx of East European Jews into Australia.

The *Jewish Herald*²² considered the *Argus* writer to have shown bias. He could not give the Jewish soldier his full credit, but inserted the Jewish nose and well-oiled ringlets on the Jewish soldier. As the *Jewish Herald* commented:

It is perhaps just as difficult to conceive that there should still be people who will not remember that it is considered rude to poke fun at other people's appearance for which they are in no way responsible. The Jewish soldiers serving in Lord Roberts' army are born Englishmen, picked by the military authorities, who very likely did not consider the shape of the nose of any great moment in deciding upon a man's fitness for service. And as for the 'well-oiled ringlets', we are quite sure that not one of those young fellows has ever worn such things; they

exist only in the imagination of the writer. Why should a damper be thrown upon the ardour of those men in the patriotic cause by reference to the appearance of their ill-treated forefathers two or three generations ago? Would it not be more just to give them the credit due to them?

The editor also commented upon the landless race jibe made by the *Argus*.

As the *Jewish Herald* responded, it is true that the Jew is present in every land, but whether born in that country, or naturalised, he looks upon the country in which he lives as his own. It has perpetually been the case, as the *Jewish Herald* notes, that the enemies



The Bulletin mocks war souvenirs. (The Bulletin, 19 October 1901)

Example of antisemitic cartoons published in The Bulletin

of the Jew make every possible use of the Jew and then label him as a foreigner:

We should like the writer of the *Argus* article to tell any of the thousands of Jewish boys who, born in these colonies, are educated in the public schools, and who hold their own in the world of learning or commerce, as well as in the cricket and football field, that they are not Australians, but foreigners. We can well imagine what their answer would be — probably it would be more forcible than eloquent. To throw out such insinuations is only to feed the prejudices of the ignorant. Can that be the object of the *Argus*?

The *Jewish Herald* writer concluded by commenting on the theological statements made in the *Argus* such as that all the vital elements have dropped out of the Jewish faith, and he then demonstrated the absurdities inherent in such statements. The point, however, is that a major Australian newspaper in 1900 felt at liberty to denigrate Jews and to include falsehoods and stereotypes. This negative image of the Jew was further highlighted in the pages of newspapers such as *Punch* and the *Bulletin*, especially through antisemitic cartoons.⁷³

The canard that the cause of the war was Jewish capitalism continued through into 1902. In that year, Arthur Griffith, a New South Wales Labor Party parliamentarian, published a pamphlet entitled *The Facts about the Transvaal: Being a Series of Excerpts from Mr. J.A. Hobson's Book*, printed by the *Worker* newspaper in Sydney. The pamphlet was part of the anti-war campaign of The Anti-War League, formed in New South Wales in January 1902 by amongst others, key *Bulletin* staff.⁷⁴

The burden of the pamphlet was a condensation of Hobson's views, namely that the British Government had fallen into the hands of a few millionaire speculators, brewers and money-lenders, mostly Jews.⁷⁵ The pamphlet and the dissenters were not supported in the general community, and by June 1902, peace reigned in South Africa.

9. MAFEKING AND BEYOND

The Australian press, and the Jewish press, devoted many columns to the war from its outbreak in October 1899 through to the relief of Mafeking in May 1900.⁷⁶ During these months, the British Empire was in peril. A typical expression of Jewish sentiment can be seen in the sermon delivered by Rev. J. Lenzer on the Shabbat fol-

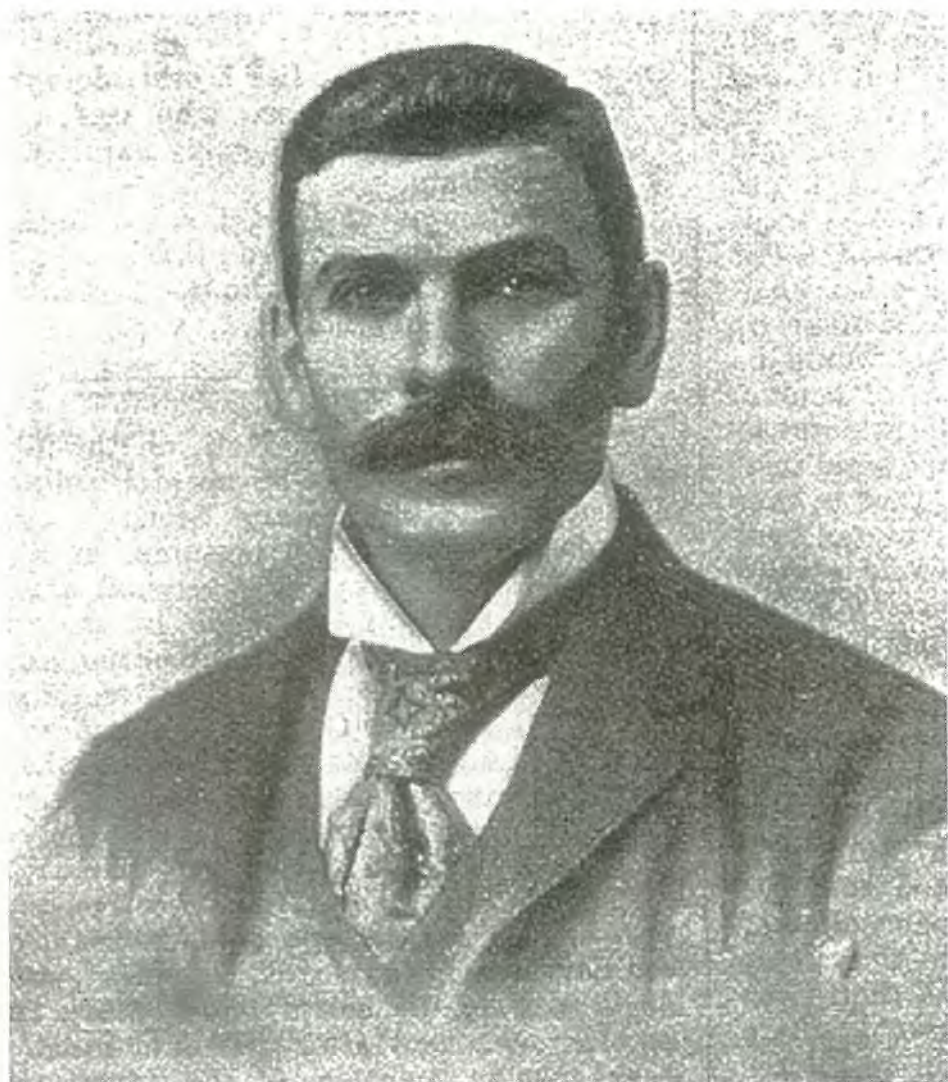
lowing the relief of Mafeking.⁷⁷ The news had reached Melbourne the previous Saturday:

Anyone living under the British flag would be guilty of ungratefulness, to put it mildly, if he or she did not, in some manner, participate in the great joy with which the thrilling news from the seat of war has filled the heart of the nation. When I stood before you last Sabbath all we knew was that the people of the land were kept in suspense. There were strong rumours of the victory but nothing was certain. It was not till shortly before noon that day that the rumours became fact, that the victory of Baden-Powell was complete, the British flag was kept flying over the besieged town, and that Mafeking was relieved at last. Yes the expression 'at last' is most appropriately used in this case, and this expression alone was sufficient to cause the British people to burst into the most wild rapture of joy. Apart from the great victory which the British arms have achieved by the marvellous defence of Mafeking against such terrible odds, which may justify the pride and glory of the nation, there was the relief of thousands of human beings from the most dreadful agony and awful privations to be considered. ... The cause of the present war against the Boers was questioned by some as to whether it was a just one. But the heroic defence accomplished by Baden-Powell and the subsequent relief of the sufferers may convince all that the object for which England is fighting is favoured by God.⁷⁸

However after Mafeking, the war bogged down. Conventional wisdom had been that once the Boer Republics were territorially conquered, the war would end and so when the Boers were chased into Mozambique at Domati Poort in August 1900 it was thought that peace would ensue.

What had not been expected was that the Boers would continue the fight, using guerrilla tactics in a country that suited an unconventional style of warfare. The war continued for another two years. It was not until Lord Kitchener's ruthless policy of confining the Boer women into concentration camps, and thus depriving the men of support throughout the countryside, that the Boer commando leaders realised that they were fighting a battle that they could not win.

Initially, Australia had its own war correspondents in South Africa, journalists and writers such as Andrew 'Banjo' Paterson, who reported for the *Sydney Morning Herald*. However, by late 1900, they had returned to Australia, some undertaking speaking



'Karri' Davies

tours throughout the country. After the departure from South Africa of Paterson, there was no Australian journalist remaining at the war, and apart from part-time reporters such as the Anglican Rev. James Green, a chaplain, there was no direct Australian reportage of the war. From late 1900, Australia had to rely on Imperial sources. I have not been able to ascertain whether at any stage any of these correspondents sent by Australian or other newspapers was Jewish. I doubt it.

Throughout the war there were letters from soldiers and oth-

ers resident in South Africa published in both the general and the Jewish press. Frequently, there would be a separate page of 'Letters from the Front'. In addition, interviews were conducted with returning servicemen (and women). Australia had a Jewish heroine of the war, Rose Shappere, whose exploits appeared through the course of a number of letters, and then an interview with the *London Jewish Chronicle*. She was feted on her visit to Australia in February 1901. The enthusiasm for Rose Shappere was still present a year later, when a reception was held for her in the Montefiore Hall in St. Kilda. The *Jewish Herald* devoted almost a whole page to that function.⁷⁹

After Mafeking, there was little mention of the progress of the war in an editorial in either the *Hebrew Standard* or the *Jewish Herald*. One such mention was in an editorial which appeared in the *Jewish Herald* in March 1902 on the occasion of Purim. It was shortly after the visit to Melbourne by Rose Shappere. The subject of the editorial was the statement of Haman to the King:

There is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed amongst the peoples in all the provinces of thy Kingdom, and their laws are diverse from those of every people; neither keep they the King's laws; therefore it is not for the King's profit to suffer them.

The editorial suggests that these words are the same as the anti-semitic of the early twentieth century, and it matters not whether he be French, Austrian or German, that the Jew is not patriotic. The editorial responded with the facts, praising the conduct of English and colonial Jews in the war and noting that the percentage of Jews who served on the side of the British was exceptional. The writer observed that Jews had served in all ranks; that a Jew supplied a field hospital; that a Jewish nurse, and an Australian at that, served in the hospitals, and throughout the siege of Ladysmith; that in the collections made for patriotic purposes Jews were not behind any other class; and everywhere Jews and Jewish names were to be found amongst those who defended their country at the risk of their own lives. The editorial proceeded to point out that Jewish patriotism was expressed in every country, but in the case of the Boer War, service in the army was voluntary. If Jewry were wanting in patriotism there would have been no need for them to go to South Africa and fight for the British Empire.⁸⁰

It was at this time that Ballarat Jewry celebrated the return from South Africa of one of its own sons, Samuel Goldreich, a son of Ballarat's minister, Rev. Israel M. Goldreich. Samuel Goldreich

was accompanied by his sister, named in the *Jewish Herald* as Monte.⁸¹ The 14 March 1902 issue covers the event at length, including both an interview⁸² and the report of a public reception, which, as was customary during the Boer War, took the form of a smoke night held on 12 March 1902 at a local hotel.⁸³ The report of that function also appeared in the Melbourne press.

10. THE PEACE.

With the coming of peace at the end of May 1902, the events in South Africa once again came to the fore in the synagogue and the Jewish press. The first issue of the *Jewish Herald* to appear following the Treaty of Vereeniging was that dated Friday 6 June 1902. The editorial celebrated the long delayed peace and rejoiced that it was gratifying to all British subjects, as England had emerged from the struggle victorious, more united and stronger than ever. The fact that to achieve the victory Kitchener had introduced to the world the concept of the concentration camp was not mentioned; nor was the tragic loss of life suffered by Boer civilians who were placed in the concentration camps. All that the editor could focus on was the fact that Englishmen in all parts of the world had stood shoulder to shoulder to defend their liberty and rights against a tyranny and above all, the fact that Jews had borne their full share, indeed more than their share, of the protracted war.⁸⁴

The Adelaide correspondent of the *Jewish Herald* commenced his column of the 6 June with 'Peace! Peace!' and noted that he was writing the column to an accompaniment of bells joyously ringing, of joyous crowds thronging the streets, of bands playing patriotic airs. He reported that there had not been such an air of joyous celebration since Mafeking Day, two years earlier. He noted that there would be special services of thanksgiving held in churches throughout the State of South Australia, including the synagogue service on Saturday 7 June 1902 the preaching of a peace sermon by Rev. A.T. Boas, and an appropriate anthem would be sung.⁸⁵

In Melbourne, Rabbi Samuel Leon Abrahams delivered a sermon in the Bourke Street Synagogue that dwelt upon the impossibility of bringing the golden age of the establishment of universal peace, but did not engage the subject of Australia or its Jewish subjects.⁸⁶ Nor it would appear did the address given in Sydney's Great Synagogue by Rev. J.H. Landau.⁸⁷ However, at the East Melbourne Albert Street Synagogue, Rev. Jacob Lenzer noted that the British nation had had to bear the brunt of criticism from her opponents, both within and

without as to the justification for the war. He declared that Jews as fellow citizens and loyal subjects of the Empire could participate in the hearty celebrations and that:

In this late war, as well as in the recent war between America and Spain, we may say with pride, that as Jews we have not played the part of lookers-on. Our brave boys have shown the world that the Jew is not a coward, as he is so often styled. They have proved that the Jew knows how to appreciate the rights and privileges to which he is most certainly entitled, and which he receives under the flag of righteousness and justice. Of their own free will hundreds of our sons have joined their countrymen and fought side by side with them for the honour and glory of their country.⁸⁸

Having had a personal interest in the war, with two sons engaged, one having gone through all the vicissitudes of the conflict, it could be anticipated that in Ballarat, Rev. Goldreich would have expressed a personal joy in the peace. He did, but included in his address an attack on those members of the British and colonial parliaments and public organisations such as the members of the Peace and Humanity Society, who he suggested had done mischief by prolonging the war by campaigning against it.⁸⁹

11. AUSTRALIANS WHO HELPED THE BOERS

A number of Australians journeyed to South Africa and assisted the Boers.

An interesting aspect of the research that I undertook for this article involved a professional boxer who had fought in Victoria before proceeding to South Africa in the mid 1890s. His name was Joseph 'Artie' Tully, and for many years the view had been held that he was Jewish. Tully had been a lightweight boxer in Australia⁹⁰, and had gone to South Africa in the early 1890's after the discovery of gold in the Transvaal. He had boxed in Melbourne, and was described in *The Referee* as being from North Melbourne. He participated in a number of 10 round matches in Melbourne in 1890 to 1892 at least.⁹¹ He continued his boxing profession in South Africa, and was in the Transvaal when war broke out. Like many who were living in the Boer Republics he gave his allegiance to the country of his residence and joined the republican forces as a volunteer.

The Spring 1999 issue of *Jewish Affairs*, the Journal of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, included an article by

David Y. Saks entitled 'Jews on Commando'⁹² in which it was narrated that one of the Boer Jewish prisoners, Marcus Sack, a 19 year old Greylingstad burgher who had been captured at Spien Kop and who took pride in his name *die mak Joodjie* (the gentle little Jew), told of a number of boxing matches that took place in Ceylon. One was between Jim Holloway, South African lightweight boxing champion and a Jewish former lightweight boxing champion of Australia, whose name was said to be Arthur 'Tollie' Kinsman.⁹³ The note by David Saks proceeded to comment that 'Sack was evidently a little confused as there is no record of an Arthur Kinsman having been in Ceylon and the correct name of the former Australian champion was Artie Tully. There was, however, an Arthur Kingsman in Ceylon (POW#3249 of the Irish Commando) and Artie Tully was probably Joseph Tully (#11434), the only Boer prisoner in Ceylon with that surname'.

David Saks has now come to the conclusion that the attribution of Jewishness to Tully was in error. He has penned:

Fifty or so years ago, then Chief Rabbi Louis Rabinowitz⁹⁴ interviewed an ageing Boerejood called Marcus Sack, who told him about his Anglo-Boer War experiences, both in the field and as a POW. Sack, at the time a 19 year-old Greylingstad burgher of the old Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, was captured at Spioenkop when the war was only four months old, which meant spending over two years in the POW Diyatalawa POW camp in Ceylon.

One interesting thing Sack recalled was a boxing match that took place in the Diyatalawa camp between former Transvaal champion Jim Holloway (a Boer, notwithstanding his name) and an Australian Jew called Arthur 'Tollie' Kinsman, who had also fought on the Boer side and was himself a former light-weight champion in his country of birth. Naturally, Rabbi Rabinowitz found this fascinating, and the alleged episode found its way into his own writings and lectures on Jews in the Anglo-Boer War. Who was this mysterious Kinsman, he asked, no doubt intending to find out himself when time permitted. In the end, Rabbi Rabinowitz never did get an opportunity to find out more about this alleged Afrikanerised Aussi tribesman. The mystery remained unresolved for the better part of five decades until quite recently, when the author of this article, assisted by Australian Boer War researcher Russell Stern in Sydney and the great-grandson of a certain Joseph Tully, succeeded more or less in piecing together the puzzle.

Regretfully from a Jewish point of view, but in all honesty rather predictably, there is no Jewish angle to the story at all. There did indeed take place a boxing bout between two former champions on Ceylon, but while the one fighter was Jim Holloway, the other was not Arthur 'Tollie' Kinsman but Artie Tully, one of a number of Irishmen who served on the Boer side. Another Irishman on Ceylon was Arthur Kingsman, whom Marcus Sack must have known. It seems that with the passage of time, Sack became confused, half recalling two Irishmen called 'Artie' Tully and Arthur Kingsman and coming up with a mythical Jewish combination of the two names, Arthur 'Tollie' Kinsman ('Tollie' remains a popular Afrikaans nickname).

According to Andrew Tully, there is a tradition in his family that it was his great grandfather, Joseph Tully, who was imprisoned on Ceylon, following his capture by the British at the battle of Elandslaagte. Born in Ireland, he had been an amateur boxer, a sport that was subsequently a favorite for three generations of men in the Tully family.

It was a common practice in the Tully family to give themselves nicknames, and hence Joseph became 'Artie', Henry became 'Hugo', Mary became 'Molly' and so on. There was also a James Tully, known as 'Jack'.

Further research, as is so often the case, called into question various aspects of this family saga. Firstly, Joseph Tully was not captured at Elandslaagte, but in Johannesburg nearly a year later. What is more, he was imprisoned not on Ceylon, but on St. Helena. The 'Artie Tully' who was on Ceylon and fought Holloway, was in fact James Tully, probably his brother. James Tully, too, was not captured at Elandslaagte, but at Vaalkrantz (it so happened that a number of Irishmen fighting on the Boer side were taken prisoner at the Elandslaagte battle, which was possibly the source of the subsequent confusion). Russell Stern has further clarified that Artie Tully was not an amateur boxer, but a professional who fought for purses in Australia. His brother (Joseph?) is recorded as having been in his corner during those fights.⁹⁵

One of the fascinations of the 'Artie' Tully story is that during 1901 a Christian minister visited the prisoner of war camps on Ceylon, and a report of his visit appeared in the *Courier*. Reference is made to the presence of an Australian prisoner of war, but who it is suggested was too ashamed to be named or identified. The only Australian that I have come across as a prisoner of war in Ceylon is 'Artie' Tully.

If Artie Tully was not Jewish, then an interesting sidelight can be found in the saga of Abraham Fisher, who became an envoy for Paul Kruger to Europe and the United States. The newspaper story illustrated the attitude of Australian Jews in 1900 to the rights that had been asserted by the Boers. The reporter for the *Jewish Herald* of 17 August 1900 was incredulous that a Jew would support Paul Kruger. It was suggested in the report that Kruger would not give the franchise to either Roman Catholics or Jews, because they were considered to be inferior. How then it is asked did he accept the services of one of these inferior people for diplomatic purposes? That reporter would not have been able to comprehend that hundreds of Jews did support the Boers, and were prepared to fight on to the bitter end.

As for Abraham Fisher, the *Jewish Herald* story goes on to say that back in the 1850s during the gold rush at Ballarat, one of the hawkers was a Jew named Fisher, who did not use a horse and cart, but a bullock team. In 1858, Fisher went to England and there married the daughter of Joseph Raphael, the proprietor of a coffee shop in Duke's Place, London. After the marriage, the Fishers went to the Cape of Good Hope and settled there. Abraham Fisher was their son.

The acidity of the *Jewish Herald* report jumps out of the final words: 'a Jew was good enough to go about the foreign courts begging for assistance — unsuccessfully we are glad to say'.⁹⁶

CONCLUSION

In 1899 Jewish Australians appeared to have whole-heartedly supported British Empire involvement in the Transvaal to support the reform movement, and to support the rights of the *Uitlanders*. The apparent criticisms expressed in *The Hebrew Standard* by Maskel⁹⁷ are not a criticism of British Empire involvement, but rather a statement that men of religion should have been doing something earlier to prevent the war. Once there had been the invasion of Natal, the Cape Colony and Bechuanaland by the Boer commandos, support for Queen and Empire was apparently unanimous (if one accepts that D'Espinosa was not Jewish.)

Involvement in the War was supported in the synagogue and the press, and young Jewish Australians were encouraged to participate in the war on the side of the Empire. It would appear that the involvement of Jewish Australians was equivalent to their proportionate share of the Australian population. Indeed, as in the First World War, it may even have exceeded that proportion if we had a more accurate record of the number of Jewish soldiers involved.

SCHEDULE I: AUSTRALIAN JEWISH VOLUNTEERS IN THE BOER WAR

NO.	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	STATE	UNIT	PARENTAGE	? KILLED	BURIED	DETAILS	PROVENANCE	WHETHER IN S.A. OR WENT THERE
1	AARONS	ALFRED	VIC	Unknown	Born Leeds 16.4.1870; Died Melbourne 17.10.1936 Parents Sarah (Davis) Aarons & Morris Aarons.					Stayed in SA after the war. Returned to Aust about 1910
2	ALEXANDER	J.J.	SA	No. 29 1st S.A. (Mounted Rifles) Contingent & ? SA 2nd Contingent, 6th Imperial Contingent				Returned on <i>Karama</i> to Hobart (<i>Argus</i> 7.2.02)	JC 9.3.00	
3	BARNETT	M	VIC	Scot H					Maurice Barnett, Vic. 5th Bn WW1	
4	BERNSTEIN	HARRY (BURNSTEIN)	VIC	Unknown						
5	BLASHKI	MYER	VIC	London Yeomanry					JH 2.3.00	
6	BLUMENTHAL	HERBERT EDGAR	WA	6th Contingent				Born London, Commercial traveller		
7	BRAUN	BENJAMIN HENRY	NSW	No. 23 E Sqn 1st NSW Mounted Rifles; 3rd NSW Imperial Bushmen	Born 5.7.1877 Benjamin & Miriam Braun			Signwriter		NSW
8	BRAUN	CHARLES LIMA	NSW	No. 153 C Sqn 1st NSW Mounted Rifles	Born 1874 to Benjamin & Miriam Braun	KIA WW1 19.06.17				
9	CAINES	H	NSW	Imperial Bushmen				of Enmore, a Lieutenant, married xx Phillips		

NO.	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	STATE	UNIT	PARENTAGE	? KILLED	BURIED	DETAILS	PROVENANCE	WHETHER IN S.A. OR WENT THERE
10	COHEN	E.H.		No. 1554 Imperial Light Horse				Enlisted Capetown 27.02.02; Discharged 7.7.02		
11	COHEN	LEOPOLD WOLFE	NSW	No. 1246 City Imperial Volunteer Artillery	Born 1872 Maitland to George Judah Cohen & Rebecca (Levy)			Father President, Great Synagogue, Sydney		
12	COHEN	ISIDORE MARK	VIC	No. 1752 Colonel Byng's A Sqn South African Light Horse Regiment				Stock & Share Broker Born Ballarat; Enlisted March-May 1900; Returned on "Orient" January 1901		
13	COHEN	J.M.	SA	No. 1732 South African Light Horse						
14	COLLINS	MARK FREDERICK	NSW	No. 368 Lance Corporal C Sqn NSW Mounted Rifles 2nd Contingent	Born Goulburn 1875 to Joseph Collins & Priscilla (Israel); Married 1966 Sydney; Parents living Dowling St. Moore Park			On <i>Southern Cross</i> 17.1.00; arr. S.A. 14.2.00	See Vol 3 AJHS p. 167	
15	DAVIS	JACOB JOHN	SA	5th S.A. Contingent				Wounded Winburg 9.9.01; Was in Boxer on <i>HMS Protector</i> as cook's mate (<i>Ad Obs</i> 11.8.00)	JC 13.9.01	
16	DAVIS	MARK	VIC	5 VMR				Wounded Zwartfontein 1.8.01		
17	DAVIS (? DAVIES)	WALTER DAVID "KARRI"	SA	Imperial Light Horse	Born N. Adelaide 14.6.1867 to M.C. Davis & ?			To S.A. 1890s. Formed ILH		in SA before

NO.	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	STATE	UNIT	PARENTAGE	? KILLED	BURIED	DETAILS	PROVENANCE	WHETHER IN S.A. OR WENT THERE
18	DE PASS	ERNEST SIMON	NSW	11th Imp Yeomanry	Born London, 1862			Lieut & Quartermaster; awarded OSA & KSA; a silver refiner; in Sudan Contingent		
19	GOLDSMITH	D.E.	SA	6 Imperial Contingent						
20	GOLDSMITH	JOSEPH ISAAC	SA	Railway Pioneer Regiment	Born 1882			18.6.01-7.8.02 Became President NZ Boer War Assn	Gwendolyn Myers	
21	GOLDREICH	LEISSER	VIC	Cape Garrison Artillery	Father: Rev. Israel Morris Goldreich, Ballarat Mother Priscilla (Levy) Born 1874					in SA before
22	GOLDREICH	SAMUEL J	VIC	E Sqn Bethunes Mounted Infantry	Father: Rev. Goldreich, Ballarat Born 1878			To S.A. 1895		in SA before
23	GOLDSPINK	LEO	VIC	ILH	Father of Carlton					
24	GOLDSTEIN	MARK	VIC	Brabants Light Horse [H.S. says enlisted SALH]	Fourth son of L.J. Goldstein (In H.S. 20.4.00 said to be son of late Rev. L.J. Goldstein of Melbourne)	.00 Tugela River		Left Melbourne on <i>Afric</i>	JH 19.1.00	
25	HARRIS	SAMUEL	WA	2nd W.A. Mounted Infantry	Father: Nathan Harris			Father Past President Perth Hebrew Congregation	HS 2.2.00	
26	HART	ALEXANDER J	NSW	No.265 C Sqn NSW Mounted Rifles				Invalided. Arr Aus 15.9.00	JC 13.7.00	
27	HART	NATHANIEL	WA	No. 406 1st Contingent, then Coy Sgt Major 6th W.A. (Mounted Infantry) Contingent						

NO.	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	STATE	UNIT	PARENTAGE	? KILLED	BURIED	DETAILS	PROVENANCE	WHETHER IN S.A. OR WENT THERE
28	HARTE	HENRY	WA	No. 366 6th W.A. (Mounted Infantry) Contingent		Wounded Merivaal 22.12.01			JC 3.1.02	
29	HIMMELHOCH	SAMUEL	NSW	South African Light Horse	Born 1873 to Isaac Himmelhoch & Miriam (Levy)					
30	HOLLANDER	PERCY EVEL	NSW	No. 1267 Federal Contingent				Dentist Age 26; 8 Park Road, Moore Park	Nominal Roll	
31	JOSEPH	LOUIS		Mounted Section, Railway Pioneer Regt					JC 20.9.01	In SA before. Was in "Australian" Corps, Jameson Raid
32	KENSEL	ISAAC JOHN	NSW	Robert's Horse				Enlisted 8.1.01 (25805); Discharged 12.3.01		
33	KENSELL	SAMUEL	NSW	No. 1560 Bethune's Mounted Infantry				Enlisted Durban 3.10.01		
34	KOHN	CHARLES HENRY	NSW	1ACH(NSW)					Chas Kohn 3174 37th Bn Aust Jewry Book of Honour	
35	LEVI	JOHN JAMES		Capetown Highlanders		Accidentally killed Honeyrest Kloof 16.12.01				
36	LEVY	M	VIC	Imperial Light Infantry					JC 25.10.01	

NO.	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	STATE	UNIT	PARENTAGE	? KILLED	BURIED	DETAILS	PROVENANCE	WHETHER IN S.A. OR WENT THERE
37	LEWIS	HYMAN	NSW	5ACH(NSW)	Scene 26y.o. Father: H. Lewis Queen St. Auckland					
38	LOEL	BERTRAM BENJAMIN	VIC	2nd Bn Aust Cwth Horse	Father: Abraham Loel Grattan St Carlton			Veterinary Surgeon, Lieutenant; 32 Nicholson St Fitzroy	Nominal Roll	
39	MARKS	BERTIE		Unknown	Son of Montague Marks					
40	MARKS	J.G.	NSW	Imperial Light Horse				A Newingtonian		
41	MARKS	J.L.	VIC	Unknown	Father: Josiah Marks, Albert Park			Lieutenant; sailed on <i>Surrey</i>	JH 25.10.01 JC 6.12.01	
42	MEYER	ERNEST	NSW	3rd Regt NSW Mounted Rifles	Father: Elliott Meyer				JH 1.3.01	
43	MOSES	HERBERT	NSW	Unknown	Father: David Moses of Melbourne				JH 16.3.00	
44	MOSES	MOSS	NZ	9NZ	Mrs E Moses, Perth					
45	MOSS	MICHAEL GEORGE	NSW	No. 49 A Sqn NSW Mounted Rifles						
46	PHILLIPS	FENNEL	VIC	5VMR					AJ BK OF HONOUR	
47	PHILLIPS	LOUIS ELEAZAR	VIC	No. 721 3rd Australian (Bushmen's) Contingent	Father: H. Phillips, Warracknackbeal			Station Manager, Cathedral Hotel, Swanston Hotel; 5ft 9 1/2; Born 7.11.61	Nominal Roll	
48	PHILLIPS	WOLFF	VIC	Paymaster's Office Rosebank Camp Cape Town	Father: L. Phillips			Ballarat	JH 14.3.02	

NO.	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	STATE	UNIT	PARENTAGE	? KILLED	BURIED	DETAILS	PROVENANCE	WHETHER IN S.A. OR WENT THERE
49	POLLOCK	SAMUEL	VIC	No. 1460 5th Vict (Mounted Rifles) Contingent	Died 26.12.1964 Father: Louis Pollock Mother: Annie Symons	Wounded at Wilmansrust 12.6.01	Boundary Rider; 17 Hotham St Windsor	5ft 8 1/2; Born 28.5.79	Nominal Roll	
50	SAUNDERS	ALFRED SOLOMON	WA/VIC	Imperial Bushmens Contingent/5th Victorian Contingent	Eldest son of Rev. Moses Saunders of Melbourne	Invalidated back to Aust suffering effects of "enteric"; on <i>RMS Omrah</i> from London DTG 4.00	per <i>Ortona</i>	St N Fitzroy Vic, WW1 35 L/Cpl. 8 LHR died 1952 WA/WAIB Greenbush WA, inv. JH 20.12.01		
51	SHAPPERE	HENRY ELIJAH (HARRY)	VIC	Royal Field Artillery	Father: Solomon Shapperer; Mother Catherine (Asher)					
52	SHAPPERE	ROSE	VIC	Nurse, Princess Christian Army Nursing Service Reserve	Born NZ				JC, JH, HS	
53	SIMMONS	ALBERT	VIC	No. 1401 5th Victorian Mounted Rifles	Father: L. Simmons			Farmhand; 94 Johnston St Collingwood; 5ft 7 1/2; Born 15.2.80	Nominal Roll	
54	SLEEMAN	MORRIS		B Es H						
55	SOLOMON	JUDAH MOSS	NSW	No. 850 2nd NSW Mounted Rifles						
56	SOLOMON	HERBERT	WA	No. 268 5th W.A. (Mounted Infantry) Contingent	Father: S. Solomon of Northam	Shot near Jankastke Farm 15.4.01 (white flag incident)			JC 4.5.00	

NO.	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	STATE	UNIT	PARENTAGE	? KILLED	BURIED	DETAILS	PROVENANCE	WHETHER IN S.A. OR WENT THERE
57	SOLOMON	SOLOMON	NSW	No. 77 — NSW Citizens Bushmen's Draft	Father: Henry S. Solomon decd			Born 4.7.75; of Wedchga	Nominal Roll	
58	SOLOMON	SYDNEY MEYER	NSW	No. 483 2nd Regt NSW Mounted Rifles	Born 1869 to John Solomon & Rosetta (Lavey)					
59	SOLOMON	WALTER S	NSW	6th Contingent	Son of M.J. Solomon of Adelaide			Ill with enteric; in SA Base Hospital Ad Obs 30.11.01		
60	SOLOMONS	BERTRAM MARCUS	WA	No. 45 - 4th W.A. (Mounted Infantry) Contingent						
61	TAMWORTH	LEWIS (LOUIS)	NSW	Imperial Yeomanry Montgomery Coy	Son of Mrs. L.W. Levy of Sydney				HS 9.2.00; JC 30.3.00	
62	VISBORD	JACOB JOHN	VIC	Unknown				In WW1 Private 2109 22nd Bn		
63	WOOLSTEIN (Wollstein?)	Harry M	QLD	2nd Contingent 6 QIB				Served in Cameronians, in India, NZ & SA		

SCHEDULE II: ADDITIONAL NAMES OF POSSIBLE AUSTRALIAN JEWISH VOLUNTEERS IN THE BOER WAR

NO.	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	STATE	UNIT	PARENTAGE	? KILLED	BURIED	DETAILS	PROVENANCE	WHETHER IN S.A. OR WENT THERE
1	ABRAHAMS	CLAUDE	NSW	EVC				210 Devonshire St Surry Hills		
2	ABRAHAM	CYRIL	QLD	1ACH						
3	ACKERMAN	LAURENCE	NSW	3 NSWIE						

NO.	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	STATE	UNIT	PARENTAGE	? KILLED	BURIED	DETAILS	PROVENANCE	WHETHER IN S.A. OR WENT THERE
4	ADLER	HARRY MARK		BVC						
5	ALEXANDER	EUSTACE	VIC					Married Fanny Collins (father Joseph Collins of Goulburn)	AJHS Vol 3 p.191	
6	ALLEN	ABRAHAM JAMES	VIC	SALH		Standerton 9.7.00	Standerton	Born Ballarat		
7	ALLEN	PHILIP	WA	1WAMI, 5WAMI						
8	ALLMAN	DANIEL JOHN	NSW	5ACH						
9	AUDAT	BENJAMIN		KITCHENERS HORSE				Benjamin Audet - Parents Jacob & Elizabeth (Moss) Lived King St Newtown in 1920's		
10	BARNARD	DAVID L	NSW	1ACH						
11	BARNETT	SAMUEL	SA	2SAMR				invalided.		
12	BARNETT	WILLIAM	NSW	2NSWMR, 3NSWI3				Teamster, born Tuena	William Barnett, 35th Bn WW 1	
13	BARRINGTON	DONALD HENRY		5ACH(NSW)						
14	BEAR	J.E.		CIV						
15	BEAVER	G.A.	VIC	2 Scot H						
16	BECK,	David Warden		2 Sc H						
17	BECK,	Jacob Frederick		2 Sc H						
18	BENJAMIN	ADOLPH BERTRAM	NSW	NSWAMC						
19	BENJAMIN	HERBERT ASHER	QLD	5 QIB				Lieutenant		

NO.	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	STATE	UNIT	PARENTAGE	? KILLED	BURIED	DETAILS	PROVENANCE	WHETHER IN S.A. OR WENT THERE
20	BERG	PERCY	NSW	JMR						
21	BICHSEL	SAMUEL	QLD	7 ACH QLD						
22	BLACK	ABRAHAM		BVC						
23	BLACK	E. G.	SA	6 SAIB						
24	BLACK	SIDNEY RUPERT	VIC	5 VMR						
25	BLOMFIELD	A.H.C.	QLD	3 ACH QLD						
26	BLOOMFIELD	CHARLES JOHN	NSW	2NSWMR				Molong. Born Dandalow, wife Minnie, living Liverpool St Paddington		
27	BOAM	HARRY M	NSW	1 ACH						
28	BRAUN	E.W.	NSW	Scottish Horse						
29	BROWNE	CHARLES SIMON	NSW	5 ACH						
30	BUINISKI	DAVID		BVC						
31	CALDECOTT	E	NSW	BMI						
32	CLIFFORD	G.S.	WA	5WAMI						
33	COLLINS		WA	Brab H				invalided per <i>Spawic</i> arr. Albany 2.5.01		
34	COX	FREDERICK	NSW	NSWIB				reporter, Newtown, b. 1880		
35	DANIELS	D.O.	SA	8ACHSA						
36	DAVIES	ISAAC	VIC	4ACH(Vic)						

NO.	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	STATE	UNIT	PARENTAGE	? KILLED	BURIED	DETAILS	PROVENANCE	WHETHER IN S.A. OR WENT THERE
37	DAVIS	A	VIC	2 Scot H						
38	DAVIS	ALBERT WILLIAM	QLD	6th Qld Bushmen		Died Typhoid Standerton 2.3.01	Standerton G of R		JC 14.6.01	
39	DAVIS	DAVID ELLIS	NSW	3NSWIB						
40	DAVIS	E	WA	1WAMI,						
41	DETMOLD	PERCY GEORGE	QLD	4 QIB						
42	DIAMOND	C.H.	VIC	6 ACH (Vic)				Ballarat		
43	DIAMOND	WILLIAM	NSW	5ACH(NSW)						
44	EDMONDS	ALFRED	NSW	NSWAMC						
45	ESLER	SAMUEL	VIC	5 VMR						
46	FABIAN	W.A.	VIC	8ACH(Vic)						
47	FELTS	DAVID	NSW	3NSWIB				Kiama; Also known as David R. Feltz		
48	FISHER	BENJAMIN	WA	6WAMI		KIA Nr Carolina 15.5.01		Pvt. No. 335 Born NSW		
49	FRANKEL	G.W.	SA	5SAIB						
50	FRANKS	SAMUEL	NSW	NSWAMC						
51	FREEMAN	ARNOLD W	VIC	5 VMR						
52	FREEMAN	SAMUEL FREDERICK	NSW	1NSWMR						
53	FRIEND	JAMES JACOB	NSW	3NSWIB						

NO.	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	STATE	UNIT	PARENTAGE	? KILLED	BURIED	DETAILS	PROVENANCE	WHETHER IN S.A. OR WENT THERE
54	FRIEND	ALEXANDER JOSEPH		NSW	2NSWMR			Born 1872 Bathurst		
55	GILDEA	MONTAGUE S	NSW	1ACH NSW						
56	GLASS		VIC	Brab H						
57	GLASS	JOHN	VIC	4ACH(Vic)						
58	GOLDRING	HENRY	NSW	NSWIB						
59	GOLDSMITH	G.H.	QLD	7ACH(Q)						
60	GOODMAN	A.J.	NSW	5ACHNSW						
61	GOODMAN	ALBERT	NSW	3NSWIB						
62	GOODMAN	HERBERT JOHN	VIC	3VB		KIA Koster River 21.7.00	Buried Rusterberg Memorial Cemetery		Chanukah Service 1900	
63	GOODRICH	HENRY	NSW	3NSWIB						
64	GOULSTONE	N	NSW							
65	GREEN	JOSEPH		3MI						
66	HARPER	S	VIC	6ACH(Vic)				Colac		
67	HARRIS	ARNOLD JOSEPH	NSW	1ACH				Goulburn		
68	HARRIS	SYDNEY	NSW	3NSWIB						
69	HART	HERBERT	NSW	3(ACH)NSW						
70	HART	J	QLD	1QMI						
71	HINES	ELLIS ELIJAH	NSW	1NSWMR						
72	HINES	HERBERT EDWARD	NSW	3NSWMR						

NO.	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	STATE	UNIT	PARENTAGE	? KILLED	BURIED	DETAILS	PROVENANCE	WHETHER IN S.A. OR WENT THERE
73	HYMAN	LEWIS		5TH BN ACH						
74	SAACS	EDWARD ROGER	NSW	3NSWMB						
75	SAACS	NORMAN SCOTT	QLD	3QMI						
76	JACOBS	E	W.A.	4ACH(WA)						
77	JACOBS	EDWARD J	NSW	3ACH(NSW)						
78	JACOBS	FRANK	NSW	3ACH(NSW)						
79	JACOBS	JAMES HENRY	NSW	3NSWMP		16.8.01		Glen Innes		
80	JACOBS	JOHN	VIC	4IB						
81	JACOBSON	VICTOR	NSW	3NSWIB						
82	JEWELL	EDWIN C	VIC	1VMI						
83	JEWELL	GEORGE	VIC	No. 1685 5th Vict Mounted Infantry		Wounded at Willemansrust		Born 27.10.76 Saddler; 3 Bent St Northcote. No religion shown on Nominal Roll	JC 21.6.01	
84	JEWELL	THOMAS	VIC	2VMR						
85	JOSEPH	J.E.	QLD	Queensland Mounted Infantry					JC 25.1.01	
86	JOSEPH	E.W.	SA	6SAIB						
87	JOSEPHS	ALFRED	NSW	3NSWIB						
88	JOSEPHSON	EDWARD A	NSW	3NSWIB						
89	KAYE	JJ	VIC	2Sc H						
90	KAYE	WILLIAM HENRY	NSW	2NSWMB				Born Bendigo 1875		
91	KLEIN	GODFREY	NSW	NSWCB				Born Tumut, 1870		

NO.	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	STATE	UNIT	PARENTAGE	? KILLED	BURIED	DETAILS	PROVENANCE	WHETHER IN S.A. OR WENT THERE
92	KNOBEL	JACOB	NSW	3NSWMR						
93	LEE	MAURICE	VIC	2ACH						
94	LEE	SAMUEL	NSW							
95	LEWIS	BENJAMIN	T	3ACH(TAS)						
96	LEWIS	JOSEPH	NSW	1 AUST H						
97	LEWIS	M	WA	4WAMI						
98	LOWENTHAL	MARK	VIC	5VMR						
99	MANN	Benjamin F	NSW	2 NSWMR						
100	MARKS,	Frederick William	NSW	NSWB				Bushmen; discharged Capetown 1.4.00		
101	MENSER	LOUIS	NSW	3NSWMR						
102	MEYERS	FREDERICK	NSW	3NSWMR						
103	MORRIS	A.J.	VIC	BMI						
104	MORRIS	FRANK	NSW	3(ACH)NSW						
105	MORRIS	HENRY	VIC	4(ACH)VIC						
106	MOSS	BENJAMIN CHARLES		2 So H						
107	MOSS,	H. S.	NSW	D Coy Fed Cont	Father G.S. Moss of Merrylands					
108	MOSS	HERBERT SAVILLE	QLD	1ACH(QLD)						
109	MOSS	J	VIC	SALH						
110	MYER			Imp Yeo Scts						
111	MYERS	Alexander Stuart	QLD	4 QIB						

NO.	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	STATE	UNIT	PARENTAGE	? KILLED	BURIED	DETAILS	PROVENANCE	WHETHER IN S.A. OR WENT THERE
112	MYERS	KENRICK WILLIAM	NSW	5 (ACH)NSW	Sam Myers, Cooma					
113	NATHAN	VERNOUR VIGNE	NSW	3NSWMR						
114	NESBIT	J.S.	QLD	7ACH(Q)						
115	NUTALL	ISAAC	VIC	5VMR						
116	NUTALL	MARK CYRIL	VIC	5VMR						
117	PHILLIPS	A.L.	VIC	2 Sc H						
118	PHILLIPS	ALBERT	NSW	3ACH(NSW)						
119	PHILLIPS	ARNOLD	VIC	5VMR						
120	POSNER	MICHAEL								
121	R(H)EUBEN	MAURICE TASMAN LEONARD	QLD	D Coy Fed Cont 1ACH	Father: A.M. Rheuben, Townsville					
122	ROBINSON	ABRAHAM	VIC	Thornicrofts Mounted Infantry					Maryborough, Vic. Employed by Rand Mining Co.	in S.A.
123	ROSEN	LESLIE WILLIAM	NSW	NSWCB				Born 1878, Sydney	AJ BK of Honour – Lieut 2nd Br	
124	SAMUEL	JACK	NSW	J'Burg MR						
125	SAMUELSON	GERALD SEPTIMUS	NSW	N.S.W.A.M.C.				Born London 1865. Arr. Australia 1890		
126	SANDERS	ERNEST WILLIAM	VIC	1VMI:4ACH(VIC)						
127	SCHAFER	THOMAS ABRAHAM	NSW	5ACH(NSW)						
128	SCHNEIDER	J.A.	QLD	6Q B						
129	SCHMAN	HERMAN	VIC	5VMR						
130	SEIFFERT	LOUIS	NSW	1ST AH						

NO.	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	STATE	UNIT	PARENTAGE	? KILLED	BURIED	DETAILS	PROVENANCE	WHETHER IN S.A. OR WENT THERE
131	SELBY	HAROLD ISAAC	NSW	NSW Imperial Bushmen/ Scottish Horse	Father: Charles Selby of Invercargill NZ			M: B Coy. MID 8.5.01 B5204: squatter born 1878 Dundedin NZ 35057 Lt, 2Scot. H OSA&3 (CC Tvl. Rhod.) KSA		
132	SHERMAN	C	QLD	4018						
133	STARKEY	ARTHUR ELI	VIC	1VM						
134	STARKEY	JOSEPH SAMUEL	NSW	2NSWMR						
135	STEIN	JAMES LAURIE	NSW	NSWAMC						
136	SWEETLAND	BENJAMIN DAVID	NSW	1ST AH						
137	WALL	GEORGE	NSW	Imp Yeo Scls				Randwick	WWI AJ Bk of Honour Lt Col AQM	
138	WOLPERT	EMANUEL	NSW	1NSWMR, BVC						

SUGGESTED TO BE JEWISH, BUT APPARENTLY NOT

NO.	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	STATE	UNIT	PARENTAGE	? KILLED	BURIED	DETAILS	PROVENANCE	WHETHER IN S.A. OR WENT THERE
a	ABRAHAMS	WILLIAM JOHN	N.S.W.	No. 15 A Son NSW Mounted Rifles		Abraham's Kraal, Driefontein 10.3.00	Bosrand Farm, Jacobsdal District [29.08S; 24.56E]	From Bega. Born 1881 Merimbula Employed at Tathra. 19y.o	Query though noted Chanukah Memorial Service 1901	

NO.	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	STATE	UNIT	PARENTAGE	? KILLED	BURIED	DETAILS	PROVENANCE	WHETHER IN S.A. OR WENT THERE
b	BARNARD	STANLEY JOHN	VIC	No. 1359 5th Vic Mounted Rifles	James Spencer Barnard & Ellen Frances Morgan. [Married Gloucestershire 1866] Born 1877 Emerald Hill	Wilmansrust 12.6.01	Middleburg Old Municipal Cemetery Province [25.47S; 29.28E]	? Nominal Roll shows C of E - Tram Conductor 62 Cassells' Rd Nth Brunswick	Chanukah Memorial Service 1901	Mpumalanga
c	ABRAHAMSON	SM	VIC	4 Imperial Bushmen's Contingent No. 468						
d	MYERS	WALTER	NSW	No. 46 D Sqn NSW Citizens Bushmen		Umtali, Mashona and 24.4.00		Of NZ. ?		
e	GLASS	DAVID JOHN	VIC	No. 902 5th Vict Mounted Rifles	Father: John Glass of Kyneton			On Nominal Roll says Presbyterian		
f	GOODSELL	ISAAC	NSW	N.S.W. Medical Corps	Parents John Goodsell & Rebecca Hanfield; Born 1874 Ulladulla			On Nominal Roll says C of E		
g	HADFIELD	DAVID	NSW	No. 4 Sqn NSW Medical Corps				On Nominal Roll says C of E		
h	KENSEL	WILLIAM	N.S.W.	No. 1229 2nd NSW Mounted Rifles				Of Gunredah. Born 5.9.79. Nominal Roll shows as C of E		
i	FRICE	SOLOMON	QLD	No. 235 C Sqn Northern Districts - 7th Commonwealth Horse				On Nominal Roll says C of E		
j	SELMAN	SYDNEY	VIC	No. 136 2nd Mounted Rifles; SVMR	Of Lilydale			Nominal Roll shows Protestant		

NO.	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	STATE	UNIT	PARENTAGE	? KILLED	BURIED	DETAILS	PROVENANCE	WHETHER IN S.A. OR WENT THERE
k	WISE		VIC							
l	ROTH	REUTER EMMERICH	NSW	N.S.W. A.M.C.				Married Lily May Hart 1883, Congregational Rites		

NOTES

1. Craig Wilcox, *Australia's Boer War: The War in South Africa, 1899-1902* Melbourne: Oxford University Press, Melbourne, in association with the Australian War Memorial, 2002.
2. These references in the text do not have an Australian Jewish connotation, the first being a note to the prevalent attack on the Randlords, many of whom were Jewish; the second being to a letter written by a Tasmanian Bushman who was treated in a civilian hospital established in the Johannesburg Jewish institute, and who was nursed by local Jewish nurses; while the third is a reference to the establishment of the Bushveldt Carbineers and their 'patron, recruiter, paymaster and sutler, a Jewish merchant and intelligence officer called Joseph Levy, whose patronage seems to have reflected both a patriotic impulse and a profit motive — not only would the regiment ensure economic revival in the north, it would also have to be fed and equipped while it worked towards the goal'. Ibid, p. 277.
3. Wilcox, referring to the Transvaal in 1899 says: 'Some uitlanders, often Irish, German, Dutch and Scandanavian, declared for the Transvaal, which for them had the virtues of being an avowedly anti-capitalist, anti-English and anti-Jewish state that held African peoples securely in check'. While this article is not the place for an examination of Boer attitudes to Jews, the reader is referred to the article by Edna Bradlow entitled 'Jewish Refugees at the Cape in the Anglo-Boer War' in *Jewish Affairs*, Spring 1999 Vol. 54 No. 3 at page 38 where the opinion is expressed that the official restrictions in the Transvaal on Jews did not extend down to the Transvaal burghers who were personally well-disposed to individual Jews.
4. Here, the reference is to the viewpoint of a Queenslander, Vincent Lesina, a Laborite, who damned the whole war as 'merely a Jew's war', *Queensland Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 82, 11 October 1899, p.343.
5. Again this is a reference to Australian antisemitism expressed in the Queensland Parliament. 'Some dissenters said that only cowards and curs were enlisting, or that the drapers in uniform were off to help the hawk-beaked Jews'. Ibid., 12 October 1899, p. 403.
6. In this reference Wilcox introduces the subject of the foreign volunteers fighting for the Boers. Their inducement he writes, was by being 'moved by the love of adventure or freedom, or by

hatred of England, Jews or the industrial capitalism that an imperial victory would impose across South Africa'. I am unable to locate the authority used by Wilcox to substantiate this viewpoint. The article by David Saks, 'Jews on Commando' in *Jewish Affairs*, Spring 1999 p.23, notes that there were some Jewish volunteers from Europe who aided the Boers with more than just sympathy.

7. Wilcox refers to the *Bulletin*. See the section of this article dealing with Australian antisemitism.
8. Here the reference is to the antisemitism expressed by the New South Wales Labor parliamentarian for Grenfell, W.A. Holman, when he said that the empire's real enemy was 'the German Jews who prompted the war'. This is cited in H.V. Evatt's *Australian Labour Leader: The Story of W.A. Holman and the Labour Movement*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1940, p. 143.
9. The statement that is made here is: 'Mutterings against the patriotic funds and memorial committees joined mutterings by returned soldiers over back pay and — together with soldiers' wisdom about the war and the army, dismay at the 'Drayton Grange' deaths, the farce of the South African settlement scheme, and the importation of Chinese labour to the Rand — persuaded many ordinary Australians of the dissenters' view that the war had been waged purely for the benefit of capitalists and Jews'. It would appear that this is based on views expressed in *The Worker*, 4 October 1902.
10. These references will be considered in more detail in this article under the discussion of the extent of Australian antisemitism.
11. Foreigners (pronounced 'atelunders')
12. Founded by 'Karri' Davies and Aubrey Wools-Sampson, and including many Australian *uitlanders*.
13. Prior to Federation, the term 'Australia' was used to include New Zealand. Reports in newspapers in New South Wales and the other colonies (and later states) of casualties in the Anglo-Boer War appeared under the heading 'Australian'. This continued throughout the war, notwithstanding the fact that for one and a half years, 'Australia' and 'New Zealand' were distinct entities.
14. These figures are as at 1901.
15. In Suzanne Rutland's *Edge of the Diaspora*, Collins Sydney, 1988, it is noted that there was a decline in the Jewish population in country areas from almost 40% in 1861 to 19% in 1901. 'After 1900 Australian Jewry was largely an urban com-

- munity, a typical feature of Jewish communities almost everywhere in the world'. [Page 108]
16. An example is Joseph Marks of Grenfell, who wrote of his Jewish background in articles in the *Grenfell Times* and also spoke about it during the welcome back from South Africa given to his son.
 17. Charles Price, 'Jewish Settlers in Australia', *AJHS Journal* Vol. 5 Pt 8, Statistics in Appendix, p.448.
 18. When the Bushmen's Contingent was being formed in January 1900, George Judah Cohen gave £1,000 to the fund established to meet the initial costs of organising the unit. In the obituary in the *Sydney Mail* 27 January 1937 the statement was made that George Judah Cohen was proud of being a Jew and very proud of being a British Jew.
 19. Alfred Harris founded the *Hebrew Standard* in November 1895. It was revived in July 1897 as a weekly and appeared regularly until it was changed to the *Australian Jewish Times* in 1953. Alfred Harris was its editor until 1908 and later from 1925 until his death in 1944.
 20. The *Jewish Herald* began publication as a monthly in December 1879, then changed to a fortnightly newspaper. It ceased publication in 1919 but later restarted as the *Australian Jewish Herald* in 1935.
 21. Rev. Freedman had been born in Hungary but had lived in London from boyhood.
 22. The *Hebrew Standard*, 10 November 1899.
 23. *West Australian*, 31 October 1899.
 24. *Ibid.*, 11 November 1899 p.5.
 25. *Ibid.*, 16 November 1899.
 26. *Ibid.*, 22 November 1899.
 27. The *Hebrew Standard*, 3 November 1899, p.5.
 28. *Ibid.*, p.7.
 29. The *Hebrew Standard*, 24 November 1899 p.4.
 30. As Suzanne Rutland notes in *Seventy Five Years*, AJHS Sydney 1970, p. 10, in return for Harris' support of the Establishment, the *Hebrew Standard* was given moral support and assistance by Sydney Jewry's leading families.
 31. The *Hebrew Standard*, 20 October 1899 p.4.
 32. *Ibid.*, 8 December 1899 p. 2.
 33. The *Jewish Herald*, 19 January 1900. The comment can be made with regard to the thoughts expressed in this editorial that unfortunately the eloquence of the Editor is not matched by the actions of the British in dealing with 'subject' peoples, rather than with White Englishmen. Because the Boers were

also White, they had to match the supposed standard that was being set by the British for other Whites outside the United Kingdom.

34. The *Jewish Herald*, 16 February 1900.
35. The *Hebrew Standard*, 10 November 1899 p.5.
36. *Edge of the Diaspora* op cit, p. 75.
37. Majuba was the scene of the British humiliation and Boer victory in 1881 which ended the first Boer War and led to the independence of the South African Republic.
38. The *Hebrew Standard*, 30 March 1900 p. 7.
39. In Schedule 1, I have set out the names and details of some 70 Jewish Australians who were involved in the Boer War. Their authenticity as participants and as Jews has in most cases been checked. There are some of whom a doubt persists. In addition, I have set out in Schedule II an additional 100 plus names of participants who may have been Jewish. These names have been extracted from a combined listing of Australians in the Boer War, and is based on similarity to the names in *Australian Jewry Book of Honour The Great War 1914-1918* compiled and published by Harold Boas in 1923 as well as the States nominated in that listing.
40. The exact number of Australians who died is not known. The Australian War Memorial records the death of 517 Australians, but that figure is based only on the official Australian contingents. I have recorded in my searches through Australian newspapers of the time the names of a further 200 Australians. Craig Wilcox in *Australia's Boer War*, op. cit. p.14, suggests that the toll may have been a thousand. Most deaths were the result of illness, typhoid being the principal curse of those who served in South Africa. It was called enteric fever. As Wilcox notes 'Disease killed a smaller percentage of Australians than Britons in South Africa, but nevertheless caused more than half the fatalities in Australian contingents', op. cit. p.175.
41. An assumed name may have been adopted because the volunteer was married and did not wish his circumstances to be investigated because married men with families to support were not accepted.
42. Amongst those whom I have identified are Samuel and Isaac John Kensell of NSW, Isadore Mark Cohen and Mark Goldstein of Victoria and Joseph Isaac Goldsmith of South Australia.

The cheapest fare to South Africa from Australia was provided by the White Star Lines ships *Afric*, *Persic*, *Medic*, *Runic* and *Suevic* which advertised a fare of between £13.13.0 to

£17.17.0 for their one class ships. The fare for this class would appear to have been equal to that for the Third Class in the Aberdeen Line ships *Moravian*, *Australasian* and *Salamis*, also operating to England via the Cape rather than through the Suez Canal. The rate for Saloon Class on the Aberdeen Line ships was £ 31.10.0. [Advertisements in *Sydney Mail* and *Daily Telegraph* in January 1900.] Mark Goldstein had taken passage in late 1899 on the *Afric*.

Another means of getting to South Africa at least from mid 1900 onwards was by means of 'Indulgence Passages' which were offered on troopships returning to South Africa after the troopship had brought back to Australia either discharged or invalided troops. One example was the *Harlech Castle* in September 1901, when the returning serviceman had to commit to joining a unit on arrival in South Africa. The fare was £2.5.0 which was calculated at the rate of 1/6 a day. One Jewish soldier, Benjamin Braun, who had already had two tours of duty in South Africa, took advantage of this offer and paid the stipulated fare to the Embarkation Officer prior to boarding. Many of those who had signed up for the *Harlech Castle* did not sail on her, but it appears offered themselves as horse assistants on ships which carried remounts. That way they were paid, and did not have to pay to get to Cape Town. *Daily Telegraph*, 24-27 September 1901.

Some Australians stowed away on the Transports, and perhaps were allowed to continue on to South Africa. An example, though not Jewish, is F. West who was accepted into the South African Light Horse. *Daily Telegraph*, 9 February 1900. Another is Trumpeter R. Baker formerly of the NSW Artillery, who stowed away on the *Southern Cross* at the same time as the 1st NSW Mounted Rifles were aboard her. He also joined the South African Light Horse, *Daily Telegraph*, 9 April 1900. A log of the journey to South Africa on board the *Southern Cross* features amongst the letters written by Mark Collins, an Australian Jew, of Narrabri.

43. *Jewish Herald*, 2 February 1900 referring to Philip Barnard and A. Alexander, both of South Australia.
44. The *Hebrew Standard*, 27 December 1901 refers to a letter from Samuel to his parents in which he referred to meeting a large number of Jewish soldiers at a tea party which had been organised for the soldiers.
45. *Newcastle Morning Herald*, 16 January 1900, p. 5.
46. Isaac's speech in later life could be characterized as very Australian 'Ocker', and laid-back. My wife, of course, cannot

speak as to the appearance and mannerisms of her grandfather some 50 years earlier in 1900. Samuel is recalled by his son, Joseph, some 40 years after his time in South Africa.

47. His father was M.C. Davies, prominent in Australian commercial circles of the day, and who lived in Western Australia.
48. Other instances are Leisser and Samuel Goldreich of Victoria, J.C. Marks and Samuel Himmelhoch of NSW.
49. Moss Moses served in the 9 New Zealand Contingent. His enrolment papers indicated that his mother lived in Perth.
50. For the Federal Contingent, the enrolment form provided for the religion of the enrolling soldier to be given. The *Daily Telegraph* of 1 January 1902 observed:

The following is the form of attestation prescribed for candidates for enrolment in the Contingent. It will be observed that the religion is required to be stated. Experience has shown that it is very desirable to the authorities should be in possession of this information in order that embarrassment may be avoided in those cases where it becomes desirable to make a clergyman the bearer of bad news. Another innovation, also dictated by experience, is the requirement of a declaration absolving the Commonwealth Government from any liability to compensate in case of disablement or death. The men will thus have it clearly impressed upon them at the outset that it is the Imperial Government they must look for consideration in this respect. The form reads:

What is your name?

What is your place of birth?

Are you a British subject?

What is your age?

What is your trade or calling?

Are you married?

Who is your next of kin and what is the address of same? (degree of relationship to be stated).

Particulars of any previous service in present South African war, and state to what contingent enrolled and if discharged?

Are you willing to serve for a period of 12 months, or for the duration in the contingent for service in South Africa with his Majesty's forces?

Are you willing to be vaccinated or re-vaccinated if deemed advisable?

What is your religion?

I do solemnly declare that the above answers made by me to the above questions are true, and that I am willing to fulfil the engagements made for service under the Imperial Government, and that I have no claim on the Commonwealth Government, and that I do not expect to receive for myself or any of my relations any compensation whatever from the Commonwealth Government in case of my disablement or death.

51. As Richard Mendelsohn notes in his article in *Jewish Affairs*, Vol.54 No. 3 Spring 1999 — South African Jewish Board of Deputies, the *Jewish Chronicle* scoured the lists of recruits for Jewish-sounding names. Some of its guesses led to embarrassing errors. For example, it claimed that Aubrey Woolls-Sampson, the joint founder with 'Karri' Davies of the Imperial Light Horse, was Jewish. It was then forced to print a retraction: 'From the name and other circumstances, this gallant officer has often been supposed to be of Jewish extraction, but we now have the highest authority to say that the belief is unfounded', 31 January 1902, p.21.
52. Sellheim was prominent in World War 1, being the Commandant of the Administrative Headquarters of the AIF in Cairo.
53. Australian War Memorial Sudan War Nominal Roll Database.
54. Note from Margaret Beadman, Art Section, Australian War Memorial, April 2003.
55. The 5th VMR suffered eighteen fatalities in the fifteen minute attack by a Boer commando which succeeded due to the failure of the British commanding officer to post sufficient sentries.
56. In his enrolment form his address was given as care of his aunt, a Mrs. Lewis of Park Street, Charters Towers.
57. It could well be that there might have been many members of a congregation whose unrecognisable names hide their Jewishness. One needs only to consider the Honour Boards standing in the foyer of the Great Synagogue Sydney wherein there are named the Jewish volunteers of the First World War. Included are surnames such as Mitchell and Packer. This was partly because many European born Jewish families anglicised their surnames when migrating to Great Britain.
58. Mark Collins of Narrabri.
59. *Jewish Affairs* Vol.54 No. 3 Spring 1999 — South African Jewish Board of Deputies.
60. Published in 1900 by Nisbet, it was the bible of those who dissented from the war, whether their dissent was related to their

dislike of rampant imperialism, or their antisemitism blinded them. Craig Wilcox (p. 187) indicates that this publication helped revive the more fundamental dissent against the war and 'seemed to offer proof at last that dissenters were right to see the war as the product of a conspiracy of Jewish capitalists to rob the Transvaal of its gold mines'.

61. See, for example, *The Western Australian*, 9 February, 1900.
62. I have been unable to locate any later articles in *Truth* in which there are attacks on Jews or suggestions of Jews having a financial interest in the war.
63. By the 'Chartered Company' Burns was referring to Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company.
64. A play on words, for *Uitlanders*.
65. *Truth*, 11 February, 1900, p. 1. This was the first mention in *Truth* of a connection between Jews and the War — of the suggestion that persons of the Jewish religion had engineered the stand taken by the British authorities, and were part of the Cecil Rhodes clique. It is to be noted that it occurs in the fourth month of the war.
66. *HS*, 10 November 1899.
67. Rutland, *op. cit.*, p.97.
68. *Ibid.*
69. *The Hebrew Standard*, 23 February 1900, p.5.
70. *Australia's Boer War*, *op. cit.* p. 187.
71. The 'Absent Minded Beggar' was a poem written by Rudyard Kipling supporting the British Empire's war effort. It was immensely popular and readings of it encouraged generous donations. In the *Jewish Herald* editorial of 16 February 1900, for example, it is referred to as 'a veritable word in due season, one might well call it a sermon — has appealed to the hearts of millions of British subjects, and evoked the most genuine sympathy....It has brought forth sterling contributions from all classes of people.'
72. *The Jewish Herald*, 8 June 1900, pp 196-198.
73. J.F. Archibald, the proprietor of *The Bulletin* was opposed to the Boer War, and regarded it as the product of the greed of international Jewry. He called volunteers for the war 'Cohentingenteers'. Rutland, *op. cit.*, p.95. One such cartoon is illustrated in *Australia's Boer War*, *op. cit.*, p. 260 with the notation 'The *Bulletin* mocks war souvenirs', *Bulletin*, 19 October 1901.
74. *Australia's Boer War*, *op. cit.* p. 324.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 325
76. Mafeking was liberated on the evening of 16-17 May 1900.

'Karri' Davies led the ride into the settlement to announce that the British had arrived. The siege had lasted eight months. The relief of Mafeking was celebrated throughout the Empire. A public holiday was given. Wilcox notes: 'At the Western Australian estate owned by Walter Karri Davies' father, the company took its entire workforce along with local residents to the seaside for a picnic,' *Australia's Boer War*, op. cit., pp.42-43.

77. *HS*, 1 June 1900, p.2.
78. *Ibid.*, 1 June 1900, p.2.
79. *The Jewish Herald*, 28 February 1902, pp. 87-88.
80. *Ibid.*, 14 March 1902, p. 100.
81. Presumably it was Minnie.
82. *The Jewish Herald*, 28 February 1902, p. 101
83. *Ibid.*, p. 99
84. *Ibid.*, June 6 1902, p. 192
85. *Ibid.*, 6 June 1902, p. 190
86. *Ibid.*, 20 June 1902, p. 207
87. *Ibid.*
88. *Ibid.*
89. *Ibid.* p. 202
90. It has been suggested that Tully was a lightweight boxing champion. I have not been able to verify that assertion. Certainly he won some fights, but from the details that I found in *The Referee*, he lost as many fights as he won. His weight was 9st 9lbs when he fought in 1891 (and lost). A brother (unnamed) was in his corner when he fought one of his fights.
91. *The Referee* 15 July 1891, p.6.
92. *Jewish Affairs* Spring 1999 Vol. 54 No. 3, p.23 and p.27.
93. *Vaderland*, 23 August 1954, cited op cit p.27.
94. Again as here in Australia, the number of Jews who fought for the Boer Republics is an unknown. Former Chief Rabbi Louis Rabinowitz had a pet project during the 1940s to document the then little-known role of Jews in the Boer armed forces. As a result of his efforts it appears that at least 250 Jews fought in the Boer commandos, and at least another fifty served in a reserve capacity. A listing of those known to be Jewish together with a list of possibilities appeared in the Spring 1999 issue of *Jewish Affairs*.
95. Email from David Saks to Russell Stern 'In search of the Jewish Boer Boxer from Oz', 7 March 2003.
96. *The Jewish Herald* 17 August 1900, p.273.
97. *Ibid.* 16 February 1900.

RABBI DAVID ISAAC FREEDMAN: AN ENDURING LEGACY

by Nate Zusman¹

David Isaac Freedman, the first ordained Jewish minister in the colony of Western Australia, was twenty-two when he took up his appointment with the Perth Hebrew Congregation in 1897. It was his first post after graduating B.A. from the University of London and as a Reverend from Jews' College, London.²

Freedman was born in Hungary in 1874 and he had come to London as a young child. Having received all his education in England, he was an ardent supporter of the British Empire and was imbued with the principles of service, loyalty and citizenship, which he demonstrated throughout his lifetime, particularly during the First World War.

Although nominally orthodox, he was liberal in his approach to *Halacha* (Religious Law). His scholarship lay more in the direction of secular than theological knowledge. In his tertiary studies, he had achieved success in mathematics and literature. He wore the reversed collar and clerical attire, a practice that was consistent with Anglo-Orthodox practice and for many years wore a monocle. The founders of the Perth Hebrew Congregation were Anglo-Jews, either from the British Isles or the eastern states of Australia and Freedman was exactly the type of minister they wanted.

In the synagogue, Freedman made the sermon the high point of the service and he commonly recited several prayers in English. He was an excellent speaker with a sense of the dramatic. Although he did not have a good voice, his knowledge of music enabled him to create the atmosphere associated with the liturgy of festivals and holy days.

Freedman was also headmaster of the Perth Hebrew School, which met three times a week: after Sabbath service, one hour after normal school hours, and Sunday mornings. The syllabus that Freedman devised was consistent with his religious philosophy and well-suited to the beliefs of his Anglo congregation. The programme

in Australia in 1900. Another development occurred in 1906, when the principles advocated in London by Israel Zangwill's Jewish Territorial Organisation were advocated in Perth. Freedman, who had known Zangwill during his student days, supported the policy of resettlement of persecuted Jews in any suitable location as an immediate priority. He organised combined Zionist and Territorial Societies meetings but differences in ideology produced a split.

Nevertheless, Freedman found it an opportune time to try and embrace the Zionist-minded English and Yiddish-speaking sections in a composite body that he could lead. He envisaged an umbrella-type organisation, Zionist in name, with a central committee conducting functions and co-ordinating the activities of affiliated groups, and to be known as the West Australian Zionist Association.

After a series of meetings, the West Australian Zionist Association was inaugurated in 1913, and became the secular organisation of outstanding importance in the life of the community for many years. Freedman was the first president and he was regularly re-elected. By the time of the outbreak of the war in 1914, the Yiddishers had almost achieved parity with the numbers of Anglos, and the more settled members gravitated towards membership of the Perth Hebrew Congregation. Despite differences with Freedman on religious matters, they were influenced by his philosophy of service and loyalty, and the young men volunteered for active service.

Prior to World War I, Freedman was already a chaplain to the military forces. As Russel Stern has shown in his article on the Boer War, Freedman was a strong advocate of support for the British Empire during that war. In 1914 when World War I broke out, he enlisted for active service overseas. In October 1915, Freedman was appointed chaplain to the Australian Expeditionary Forces, seeing active service in the Mediterranean and French theatres for two and a half years. First he served in Gallipoli, from where he was evacuated in January 1916. In February 1916, the British War Office appointed him chaplain to all Jewish men in the Mediterranean Expeditionary Forces. He served France for two years, over which period he took no leave. Friedman wore a Magen David on his hat and lapels instead of the regulation chaplaincy cross. In 1916, he wrote to Rabbi Dr Abrahams: 'In many instances I have been stopped by soldiers to whom I was a perfect stranger, who were attracted by the badge and who introduced themselves as Jews. One of them was good enough to say it was like a ray of sunshine to him'.⁴ He was mentioned in despatches for devotion to duty on the field⁵ and was promoted to the rank of Major. In 1918, he was replaced by Rabbi Jacob Danglow of Melbourne.

While overseas, Freedman also received a decoration of a vastly different type. Chief Rabbi Kleizer of Cairo conferred on him the title of 'Rabbi'. Although an honorary award, Freedman adopted the title and became known as Rabbi Freedman from that time onward.

Although fully committed to the war effort, the Board of the Perth Hebrew Congregation found that their synagogue attendances and Hebrew School enrolment were in sharp decline because of Freedman's absence for two and a half years. It felt impelled to seek Freedman's return. The commanding officers of the chaplaincy sought to retain Freedman's services but the PHC persisted and Freedman was released. He returned to Perth in triumph in mid-1918. His indefatigable devotion to duty had won him the esteem of servicemen generally.

Before the war ended, the Jewish community initiated moves to commemorate the military exploits of its members. A total of 180 Western Australian Jews served overseas between 1914 and 1918. Many were wounded and forty-seven were killed, out of a Jewish population numbering fewer than two thousand men, women and children.

On his return to Perth, Freedman addressed the issue of a Memorial, and obtained the approval of the Kings Park Board to erect a Jewish War Memorial in the park. The foundation stone was laid by Sir John Monash and the unveiling ceremony performed by the governor in 1920.

Perth's Jewish War Memorial, sited prominently and considered by many as the most conspicuous monument of its type in the English-speaking world, was a fitting acknowledgment of the community's commitment to the prosecution of the war. It was also a silent tribute to the reputation that David Isaac Freedman had acquired in peace and war.

Evidence of his enhanced prestige was soon forthcoming when the Great Synagogue, Sydney, sought to secure his services. The



Rabbi David Isaac Freedman

Board of the Perth Hebrew Congregation took prompt steps to retain Freedman in Perth where he remained until the end of his life. On his return to Perth, Freedman immediately engrossed himself in congregational and public affairs. His presence quickly reversed the decline in Sabbath attendances and Hebrew School enrolments increased.

Already, his manifold activities and devotion to public services had brought him into close contact with Anglican Archbishop Riley and Catholic Archbishop Clune. They were frequently referred to in the press as the 'Triumvirate' or 'Big Three', so named because of the considerable influence they exercised on public attitudes to the social issues of the day.

Freedman, who was a keen cricketer and tennis player, launched the community into the sporting world. In 1924, he formed an organisation to operate a Tennis and Athletics Club, of which he was president.

Most spectacular of his appointments was his election to the presidency of the W.A. Returned Services League (RSL) in 1924, the only chaplain in Australia to receive that distinction. His congregation applauded the appointment and granted him extended leave to visit other states on RSL business.

In 1932, Freedman represented Australian Ex-servicemen at the



Rabbi Freedman in his chaplain's uniform.

Biennial Conference of the British Legion in London. The Australian government took advantage of his presence in Europe to include him in the delegation to the League of Nations meeting at Geneva, where he spoke on the German Jewish question which, with the growing strength of the Nazi Party, dominated proceedings. In 1936, he was awarded an OBE.

Rabbi Freedman continued to lead his congregation and to participate actively in public affairs. One of his later achievements was to gain approval for Biblical Hebrew to become a subject in Junior and Leaving public examinations.

Unfortunately, his health deteriorated and on the 24 June 1939, aged sixty-five, he died from a heart attack suffered whilst at a hospital committee meeting. Two thousand mourners from all walks of life attended his funeral.

As minister of the Perth Hebrew Congregation, Rabbi Freedman had created a united and respected community from a diverse stream of migrants and had made an unequalled contribution to the founding and development of educational, cultural, benevolent and philanthropic institutions in Perth. His legacy endures.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Nate Zusman would like to acknowledge David Mossenson who gave permission for his book *Hebrew, Israelite, Jew* to be used freely in the preparation of this paper.

ENDNOTES

1. This article draws heavily on David Mossenson's *Hebrew, Israelite, Jew, The History of the Jews of Western Australia*, University of Western Australia Press, 1990, in particular chapters 5, 6, 7, 8.
2. An obituary of Rabbi David Isaac Freedman by Philip Masel appeared in the *AJHS Journal* vol., 1, part 2, 1939.
3. As quoted in Mossenson, *op. cit.*, p.56.
4. Hilary Rubinstein, *The Jews in Victoria* Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1986, p.117.
5. Suzanne D. Rutland *Edge of the Diaspora: Two Centuries of Jewish Settlement in Australia* Sydney: Brandl and Schlesinger, 2001, p.137.

THE PATTERNS AND LEVELS OF JEWISH IDENTITY IN AUSTRALIA

by Morris Forbes

In September 2002 David Mayer Selby passed away at the advanced age of 96 years at Bowral in the Southern Highlands of New South Wales. Detailed obituaries written by family members appeared in the press and an eulogy was delivered by Rabbi Apple at the funeral. The deceased had a most interesting and diverse life in significant areas over an active span of many years. This article will include a biographical account of Selby's life as a notable Australian who had sprung from the community of Australian Jewry. It is proposed to examine his career as an Australian Jew alongside others of the Jewish community. I am not attempting a comparison of these eminent lives, the objective being rather to view them as a selection of Australian Jews and to endeavour to discover, having regard to their respective backgrounds, their characters and personalities, how they related to the Jewish community of their times.

I. ASSIMILATION AND MULTICULTURALISM

While some of the current historical works, including articles in this *Journal* contain discussion on the Jewishness of such Australians, there are today many, whether Jew or non-Jew, who have little knowledge on that point. Jews may well feel pride that one of their community was an outstanding figure in areas beyond their own community but their interest does not often proceed any further. That interest may be all the greater because the local Jewish communities constitute only a tiny proportion of the overall Australian population, but Australian Jewry has made impacts on the broader community in producing eminent achievers out of all proportion to their minority group status.

It has to be remembered that it is only about 50 years since the future of Australian Jewry began to be advantageously influenced by the intake of large numbers of immigrants and also by the emer-

gence of the State of Israel. Prior to that time the viability of the isolated Australian Jewish communities had been under threat. Intermarriages had risen to a level of about 30%, and even those who remained within the fold had been concerned not to assert a Jewish distinctiveness, content with their image as Anglo-Jews, and emphasising that they differed from other citizens on the score of religion only. This was not a greatly significant difference when religious observance, in any event, was rather weak in many instances. Throughout the nineteenth century, and for some time into the twentieth century, Jewish identity suffered because of poor religious knowledge and observance together with the isolation of the Jewish communities and their distance from the centres of Jewish life elsewhere.¹

The experience of a free society with no signs of serious anti-semitism only served to exacerbate the difficulty of identity for the community. Hence, as far back as the 1840s, if not earlier, whole families were completely lost due to assimilation. Two of numerous such cases, for example, were the families of Isaac Nathan in New South Wales and Lionel Samson in Western Australia. The traditional Jewish heritage was either abandoned or neglected in favour of the attractions associated with the pressures of the wider society. It was a problem with which the rabbis of old were familiar when they applied to it the poetic text of Scripture: 'They made me the keeper of the vineyard; but my own vineyard have I not kept'.² In retrospect, however, I believe that criticism of these failures of the past should be tempered by an appreciation of the difficulties experienced by these Jewish communities. It is, to a degree, a cause of satisfaction that many were able to remain loyal members of Jewry.

In comparison with their co-religionists in other places, Australian Jewry usually comprised no more than about 0.05% of the whole population. Outstanding members of the community, depending on their own particular circumstances and their characters, reflected in their lives and careers the problem of a dual loyalty. Keeping this issue in view when investigating the lives of selected distinguished Jews, the historian or biographer should not focus excessively on the particular individual. Instead, they should appreciate that the person under consideration 'is a member of a society, or probably of more than one society — call it a group, class, tribe, nation, or what you will'.³ Moreover, in the theory of history, the historian, it has been explained, is embarked on a dialogue or interaction between today's society and that of the past. The resulting picture is moulded by our values, change, movement and progress in history.⁴

Beginning with white settlement in 1788, and including the

emancipist and free settler phases of the history, the Jewish sector long continued to face a struggle for survival whether viewed religiously or ethnically. For about 60 years after federation, and until the abandonment of the White Australia policy, migrants were encouraged to shed their pre-existing cultures through assimilation, a policy known as Anglo-Saxon conformity. That is not to say that there was ever any *direct* pressure of any kind that Australian Jews should abandon the traditional commitment to their faith and religious practice. In more recent times the integration of minority groups rather than assimilation became official policy. However, the Jewish community had for long enjoyed equal opportunity and toleration, though in many instances their Jewish identification weakened, and it was not until the influx of Jewish migration after World War II that the previous losses of Jewish identity began to be reversed.

During the period of Anglo-Saxon conformity, Australian Jews were reluctant to refer to their Jewish background. Thus, in delivering the Monash Oration in 1937 before a Jewish audience, Sir Isaac Isaacs spoke of that great Australian's achievements, of his patriotism and service to the nation and to the Empire. Isaacs' oration included no reference to Monash's Jewish background, no mention whatsoever that, conceivably, his faith and background may have had some influence on his life. On the centenary of Sir John's birth in 1965 this Society published several short articles to mark the occasion.⁵ In retrospect, I have thought that it was odd that any discussion of Monash's Jewishness was extremely limited to a few lines only in Max Gordon's article. The text of a Memorial Address by the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, included no reference to Sir John's Jewishness. The only explanation which I can suggest is that integration, if not assimilation, was still at that time a policy of political correctness. Multiculturalism, as it is understood today, had not yet arrived on the national scene.

Since the 1970s, Australian governments have been committed to enhancing the multicultural process that advances the cultures of minority ethnic groups. It is now often stated that the cultural mix is central to the growth of the nation. No religious or ethnic group in Australia today is required to divest itself of its culture in exchange for the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. The views of Sam Lipski, media personality of Melbourne, have been publicised in connection with this subject. While his observations were addressed to multicultural groups in general, they are of no less force and validity in their application to Australian Jewry, for the most part a religious group, which still remains a rather small part of the Australian population. Lipski pointed out in his com-

ments on multiculturalism, that Jewish migrants to the United States, beginning late in the nineteenth century, spoke of that land as the *goldeneh medinah*, the Golden Kingdom: 'But I would argue', Lipski writes, 'that Australia is now the real contender'.⁶ All who belong today to such minority groups experience a spirit of toleration from others as well as receiving equal opportunities. It is estimated that about 35% of all Australians nowadays were born overseas, or at least one parent was born overseas.

This, of course, contrasts with the situation at the turn of the last century when the population was very predominantly British or Anglo-Celtic in origins. At that time most of Australia's Jews were, if not born here, natives of Britain or migrants thereto from Europe or elsewhere. Further, it has recently been estimated that within a generation 75% of Australians will have an interracial marriage in their own or extended family, such marriages being now accepted where once they would have provoked hostility.⁷ However, whatever other effects multiculturalism has had on Australian Jewry of today, intermarriage rates are said to be low, between 10-15%, contrasting with a much higher rate of earlier times.⁸ A further statistic of special interest is that during the period of post World War II immigration, the number of Australian Jews is thought to have increased by 85% compared with an increase of 38% in the general population.⁹

If the social success of individual Jews of former times is measured in material terms only, and without underestimating the equal opportunities now afforded to all minority groups, then multiculturalism need not be viewed as such a modern day boon for the members of the Jewish community. There have been a great number of Jewish individuals who experienced success in business, the professions and otherwise, when some of them were influenced by the processes of assimilation and integration. Far more so than is now the case, Jews of the past were well represented in numbers in the parliaments and in local government. To illustrate these points I would refer to some relevant comments made at the Great Synagogue by Gordon Samuels who, until recently, was the Governor of New South Wales. He saw fit to draw on family history, noting that his grandfather, Jacob Samuels, a migrant from Vilna in 1886, settled at Walcha, New South Wales, later to be elected as the mayor by the strongly Anglo-Celtic townspeople. As His Excellency stated, this could be seen as a remarkable example of the open and tolerant nature of Australian society at that time.¹⁰ It has, therefore, to be emphasised that, as the members of a small religious group, Jews have for long achieved such success and recognition in Australia when multiculturalism was not in operation.

As mentioned, from 1950 onwards the steady and strong stream of Jewish migration into this country was to have a transforming effect on the local Jewish communities. That effect was, itself, overtaken in the late 1960s by multiculturalism, a process which, it is explained, caused 'The transformation of Australian society',¹¹ as a result of which Jews may now feel that they can live more authentically as Jews than did the Anglo-Jews of the past. As Dr Rutland indicates, Jewish culture has been encouraged, appreciation of Yiddish and Hebrew has developed, Jewish day schools have been facilitated, to which may be added tertiary Jewish studies, Jewish ethnic radio, Jewish museums, Holocaust awareness, and Jewish welfare societies.

Yet, as one who personally has an experience of the Jewish community of previous times and, allowing for all the weaknesses and faults thereof, great efforts were made, under adverse conditions, to maintain a basic substratum of Judaism and Jewish identity. It was certainly no small achievement that the Australian Jewish Welfare Society was able to provide material and vital assistance to Jewish refugees, a move in which Sir Samuel Cohen in Sydney and Brigadier Harold Cohen in Melbourne were active, followed by the efforts on the wider communal front by Sydney D Einfeld and Maurice Ashkanasy. The names of Ben Zion Patkin, Abraham Rabinovich, Max Freilich, and Horace B Newman were among those who were leaders in the diversity of communal cultural affairs, whether in Zionism, education or otherwise. Until the experience afterwards of what has been described as a transformation, seeing that overseas visitors had viewed the local Jewish scene as a 'wilderness', it is patently clear that rather weak Jewish standards had prevailed.

With hindsight, it is understandable that the situation justified criticism, to say the least. However, I also believe that in judging the past it is desirable to obtain an understanding of the circumstances and the conditions then operating as compared with those of the present time. Hence, as the rabbis taught, our judgment of the behaviour of others should be as charitable as possible, *I'kaf zechos*.¹² Today, on the other hand, in contemplating with satisfaction the qualitative growth in the current cultural and religious standards of the Australian Jewish community, it is only fair to note that the community has been the beneficiary of events and forces which ultimately helped so much in producing a transformation.

As there are appreciable numbers of Jews who apparently do not disclose religion in the census, there remains speculation concerning the total number of Australian Jewry, which may today vary from perhaps 89,000 to 108,000.¹³ Guided by the number of non-

Jews failing to specify religion, it is stated that 'Australian Jews also tend not to identify themselves as Jews when dealing with a public census'.¹⁴ In 1998 W.D. Rubinstein argued that 'approximately 80% of the active community' identified with Orthodoxy as opposed to the Liberal movement. He added that most of the community were only nominally observant as regards religion, it being said that few considered their Judaism as primarily a religious expression.¹⁵ For a significant number, there was rather a consciousness of a sense of peoplehood. Some reliance for that assessment is placed on the views expressed by P. Medding in 1976.¹⁶

Readers should not ignore the opinions of demographers or historians whose comments, relevantly, are entitled to respect even when they emanate from non-Jewish experts. In his study contributed to this *Journal* in 1964, Charles A. Price, the eminent demographer, concluded that the basic problem facing the Jewish community was how to continue to enjoy the freedom of Australian society 'and yet not let that freedom result in loss of identity as a holy chosen people of the Lord'. Price added that 'devout Christians ... have succeeded even less well than the Jewish people'.¹⁷ For the serious minded within the Jewish community that statement was indeed a challenging one. The greater majority of them would not have articulated the problem in those precise terms. Again, Professor Serle, in his biography of John Monash, refers at the outset to Monash's parents in Melbourne as being 'no longer orthodox, although they were still prepared to send their children to synagogue'. In that same context he thought that the Melbourne Jewish community of 1880 'was highly assimilated'.¹⁸ I would think that more exception to that perception would be taken had the author been Jewish. It can be seen, therefore, how inapt the views on such a topic may become. Who would seriously have described the whole of that community as assimilated to such a degree when, as commonly experienced, under the greatly changed local conditions, its members were less Jewishly observant than many in their previous homeland of origin? Throughout its short history, Australian Jewry was too often endangered by the threat to it from serious assimilation which ought not to be confused, on the other hand, with a degree of integration which many made to adapt themselves to a greatly changed environment, a process which may be identified in a sense with a religious philosophy of *Torah im Derech Eretz*, a synthesis of religion and general culture.

It has been suggested, perhaps facetiously, that 'a tolerable pair of boots should figure prominently among the essential equipment of the historian',¹⁹ meaning thereby that the field may necessitate much enquiry, digging and fossicking in various directions. In

understanding the social history of the Australian Jewish community, including some of the most recent developments, the task is facilitated in the second and revised edition of *Edge of the Diaspora*. This contains a final new chapter, 'A Decade On', where the author concludes that the Jewish community is no longer 'on the edge', evidencing positive growth and a flowering of Jewish cultural and intellectual life previously unknown in the community'.²⁰ As pleasing as it is to read of this communal progress within the last decade, and speaking for myself as a long time observer and historian, I may be permitted to enter a caveat insofar as the community is not expected to further benefit from substantial immigration. With the passage of time, it will need to look more inwardly to ensure continued growth and the maintenance of Jewish values. While, without doubt, Australian Jewry merits due praise for what has been achieved for a community of its size, the overall numbers are still relatively small. By comparison, it is true, United States Jewry's intermarriage rate has soared, yet, there are still millions of them who are committed to the Jewish community. Nevertheless, the auspices for Australian Jewry look good while intermarriage rates continue to be relatively low.

A little over a decade ago, Hilary Rubinstein concluded her book on Victorian Jewry with the comment that 'it is an indisputable fact that the community is stronger and more vital today than at any time in its history'.²¹ That writer mentions multiculturalism as one of the factors supporting Jewish identity and the general view is that multiculturalism is advantageous to the Jewish community. However, if writings by non-Jewish authors are consulted, as I have done, the information of Jewish interest is virtually negligible. An important, recent study by Mark Lopez contained only a passing mention of the names of Sol Encel and Walter Lippmann, the latter being referred to by that writer as a most active and influential lobbyist, so that it contains little of Jewish interest.²² The point I make is that the Jewish minority is barely mentioned in this work on current multiculturalism in Australia, presumably because the Jewish element is apparently thought to be too small to have made a significant impact on multicultural issues. Two years later, in 2002, a study entitled *Mixed Matches: Interracial Marriages in Australia* by June Duncan Owen was published. This study, which is commended by Professor Charles Price in the Foreword, examines a selection of cases of mixed marriages and seeks to ascertain the success of such unions and how Australians in general have reacted to them. Her book is of possible interest to Jewish readers to the extent that it instances a marriage between a Jew and a Chinese, Rebecca, the daughter of a Jewish lady who had fled from Poland

and settled in England, married a Chinese atheist from British Malaysia. She is stated to have had more in common with him than with any of her Jewish Polish relatives. Reference is made to what are considered to be the racial similarities between Jews and Chinese, viz., 'food, education, and the accumulation of money'.²³ Assuming the seriousness of the writer's opinion on that point, its soundness, on a Jewish basis, must be rejected. Moreover, there is nothing in such a multicultural publication to indicate that Jews as a minority group have traditionally regarded intermarriage as adverse to their group survival.

A few months ago, the celebrated playwright, David Williamson, delivered an Australia Day Oration and pointed out that it is difficult in these changing times to define what it means to be Australian. He mentioned, in passing, Aborigines, Muslims, and Greeks, and of second generation Greek Australians, the speaker was quoted as saying, 'it means being able to send up your Greekness, and love it at the same time'. With regard, however, to second generation Australian Jews, one does not expect them to send up their Jewishness in a community seriously concerned to continue to maintain its identity, religiously and culturally. The speaker also thought that Australians were 'by and large the world's most successful experiment in multi-culturalism ... the intermarriage statistics between ethnic minorities and Anglo-Celts are higher than in any other comparable country', indicating that racial ghettos would not happen here.²⁴

I believe that no serious Jewish observer can possibly accept that these various statements will have any relevance for Australian Jewry, one of the oldest of the minority groups. Complete integration or assimilation and intermarriage will lead only to the ultimate disintegration and disappearance of the historical and traditional ethos of which committed Jewish communities have been the bearers for so long.

II: A SURVEY OF SELECTED AUSTRALIAN JEWISH NOTABLES

Within the past 140 years it may be instructive to select some prominent Australian Jews and to examine how they related to and identified with the Jewish community as well as being recognised as outstanding personalities and citizens within the general community.

SAUL SAMUEL (1820-1900) was one of the earliest prominent Jews of the colony of New South Wales. He migrated as a boy from England, settled on the land as a pastoralist in the Bathurst district and then became involved in gold speculation and in mining corpo-

rations from the beginning of the goldrushes. He entered Parliament in 1854 and began a political career, being several times Minister of the Crown, was appointed Agent-General in 1880 and was the first Australian Jew, in 1882, to be knighted. He was later honoured with a baronetcy. He enjoyed 'a longer record of prominent public service than any other Jew in the British Empire'.²⁵ At the same time, he was an active member of the colonial Jewish community. Samuel served on the Board of the York Street Synagogue and in 1871 he chaired a meeting with the objective of re-uniting the divided York Street and Macquarie Street congregations and the erection of one larger synagogue, and he was to lay the foundation stone thereof in 1875. He occupied the presidency of the new Great Synagogue on two occasions, 1879 and 1880. Throughout his life, Dr Rutland states, Samuel remained firm in his religious convictions. For one who was so prominent in public affairs, it is clear that Samuel was positively identified with the Jewish community. However, his urbanity of character would not have led him to the kind of public expression of Jewishness such as that made in parliament — to which I will later refer — by a sensitive, if not emotional character, such as Sir Julian Salomons. Yet, in his short article on Sir Saul Samuel, Lionel Fredman, in this *Journal*, referring to Samuel's very brief remarks in Parliament in 1880 on the Public Instruction bill, wrote that this 'was a rare occasion when this front-rank politician actually made public mention of his religion'.²⁶ Samuel's commitment to the Jewish community has never been questioned, even if he may have been inarticulate in parliament respecting his Jewishness.

NATHANIEL LEVI (1830-1908), the ancestor of Rabbi John Levi of Melbourne, a young English migrant attracted in 1854 by the Victorian goldrush, was to be the first Jew to win a seat in the Victorian Parliament in 1860. He maintained, but with interruptions, his parliamentary interests and involvement in Victorian politics and was also active within the Jewish community. Levi was president of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation on several occasions and was noted for his commitment to orthodoxy. He temporarily resigned from the congregation in protest against the closure of the Jewish day school in 1885. It is recorded of him that he believed that 'a person could be a conforming member of the Hebrew faith and at the same time a loyal and patriotic member of the British Empire'.²⁷

A contemporary of Levi was EDWARD COHEN (1824-1877), the son of a New South Wales emancipist. He was mayor of Melbourne in 1862-63 and entered the Victorian Parliament in 1861 and remained there until his death (except for a three year break), serv-

ing as Minister for Trade and Customs. Commencing in 1856, Cohen was four times president of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation. He was regarded as being strictly orthodox and was quoted as saying: 'I have held and still hold many positions..., but I have never yet found myself so placed as to be required to violate the Sabbath'.²⁸ From the outset the communal leaders had been particular concerning Sabbath observance, though laxity later developed.

The period of the second half of the nineteenth century has been described as a 'golden age', a time when members of the Jewish community were noted for their significant contributions to the general community. The extraordinary career of SIR JULIAN SALOMONS (1835-1909) began when he arrived in Sydney as a youth in 1853 from England, a nephew of Saul Samuel. He was appointed as secretary of the York Street Synagogue, but Salomons was bent on a legal career. After qualifying professionally, he set up practice as a barrister and showed great skill in advocacy. For about five years he served on the board of the York Street Synagogue. Whether because of professional pressures or because of his agnostic outlook, Salomons eventually showed little interest in religious observances. He was appointed Solicitor-General in 1869, took a seat in the Upper House, and later became a life member of the Chamber. Jacob Levi Montefiore said about him (in a comment to Henry Parkes), 'a more honest, amiable, upright and independent man does not breathe in the community'.²⁹ Highly regarded by the government, the public and by many in the profession, Salomons was appointed as Chief Justice in 1886, but resigned within a few days when he sensed that some of the judges did not welcome his appointment. I have previously written at length on this and other aspects of Salomons' life, which was filled with drama. I concluded that an exclusivist element resented his success and elevation. They did not see in Salomons their stereotype image of the chief justice, and apparently in mitigation of their attitude a recent legal historian suggests that there was a view that Salomons was *parvenu*! Religious or sectarian prejudice may have been a factor. While Salomons was not a religious conformist, he was well known as a Jewish figure of his day. Later, he served briefly as Agent-General in London, following Sir Saul Samuel's retirement.

Towards the end of Sir Julian's life, he felt duty bound to disclose and expose a perversion of justice by two solicitors who were also parliamentarians. One of the latter, W.P. Crick, attacked Salomons in the parliamentary rooms as this 'wily Jew, this little £.s.d. Hebrew', adding that 'a Jew's conscience' moved Salomons to act. The climax of this affair led to a speech by Salomons of several hours in the Legislative Council which included what has been

described as a 'confession of faith' by him. Some of its text will be found in my previous article. If the speaker was in fact a non-conforming agnostic, his remarks clearly reflected the ethnic side of his Jewishness. 'I am a Jew', he said, 'I was born it, I belong to that race from which the revered founder of the Christian religion sprung'. He went on further to indicate his pride to belong to a race that 'has given the writings of Isaiah to the world, the Psalms of David ...', while remarking that he favoured no particular theology, and stating that his daughter was married to 'an honourable and admirable Christian'.³⁰ Many years afterwards a leading legal scholar wrote of Sir Julian as 'one of the many Jews of Australia who, both in public and private life, have been incarnate repudiations of the slanders of anti-Semitism'.³¹ If, then, a personality such as Salomons enjoyed all the opportunities and the success which the so-called 'golden age' provided in the case of one whose Jewish personality was well known to all and sundry, it still has to be said that the age in question facilitated Jewish assimilation.

HENRY EMANUEL COHEN (1840-1912) who was born in Port Macquarie, qualified as a barrister later in life and was involved in colonial politics from 1875 for about ten years, being a minister of the Crown on two occasions. Cohen was president of the Great Synagogue and acted also as vice president for several terms as well as holding offices with the Sydney Jewish Education Board and the Montefiore Home. He was appointed to the Supreme Court in 1896, referring then in public to his trust in the God of Israel. He was the first Jew in the British Dominions to be appointed to such a judicial position, but this may not be strictly correct if Sir George Jessel, the eminent Master of the Rolls in England, is included. There was never any question whatever as to where he stood as a Jew. He identified himself proudly with Judaism and was referred to as the most distinguished member of our faith in the antipodes.³²

It will be recalled that whenever prominent non-Jewish leaders were disposed to make complimentary remarks regarding Australian Jewry, they would usually mention the names of Sir Isaac Isaacs and Sir John Monash. Of course, there were other Jewish worthies who rarely were mentioned in that way. Moreover, even within the Jewish community, except for those with a knowledge of Australian Jewish history, Sir Isaac and Sir John were the two well known notabilities. However, apart from the pride naturally taken by Jews in the eminence of these two figures, for the most part little information has been forthcoming on what has been described as 'The Jewish Connection' of these two great Australians.³³ Rabbi Apple commented that, as the names of both of them had been put forward in 1930 as a possible Governor-General:

'It was the greatest period of Jewish acceptability and prestige in Australian history'.³⁴ He added that Isaacs and Monash helped to make it so. It has been explained, however, that the small size of the Jewish community and its cultural assimilation, together with the Australian 'fair go' and egalitarian tradition enabled Jews, and not least the distinguished or successful members of their community, to gain maximum acceptability. How very different was Australian society from that a generation earlier in France where antisemitism was rampant. Geoffrey Serle, Monash's biographer, wrote that there developed in Australia 'a quite widespread and openly expressed mild hostility to Jews'. However, in general Australian society was pluralist in outlook, and the fame of Jewish figures such as Isaacs and Monash greatly raised Jewish morale.³⁵

So much has already been written respecting SIR ISAAC ISAACS (1855-1948) that it is unnecessary here to repeat many of the details of his life as a politician, federalist, High Court judge, and as Governor-General at the climax of it all. Sir Zelman Cowen, and other writers in this *Journal*, provide ample materials. His Jewishness, in whatever form it was manifested, bears further scrutiny and the observations in the article in the *Journal*, will be found instructive. It is noted, firstly, that Isaacs was the son of a humble Polish father, a tailor by trade, who married in England, and whose wife was well educated, a Jewish lady who was filled with expectation and ambition for her son. A detached reader would be excused, indeed, if the relationship between mother and son was viewed as other than one of a marked possessiveness throughout their lives. Sir Zelman Cowen writes of her as an ambitious and dominating woman. When such a situation develops in some Jewish families, unusual and surprising outcomes may result. I am suggesting that in the case of Isaacs this may have produced a Jewish style or connection, conceding that it may be unlooked for by a serious enquirer. Rebecca Isaacs imparted some of her knowledge of Judaism, such as it was, to her studious son, and for a short time he was a president of the Jewish Education Board and was a member of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation. Being a self assured person and inflexible in his views, disagreement with others led to Isaacs severing all active association with his community. Although he read books on Jewish theology and on the Old and New Testaments, he did so mainly for his personal edification. Sometimes he contributed articles on these subjects, but his learning was not profound. As he grew older he rarely attended synagogue services and his inclinations were strongly towards liberal Judaism. Contrary to traditional Jewish teachings, religion for him was entirely a private matter. In the Victorian parliament, Isaacs

and Theodore Fink voted to support a move to introduce scripture lessons based on Christianity into public education.³⁶ He also seems to have been personally opposed to an organisation, on behalf of the community, such as the Victorian Advisory Board. On whatever Jewish front, therefore, whether religiously or otherwise, Isaacs acted and thought as though he was an island to himself, often expressing views on Jewish issues, pressing and emphasising such views on the basis, so it seemed, of personal infallibility.

This became strongly evident during his retirement when he launched into copious and extreme diatribes on political Zionism, crossing swords with Professor Julius Stone, whose stand on this controversy commended itself to many of the Jewish community. In this regard, as Cowen writes near the end of his biography:

His intense dogmatism is revealed in many instances and actions, and it emerged at its very worst in the Zionist controversy ... Isaacs used and deliberately used his position as the most distinguished Jew in Australia to smash and humiliate those who opposed his views. He embarrassed them greatly; he called them no less than traitors.³⁷

Yet, as appears to be the case in many other matters relating to Isaacs and, as Cowen argues, he was wanting in insights; during his long life his complex character, his temperament and personality, were much involved in what he did and said.

SIR JOHN MONASH (1865-1931) was the son of Louis Monasch, a migrant in 1854 from Prussian Poland, himself the son of a Hebrew publisher, the grandson of a rabbi and scholar, and the brother-in-law of the Jewish historian, Heinrich Graetz. He later returned to his homeland where he married Bertha, who came from a cultured but more assimilated family. Their son, John, was born in 1865 in Melbourne. Bertha Monash had an enthusiasm for languages, including English and German, as well as music, and cultural interests which she imparted to her son. Whilst still a young boy, his parents moved for business reasons to the New South Wales border town of Jerilderie. Serle commented that they settled in an area where there was no synagogue, and he in fact described them as 'enlightened' or 'liberated' Jews.³⁸ If, indeed, it were correct to castigate them on that account, then there were many Jews whose search for a livelihood led them to live in places where there was no synagogue.

While the Monashes were at Jerilderie the local schoolmaster advised them to have their son educated in Melbourne, as he had found that the boy was very bright. His mother brought him back

to Melbourne where he entered Scotch College, and when he finished his education there at the age of 16, John was Dux of the College. At the University of Melbourne he took degrees in Arts, Civil Engineering, and Law. I do not intend at this point to discuss Monash's success as an engineer or his rising interest in voluntary soldiering. His fame as the most outstanding Australian general in World War I is too well known to require any discussion here. Nor is it necessary to touch on his efforts as chairman of the Victorian Electricity Commission.

If Monash's parents were not noticeably orthodox, the same could be said of many others at that time, native born, of English origins, or otherwise. Rabbi Apple states that Monash's parents were not active in the Jewish community, and that John had no close Jewish friends, mentioning that he had grown away from religion by the age of 16.³⁹ However all the writers, Jewish or not, refer to the traditional Jewish background of learning and study in the Monash ancestry, which seems to have influenced Sir John, particularly later in his life when it was evident that he was conscious of that heritage. It has also to be recognised that he grew up as a child prodigy, and to some extent, as was clearly so in the case of Isaacs, was nurtured by a most ambitious mother.

In both instances it was their character and personality that differentiated Monash and Isaacs. Whereas the latter was described as a 'hater' of those who disagreed with him, Monash was a sociable person and consulted with others, though confident of his own views and plans. He was a man with a communal outreach, being prominent in the Boy Scout movement, president of the University Club, chairman of the Institute of Engineers. As a figurehead, he joined the Board of the St Kilda Synagogue and accepted the presidency of the Zionist Federation in 1927, opened the Maccabean Hall in Sydney, and chaired important Jewish community meetings, all of which he did on his return from the War. While still on military duties, he had written to Rabbi Abrahams of Melbourne: 'The feeling that throughout this enterprise I have been, in a sense, a representative of the Australian Jewish community, has, I can assure you, always acted as a powerful stimulus'.⁴⁰ Unlike Isaacs, who equally with Monash had drifted away from religious observances, Monash's lineage, as well as his own status, kept him associated with the Jewish community. It seems fitting that his name is perpetuated in Israel by the Monash Forest and by the village Kfar Monash.

In the recent article in the *Journal*, Morris Ochert expressed puzzlement that the headstone over Monash's grave carried an inscription thereon in the simplest of terms, and the writer assumed

that Monash would have desired it to be so.⁴¹ As his biographer states, in later years at least, his desire for simplicity was striking.⁴² General Sir Brudenell White, soon after Sir John's passing, referred to that simplicity: 'Sir John was a simple man, and to my mind his simplicity was his most marked and perhaps his most charming characteristic ... His modesty was amazing'.⁴³ Those remarks were included in an article by A.W. Hyman, who had the advantage of being on Monash's staff, and who also stated that Monash was proud of his Jewish faith. Yet, apart from a few brief extracts from occasional speeches, actual recorded evidence on the point is somewhat sparse. Thus, Rabbi Brasch's lengthy paper on Monash is almost silent on the question⁴⁴, though Rabbi Apple's conclusion cannot be questioned, that Monash did not forget his origins and his people. Monash's community was greatly honoured that such a distinguished Australian patriot was a native who had emanated from their group, and Monash, for his part, provided a visible link with his community. In 1918, however, the *Jewish Herald* commented, 'There is, perhaps no country in the world where Jewishness is less in evidence than in Australia'.⁴⁵ This lack of Jewish identification was attributed to the general ease under which the Jews lived. If some prominent Jews provided insufficient leadership in this connection, it can only be said that they often reflected the inadequate levels of Jewishness in Australia.

MORITZ MICHAELIS (1820-1902) must be included in this selected list of prominent Jews. A native of Germany, he, too, arrived in Melbourne during the goldrush in 1853, having already spent a number of years in England. In Victorian Jewish history his name is linked with the Michaelis Hallenstein families. He went into business, with fluctuating fortunes from time to time. A trustee of the East Melbourne Congregation, he afterwards was closely associated with the new St Kilda Congregation which he helped to found. He was also a supporter of a Jewish Day School, and he declared that 'no Jewish child, properly taught, was ever converted to any other religion'.⁴⁶ As a tanner, glue maker, and merchant, his estate was a relatively large one. With the exception of the editor of the *Australian Israelite*, the demise of whose paper Michaelis hastened, it may be expected that Michaelis was held in high esteem. The inscription in Hebrew on his Memorial reads: 'In peace and uprightness he walked all his days; to the poor and needy his hand was at all times open; and when he died people lamented after him'.⁴⁷ He would have been well regarded beyond the Jewish community. Apart from his commercial acumen, he supported many charities and acted as consul for Prussia. A biographer mentions that he often visited the Unitarian Chapel, finding the minister to be

'a very clever preacher'.⁴³ Nevertheless, it must be agreed that his business success did not affect his commitment to the Jewish community.

One who has been referred to as the most dominant figure of his time in Sydney's Jewish community was of course GEORGE JUDAH COHEN, a native of Sydney, the son of the English migrant, Samuel Cohen, who in 1836 settled at Maitland. In a long and busy life George Judah outshone the shorter life of his father. He exemplified the traditions of Anglo-Jewry, was strictly observant of his faith, and was president of the Great Synagogue for a number of terms, as well as being closely connected with it for many years. It was said of him that he was the guiding influence of that congregation as well as of the Jewish community of his state. He was a leading figure in commercial circles, including well-known business corporations. Cohen's characteristic personal integrity was of a high order that enhanced the prestige of his community.

In addition to G.J. Cohen, the name of JOHN GOULSTON (1869-1961) was associated with the Sydney Jewish community's causes for many years, being a president of the Great Synagogue many times and remaining connected with it throughout his life. As acting chairman in 1939 of the New South Wales Jewish Advisory Board, he was a party to protests against the policy of the White Paper on Palestine. In addition to his charitable interests, Goulston was particularly prominent as a Freemason in the ranks of which he rose to the position of Grand Master from 1924 to 1928, being said to be the only Jew in the British Empire to have held that high Office.

Although pressures of time have prevented me from listing prominent Jews beyond some of those in New South Wales and Victoria, I am able readily to mention the HON. MAURICE SALOM of Adelaide. He was born in London, 1831, and migrated to Adelaide in 1852. Salom was descended from an old family of very learned Sephardic Jews. He was president in 1874 of the Adelaide Hebrew Congregation and served as treasurer for several years. He was in business as an auctioneer and was later chairman of the Chamber of Commerce and was appointed to the first Council for Education. He was also president of the Hebrew Philanthropic Society for a lengthy period. In 1882 he was elected to the Legislative Council of South Australia where he played a role in parliamentary proceedings. Writing in this *Journal*, a granddaughter, Margot Salom, listed his numerous interests and 'wonders how he ever had the time to sire sixteen children!' The author had much to say on the interesting subject of her grandfather's ancestry, and she devoted a large part of her article to his commitment to public affairs in the young

colony of South Australia. However, as a Jewish historian I was disappointed that this substantial paper contained only a few brief words on Salom's contributions to the Jewish community. It seems clear that the writer's researches led her to the conclusion that Maurice Salom was a loyal and proud Jew. His granddaughter referred to the debate in parliament in 1884 on a Bill to abolish Oaths in Courts of Law, stating that she was 'of course, personally fascinated by the knowledge and attitudes of my grandfather'. She then quoted from the *Parliamentary Debates* where he is recorded as having said, 'it is no wonder that a learned and pure minded man like Christ should set himself forward as the exponent of a new faith.' This statement was followed by some further remarks of his which, as quoted, reflected very badly on the Jewish hierarchy of those biblical times.⁴⁹ My personal commentary, however, is that some of the Jews of Adelaide, when Salom was speaking, might be regarded as rather assimilated. Was the speaker perhaps endearing himself to his non-Jewish parliamentary colleagues by remarks that no traditional Jew would accept? I would add, too, that misapplications and misconceptions of New Testament teachings in the Church contributed a great deal to antisemitism and the inhumane persecution of the Jewish people. Many members of the Adelaide Jewish community were indeed Anglophile in outlook, avoiding Jewish distinctiveness, and anxious to be seen as mainstream citizens. They were, as has been written, culturally well assimilated and they were increasingly communally apathetic.⁵⁰ They manifested liberality towards non-Jewish organisations, such as the large bequest of property by Benjamin Da Costa to St Peters College, Adelaide, as well as a generous endowment by George Gollin for a Chair of Economics in the University of Adelaide.⁵¹ In that context in that community it becomes, I suggest, less difficult to understand the views relating to the origins of Christianity as expressed in parliament by the Hon. M. Salom.

DANIEL LEVY (1873-1937) offers another example of a highly successful career by a Sydney Jew who migrated from London in 1880, the son of a tailor. He gave early evidence at school and later at university of a brilliant mind. Though he became well qualified as a lawyer, Levy made politics his vocation, remaining as a member of the state parliament for about 36 years, and occupying the position of Speaker for half of that time. His distinguished services were recognised in 1929 by a knighthood, the first Jew to be so honoured for many a year when the Jewish community held a *conversazione* to mark the occasion. Levy's connections with the Jewish community were strong, having served on the Education Board, and the Literary and Debating Society, as well as being editor of the

Australasian Hebrew, and helping to form the New South Wales Jewish Association. On the religious side he was a regular worshipper at the Great Synagogue. When he was Deputy Speaker in 1917 — the Speaker then being J.J. Cohen — both of them observant Jews, the sittings of parliament were adjourned on the occasion of *Yom Kippur*, the Day of Atonement.

SIR ZELMAN COWEN, born in St Kilda in 1919, provides a detailed, readable and enthralling, though condensed, autobiography of his life in the revised text of an address by him in 1996, and afterwards contributed by him as 'My life as an Australian Jew', to a *Festschrift* in honour of Rabbi John Levi. I would urge as many readers as possible to obtain it and learn therefrom about the Australian life experience of an illustrious Jew who has continued to live amongst us as an eminent national figure as well as a proud member of the Jewish community. Both of his grandparents were of White Russian origins. On his paternal side, Solomon Cohen migrated from Pinsk to London in 1903 where Sir Zelman's father, Bernard, was born. On his maternal side, his grandparents, the Granat family, also came from the same region of Europe and arrived in Melbourne in 1891. His grandfather Cohen first settled in Perth in 1908, returning to London with Bernard who came back to Western Australia within a year. Solomon Cohen was apparently a fruit-hawker, but he was also described as being a *shamos* (verger of a synagogue) and a collector for Jewish purposes. His grandson writes of him as having been a 'severe Orthodox Jew'.⁵²

The mother of Sir Zelman, Sara, was born in Melbourne and in 1918 she was married to Bernard Cohen, a commercial traveller, who changed his surname to Cowen sometime before 1922. Her grandson writes of her, 'I have many times related that I was pre-ordained by her to be a boy and a barrister; that I was known as Mrs Cowen's little boy Casey because she had taught me that I was Zelman Cowen K.C.' He adds that it was 'high success in something which was distinctively professional' which she wanted for him.⁵³ She is described as being respectful of Jewish traditions and values, 'without in any way taking us out of the general community'.⁵⁴ He mentions Friday night at home with distinctive candles, a short service, and 'delicious garfish, fried in the Jewish style'.⁵⁵ He attended St Kilda Synagogue regularly, for which he won prizes, though Sir Zelman says that he was usually unaccompanied by his parents. He also sang in the synagogue choir. He speaks of 'the enduring mark' that Rabbi Danglow left on him, referring to the Rabbi as having 'provided a strong and intelligible bridge between the Jewish and non-Jewish communities'.⁵⁶ He does not claim to have had strong religious feelings. I should mention that, as a Hebrew school pupil,

young Zelman took Hebrew as a subject for the state school examinations at the highest level with some success. In 1931, he won a scholarship to the prestigious Geelong Grammar School, but he was refused exemption from Chapel services and went instead to Scotch College. With his later experience of the Chapel at Oriel College, Oxford, Sir Zelman, while not subscribing to Christian doctrine, indicates his broad mindedness in his appreciation of 'some lovely, true and moving things which are part of a shared Judeo-Christian inheritance'.⁵⁷ In 1940, Cowen was elected Rhodes Scholar, but naval duties after the outbreak of War intervened before he proceeded to Oxford and it was only in 1947 that he became a Fellow of Oriel College. He eventually became Dean of the Law School at the University of Melbourne and later served as vice-chancellor in two other universities. He was also to accept Chairmanship of the Fairfax Press group.

Sir Zelman writes of his post-war appointment as Provost of Oriel College, mentioning that, in contrast to pre-war times, Oxford was including a number of Jews as heads of the Colleges. More than special interest is to be found in what Sir Zelman has to say on his appointment as Governor-General, the second Jew to be chosen, indicating that he was very comfortable in moving among Australians. He says that his being a Jew was 'neither concealed nor proclaimed'. Of the Jewish community, however, he states 'there was something very special in one of their own having come to the office of Governor-General; they stood higher because of it. I was always conscious of this'.⁵⁸ Cowen has made clear his consciousness of being a Jew which, in itself, is of importance to the Jewish community when it is recalled that so many successful Jews formerly opted for extreme assimilation and/or abandonment of their people and faith. Nevertheless, except for two of his sons who have turned to Ultra-Orthodoxy, Sir Zelman, perhaps advisedly, does not discuss what he probably regards as a personal matter, namely, his present stand and outlook on Judaism in practice and in faith. While, no doubt, as I have already tried to say, there are numbers, Jew or non-Jew, for whom Jewishness is found in belonging to an ethnic group, many more, in varying degrees, emphasise the religious considerations. On that point, Sir Zelman says: 'The pattern of our lives was secular, and I would have described our family as a secular Jewish family. The strongest links in Australia and certainly in Melbourne were with the progressives or Liberal synagogue'.⁵⁹ He mentions that his wife's family were early members of the Temple Beth Israel, founded in 1931, and that his own father was president of the Temple.

Strictly speaking, and with great respect to Cowen, the secular

outlook is more usually associated with a practical attitude or way of life rather than a religious one. I have assumed, however, that what Sir Zelman is now saying is that his movements, except early in his life, were not in religious circles, and that his personal preference was towards Liberal Judaism. Speaking for myself, I regard Liberal Judaism as a religious form of Jewish life, but in distinction from the Orthodox and traditional style of Jewish religious culture. I would not describe the normal or average Australian Liberal Jew as conforming in this respect to a *secular* pattern of Jewish living. It may be that one can always describe a Liberal or an Orthodox Jew when meeting one of them even if the respective definition of either of them is not always clear or precise. I believe, indeed, that the historian needs to understand the differentiation. In the Australian context, Rabbi Dr Porush wrote that: 'People clamoured for a more modern and less restricted way of life ... and reform offered concessions to Synagogue worship and religious observance which seemed desirable to a large number of Jews'.⁶⁰ On the other hand, Rabbi R. Brasch, formerly of Temple Emanuel, Sydney, has written that:

Liberal Judaism stresses the spiritual aspect ... It believes in a progressive revelation throughout the ages and demands a re-interpretation of ancient tradition and rabbinical law for present-day circumstances. Customs are kept only if they still fulfil a religious purpose.⁶¹

While this is not an occasion to pursue the question further, Orthodox Jews would never agree that Orthodox Judaism places little or no stress on spiritual issues.

Cowen's autobiographical article is only a brief condensation of his life, which closes with Sir Zelman's telling of his two elder sons, whose Jewish instruction did not at first proceed beyond *barmitz-vah* preparation. The older one, Simon, as Sir Zelman says, 'underwent a spiritual conversion to Orthodox Judaism' in Melbourne and received *smichah* (ordination as a rabbi).⁶² The second, Nicholas, had a similar 'return', though not identical, and resides in Jerusalem, attached to a well-known *yeshiva*. For these developments within the family, described as 'an all-embracing and demanding Orthodoxy, the writer candidly states that: 'There are no clear answers'⁶³

I crave indulgence of the reader in following this account of Sir Zelman's life and experiences, an extraordinary life, which is relatively recent and contemporary in the pageant of Australian Jewish worthies. For those who are unaware of, or who have no access to, the *Festschrift*, a short Review of it by Malcolm J. Turnbull

appeared in this *Journal*. He mentions the variety of its contents but otherwise does not provide any other reference to Sir Zelman Cowen's particular contribution to it.⁶⁴

The career and reputation of PROFESSOR JULIUS STONE (1907-1985) demands consideration among others referred to in this essay. He was born in Leeds, the son of an impoverished family from Vilna which had settled in England, joining the stream of Jewish immigrants who sought refuge from Russian persecution. From his early youth, Julius was dedicated to study and received various scholarships which took him on to Oxford University where his main interest was in jurisprudence and the philosophy of law, rather than applied law, emphasising social justice, ethics and morality. At Oxford, Stone first began his interest also in International Law. In 1931, he was awarded a scholarship to Harvard University where he came under the powerful influence of Professor Roscoe Pound who taught that the law had to serve as a means of social justice. While at Harvard, Stone published articles and books on International Law, and he was awarded several Doctorates in Law. Early in 1939, together with his wife, Reka, Stone proceeded to Auckland where he accepted an appointment as Dean of the Law School in that city, a position he held until 1941 when he gained a Professorship at the University of Sydney.

Stone had a marked Jewish profile. He was fully conscious of his Jewishness, and always defensive of the Jewish position and interests. His parents were the products of an orthodox and intense Jewish life in Eastern Europe. In Leeds, Julius was raised in an area which numbered some 20,000 Jews, one of the largest Jewish communities in the United Kingdom. Early in the twentieth century, it has been written, in the part of Leeds where the Stone family resided, violence and abuse was experienced by Jews. During World War I, Stone is quoted as saying: 'I remember my father lining up with a big stick in his hand against the rioters who would come shouting down the road hurling abuse'.⁶⁵ When he was at Oxford, he developed a strong distaste in encountering what he later chose to describe as 'the worst of the British class system and considerable antisemitism',⁶⁶ noting that Jews were not admitted to the private dining clubs within his College.

The affair relating to Stone's appointment in 1941 at the Law School of the University of Sydney was certainly a dramatic one about which much has been written. Although he was the best candidate in the selection process, a group within the University Senate, apparently influenced by elements of the legal profession, attempted to reject Stone's selection on the basis — for so it was then urged — that ex-servicemen should be given the opportunity to

apply for the position at the end of the War. The question erupted into a public controversy and was aired in the State Parliament. It was to become clear that extreme conservatives were prejudiced against Stone because of his social philosophy and his personality, as well as his Jewishness.

It is unnecessary to discuss in detail what is already well known regarding the stand which Stone took in 1943 when he argued publicly with Sir Isaac Isaacs who, in retirement, had launched into a series of written attacks on political Zionism and the vexed problems then raging in Palestine. Stone came to the aid of Australian Zionists and brought all his relevant learning to bear in exposing Isaacs' attitude. Those desiring to learn more of Stone's strong Jewish consciousness, together with his friendship for the State of Israel and the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, should consult his biography by Leonie Star. Further, he was observant and Orthodox in his attachment to Judaism.

In an article such as the present one, the name of SYDNEY D. EINFELD, who passed away in 1985, is virtually towards the top of the list of those who have earned the gratitude of Australian Jews. His was a life of leadership and service to the Jewish community, coupled with his involvement in the political sphere, where Einfeld made a valuable contribution to the welfare of the general community, which was also instrumental in assisting and improving the condition of Australian Jewry. A detailed account of some of Einfeld's important work has already been included in this *Journal* so that readers would be advised to refer to it rather than making do with an inadequate summary thereof. Born in Sydney in 1909, his father, Rev. Marcus Einfeld of the Great Synagogue, was himself much admired and set an example of Jewishness to his family. His son, Sydney, was a president of the NSW Jewish War Memorial for several years and was a member of the Board of the Great Synagogue for an extended period. He was among those who were active in the formation of the NSW Jewish Board of Deputies. Later he served for four terms as president of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry. He was also president of the Federation of Australian Jewish Welfare and Relief Societies, making numerous overseas tours to help to secure refuge for Holocaust survivors and displaced European Jewry, resulting in the immigration to Australia of many thousands. As a director of the Conference on Material Claims Against Germany in the 1950s, he obtained large funds to aid the immigrants in Australia. He was elected deputy chairman of the Australian national committee for World Refugee Year in 1960.

In 1961, Einfeld was elected as a Labor member for a seat in the federal parliament which he held for a short time. From 1965 he

was a parliamentarian in the state parliament for about 16 years during which period he had acted as deputy Leader of the Opposition and served as a Minister of the Crown. While involved politically, he remained in the position of president of the Australian Jewish Welfare Society until 1979. Among his many awards was that in 1968 of 'Australian Jew of the Year'. Described as one of the leading figures of Australian Jewry in the twentieth century, there will be full agreement with the opinion that it was S.D. Einfeld's 'vision and dedication which made the postwar revitalisation of Australian Jewry possible.'⁶⁷

To so conclude, detracts nothing from the work and leadership in Victoria of MAURICE ASHKANASY, K.C., as one who helped to create the Victorian Jewish Board of Deputies as well as serving as president of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry for five terms. He was also one of the founders of Mt Scopus College. His personality was quite different from that of Einfeld and the two leaders strongly clashed on various issues. Yet, as has been said, they both had much in common as communal leaders and in Labor politics.

Not long ago I contributed a full biographical article on the career in this state of the eminent lawyer and judge, SIR BERNARD SUGERMAN.⁶⁸ As I wrote then, he came to be recognised as a great Australian judicial figure who served the Supreme Court of his state with distinction. His judicial attitude together with his intellectual powers and liberal outlook made him a tower of strength to his colleagues on the Bench. He was descended from a humble migrant family who finally settled in Sydney in the 1880s. Sir Bernard was not conventionally religious. He was a member of the Great Synagogue and was associated with several communal organisations. His Jewish identity was never in doubt. Further, both parties being jurists in their own rights, Sir Bernard was among the small circle of close friends of Professor Julius Stone who in 1980 delivered the first Sir Bernard Sugerman Memorial Oration.

This list of some leading Australian Jews would be decidedly incomplete without the inclusion of SIR ASHER JOEL (1912-1998). He was born in Enmore, New South Wales, his father had been in a London orphanage and his mother was the daughter of a Jewish minister. Leaving school at an early age, he became a copy boy until at the age of 20 he was the parliamentary roundsman of two newspapers, acquiring a skill which led him to a position in the office of Jack T. Lang, the Labor politician. This extraordinary expertise in public relations resulted in his being the local publicity director for the coronation of George VI and for Australia's Sesquicentenary in 1938. During World War II, he served on liaison with the American



Lieutenant Asher Joel, RANVR, being presented with the US Navy Bronze Star by the senior Naval Liaison Officer, picture taken in Melbourne in 1943 and published in The Detail, April 1999, p.21.

fleet and with General McArthur's Headquarters, for which he was awarded the US Navy Bronze Star. He was actively involved in the Lord Mayor's Patriotic and War Fund as well as the Australian Comforts Fund. For many years he was the publicity officer for the RSL and editor of *Reville*. After joining the Country Party, he became a member of the New South Wales Legislative Council, serving from 1958 to 1978.

Sir Asher Joel was widely known as the organiser of great events such as the royal visits, the opening of the Opera House, the Captain Cook Bicentenary, and he was prominently identified with the visit of Pope Paul VI in 1970. He chaired the Citizen's Dinners for Cardinals Gilroy and Freeman. He received a Papal knighthood for these services. He was a Freemason from the age of 18 and was to say that it had given him a philosophy of life. He had an entirely benign view of the craft.

Within the Jewish community in Sydney, he gave valued services in raising the profile of the United Israel Appeal (UIA) and he was the president of the Anzac Memorial Forest in Israel. He was a strong supporter of the New South Wales Jewish Communal Appeal (JCA) and his assistance and advice was consistently sought by the

New South Wales Jewish Board of Deputies and the Executive Council of Australian Jewry. He was a member of the North Shore and the Great Synagogues. He was keenly interested in the work of the Australian Jewish Historical Society and was a co-Patron of the Society. Sir Asher was later to write: 'I am what I am and I have never felt the necessity in over fifty years of public life to apologise for acknowledging the heritage of my fathers'.⁶⁹ He believed that Jewish success in public life demanded conduct which 'is expected to be rigidly impeccable' and he cited Disraeli's remark that a Jew 'can do everything but fail'.⁷⁰ Described by some as a legend in his lifetime, Sir Asher was indeed an exceptional Australian and he undoubtedly raised the public image of the Jewish community.

Of those whom I have selected for discussion as Jewish communal figures and exemplars, a good many of them were Orthodox, rather Anglicised, and they usually reflected the outlook of their co-religionists. Until more recently, Jewish identity was largely of a religious nature in its varying degrees and it was according to that pattern that the Jewish element was recognised by non-Jews. Now, however, perhaps as evidence of the influence of multiculturalism, there is a greater awareness of ethnicity in Jewishness. For the most part, in earlier times, the religious factor tended to be relegated to the privacy of the mind, to the synagogue and the home. The success of some of the outstanding individuals owed virtually nothing to their religious stance. Individual capacity and an extraordinary intellectuality were, of course, the key factors which ensured the future brilliant careers in at least three of the most important instances, noting in each case the stimulus provided in the individual's formative stages by the phenomenon of a most ambitious Jewish mother. In other instances, the religious background and/or a sense of *noblesse oblige* led the successful individual to remain attached, loyal and responsive to the Jewish community. The community, itself, showed much pride in the achievements of some of its members even if some of the latter were detached from the community.

While many of the examples given would suggest themselves to the reader, I appreciate that the selection, to an extent, is a personal one. All of them illustrate the course of Jewishness and Jewish identity in segments of the history of Australian Jewry. Further, they should not be seen in isolation from one another as it is instructive to view them together, thereby presenting some stereotypes of Jewishness, and creating an understanding of the similarities as well as the divergences in Jewish identification. When studied in this light, a kaleidoscopic effect is produced by the richness and colour of all the contributions by these Jews to their own com-

munal life and to the society of their day. In some instances, they have left a legacy which has survived as part of the historic heritage of Australian Jewry. The names of some of them are recorded in the annals of the nation, or they have left their mark, like a Julian Salomons or a Julius Stone, in the history of their profession or in the halls of learning. It may be too soon to identify figures of such stature in recent or contemporary times. Nevertheless, of more than a few of them in former times, I recall the remarks of the Jewish sages in expressing great regret in the passing of persons of such qualities, and regarding them as irreplaceable. A possible explanation for the dearth of such notable individuals on the immediate horizon, may lie in the fact that the demands of the complex and technological society of the present day is not conducive to the emergence of the personalities seen in the outstanding examples of other periods. Thus, a recent writer in a popular English magazine asks why great men or women are now very few and are being replaced in the public estimation by celebrities.⁷¹ In my view, likewise, the Australian Jewish community is presently not devoid of achievers in various fields, but their number and quality is not comparable with many of those whom I have named. Moreover, and contrary to the situation in the past, there seems to be a shortage of eminent Jews, particularly in the political arena, whose services and talents extend sufficiently into their own community.

III. DAVID MAYER SELBY

At the beginning of this paper, I referred to the passing last year of David Mayer Selby whose life in a variety of fields is deserving of notice in this *Journal*. For reasons which will appear, his career has not received much attention within the Jewish community, but I believe that a short biography is appropriate within the scope of the present article. Two lengthy obituaries were written by members of his family and published in the press. Though these dealt fully with the deceased's career, they made no reference of any kind to the ancestry of David Selby or his Jewish origins. It may be mentioned that, apart from other early associations of his with the Sydney Jewish community, he was a foundation member of this Historical Society and continued as a member for some time afterwards. His ancestors in Australia first settled in Melbourne. The Hon Archivist of the AJHS in Victoria, Beverley Davis, OAM, has provided the present writer with some notes which show that Jacob Silberberg, born ca 1815, Warsaw (Russia), was the son of a Rabbi Solomon Silberberg. Jacob and his first wife arrived in Melbourne from Plymouth in 1853. He was married three times, and included

among the seven children of the first marriage was a son, Mayer Matus, later the father of Herbert Bezalel.

In 1865, Jacob purchased 40 acres near Hamilton, Victoria, which became known as 'Silberberg's Paddock', and he ran a hotel at McArthur, Victoria. His grandson, Herbert Bezalel, later became known as Herbert Basil Selby. He grew up in the Western District of Victoria and later was involved in goldmining in Western Australia where he sold mining equipment at Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie. Settling in Sydney around 1913, he established a business providing scientific laboratory equipment. Until his death in 1937, H.B. Selby remained a member of the Great Synagogue. A cousin of his, a well-known Melbourne physician, Dr M.D. Silberberg, was president of Temple Beth Israel, 1932-1949. It is of interest to mention that the eldest child of H.B. Selby was Dr Doris Selby-Fried, who held appointments at several Sydney hospitals and settled in Israel before later returning to Australia. A fifth child of the same Selby was Benn Atherton who was to be the father of Robyn, the wife of Rabbi John Levi.

As well as their intrinsic interest, the above genealogical details illustrate the Jewish background of the Selby family which can be traced back for 150 years in Australia and before that time to its roots in Eastern Europe. H.B. Selby was previously attached to the St Kilda Hebrew Congregation. His son, David, at least during his earlier adult life, was associated with Jewish organisations. Moreover, although not a regular attendant, David Selby remained a member of the Great Synagogue throughout his life and his funeral was conducted by Rabbi Apple at the Macquarie Park Cemetery.

Residing on the North Shore, David received his education at the Sydney Church of England Grammar School. With his parents abroad, he decided to leave school without completing his final examinations. Strange as that may appear to be in the light of his later achievements, he went on to matriculate at the University of Sydney, where he obtained degrees in Arts and Law. While there he participated in sports, drama and literary pursuits. In 1931, he was admitted to the Bar and he married Barbara Phillips, sister of the late Orwell E. Phillips, in 1939. With the outbreak of war, he enlisted and was sent to Papua-New Guinea where he remained on military duties until the end of hostilities. Early in 1942, when the Japanese invaded New Guinea, Selby was in charge of a small group of men mostly under 19 years of age. They were placed in control of the only anti-aircraft artillery at Rabaul but they were hopelessly outnumbered. Selby was determined not to surrender and finally began a retreat over mountains and through the jungle. He and a small band of men were eventually rescued, much weakened by dis-

ease. While recuperating in hospital, Selby recorded his wartime experiences for a book which was later published. He wrote of his conviction that they were miraculously preserved by Divine intervention and guidance, referring to 'a new faith and profound gratitude for the power which kept us going'.⁷²

David Selby was a writer of no mean ability and he was obviously possessed of a literary capacity enabling him to describe, for example, the scene around him as the dawn began to approach over Rabaul:

The climax was pure drama, and as the sun shot up over the mountains of New Ireland, it seemed to take the moon by surprise, for in Rabaul it would be daylight but in the west, the moon, sheltered by the mountains, still held sway and bathed the sea in silver light. The coast stretched away into the blackness of the night and the few stars which were able to withstand the brilliance of the moon shone pallidly ... Then as the moon became aware of the rude eruption of the sun, she paled and lost her glamour, and it was day.⁷³

After the war, he returned to serve in the Australian-New Guinea Administration Unit. After 1961, Selby was for a short time a Justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory. He wrote a further book, *Itambu*, the title being a corruption of "It is tabu", which for the natives, as Selby wrote, had many shades of meaning from the prohibition of murder to keep off the grass. While on circuit as a Judge he tells in this book of his experiences, such as murder cases where native sorcery provided an opportunity to apply tribal law.⁷⁴

With an expertise in divorce law, as it was then known, Selby established a good working reputation for himself at the Sydney Bar, and in 1962 he was appointed to the Supreme Court of the State. Shortly after, he was appointed as Chief Judge in Divorce, and a few years later as the Judge in charge of the newly named Family Division of the Court. Until his retirement from the Bench in 1976, he was noted for the compassion with which he exercised a difficult jurisdiction so far as it affected the parties before the court. He was a most patient and attentive judge, the acme of judicial courtesy. However, while there has been a suggestion that he favoured law reforms, he wrote of himself: 'I tend to be conservative in my views, inclined to cautious change rather than to slashing reforms'.⁷⁵

From 1971 to 1980 Selby was a member of the NSW Parliamentary Remuneration Tribunal. He was chairman of the Marriage Guidance Council, NSW, and of the Red Cross handicrafts committee, and was associated with the Sydney University Arts Association. He was the

chief Legal Officer of the Military Forces, Eastern Command, and rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He was elected to the Senate of the University of Sydney in 1964 and was, for a long time, Fellow. He became Deputy Chancellor in 1971 and in 1991 the degree of honorary Doctor of the University was conferred on him. Sir Bruce Williams, a former Vice-Chancellor, remarked that he always seemed to be unflurried, which added to confidence in the wisdom of his advice. He also commented that it came as a great surprise to him to learn 'that this quietly spoken man with a somewhat diffident manner had a very brave military record'.⁷⁶



*David Selby, Deputy Chancellor
of the University of Sydney*

At an early stage of his career he was connected with Jewish organisations, beginning in 1931 as president of the Young Zionist League.⁷⁷ He acted as honorary secretary of the NSW Friends of the Hebrew University, was associated with NAJEX, and he is listed as being a delegate to the Board of Deputies. However, as has been seen, his major services after World War II were to the law, the judiciary, and the University of Sydney. These commitments left little time for Jewish causes, even though his family background and personal qualities would have qualified him for a significant role within the Jewish community.

IV. CONCLUDING REMARKS

As much as it is pleasing to read of the advances in Australian Jewishness over the last decade, the 2001 census data provide information of concern. According to a published commentary, the most recent figures indicate that the nation's Jews are now intermarrying more than they did five years ago when the previous Census was taken.⁷⁸ It is stated that during this period a total of 20,818 Australian Jews indicated a religion other than Judaism on the part of one partner, leading the commentator to state that these figures showed a rise of 20% since 1996. He went on to write that NSW fig-

ures showed a total of 9260 mixed marriages, while 6732 were recorded in Victoria. All states, it was noted, had more such marriages in 2001 than in the mid-1990s.

Grahame Leonard of the Jewish Community Council of Victoria was quoted as stating that, despite its larger Jewish population, the number of Victorian intermarriages was lower than in NSW. According to the 2001 census, the official Jewish population of Melbourne totalled 37,778, a 6.3% increase since 1996, while in Sydney the total was 32,941, an increase of 4.99%. Thus, the total Jewish population of Australia is now 70,719. This figure justifies the view of the ECAJ that this figure underestimates the actual number of Jews because of the apparent reluctance by some Jews to indicate their religion in the census. It is further said that the real number of Australian Jewry is closer to 110,000.

The above statistical census data emanated from a report by a Melbourne Jewish writer published in the Jewish press under the title 'Mixed marriages on the rise'. This report contained a very brief observation by ECAJ President, Jeremy Jones, who remarked, on the basis of the figures being accurate, 'obviously there are challenges for the Jewish community'. He pointed out that 'the community would have to be concerned if there were many people who were not able to experience the long-term positives of the Jewish community and continuity'. So far as this article of mine is concerned, it is timely that I have been able to invite some attention to these recent census statistics which are of course most relevant to questions relating to Jewish identity in Australia at the present time. One's interpretation of the figures disclosed by the census may possibly be arguable as allowance should be made for those cases where a partner converts to Judaism or where the children are raised as Jews. According to my calculations, the above statistics show that about 20% of the total Jewish population intermarried, while the compiler of the census figures himself agrees that there has been a 20% rate of increase in the last five years.

Though these intermarriage disclosures are not alarming, there clearly seems to have been a noticeable increase in the rate of intermarriage over the last few years, when the reverse process would have been expected in view of other favourable developments, including the influence of multiculturalism, which I have here already discussed. While I have just referred to the above mixed marriage figures as not alarming, the Jewish press has taken a different view, recently describing them as 'alarming' for New South Wales Jewry. Discussing a number of findings, Aviva Bard commented on a snapshot of the Jewish community based on the 2001 census, provided by Dr Gary Eckstein, a demographer commissioned by the JCA.⁷⁸ It is stated that over 600 fewer people have

identified as Jewish and that there was shift away from Judaism among young adults, even though their numbers increased. Intermarriage, it is said, was stable with one-third of Jews marrying a non-Jewish partner, a pattern which was equal among both sexes. The children of such marriages are recorded as Jewish in about 40% of the cases, usually when the mother was Jewish. Dr Eckstein was quoted as saying that these cases would increase as we live in a pluralistic society. If so, I would regard this as a serious disadvantage for the Jewish community flowing from multiculturalism. The relevant views of Dr Eckstein are quoted in *The Source*, published by the JCA: '... but the "time Bomb" here is that only one sixth of the children of Jewish fathers and non-Jewish mothers are reported as Jewish. Add to this the worrying trend away from Jewish identification among young adults and there are major implications for education, support, social and cultural services'.⁸⁰

On the issue of Jewish identity, the day school movement is seen as a beacon of light for the stability and continuity of Australian Jewry but it is not intended as a panacea which automatically will provide all the necessary answers. 'It would seem we are winning the battle', writes a graduate of Yavneh College (Melbourne), 'against assimilation and intermarriage by providing a large percentage of our youth with a sound Jewish education'. The writer qualifies this statement with the comment that future idealistic communal leaders are very deficient in numbers. He goes on to say that it is not sufficiently appreciated that it is essential that a 'meaningful Jewish home life' expressive of Jewish values 'must be rekindled from generation to generation'.⁸¹ In other words, even if there is no mistaking the great value of the day schools, and as the writer quoted observes, serious challenges have not all disappeared from the horizon of Australian Jewry.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Susan Bures (Administrator of the Great Synagogue); Helen Bersten (Honorary Archivist, AJHS Inc); Beverley Davis (Honorary Archivist, AJHS, Victoria Inc); Rabbi Raymond Apple (Senior Rabbi, Great Synagogue); Dr Ivan Cher; and Waverley Library staff.

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FINDING A JEWISH IDENTITY IN THE ANTIPODES

Ruth Wirth

After Hitler's assumption of power in 1933, the position of Jews in Germany and later Austria consistently deteriorated. The key milestones of pre-war Nazi persecution of Jews were the April 1933 boycott of Jewish shops, the 1933 civil service legislation excluding Jews from civil service positions, the 1935 Nuremberg laws, Germany's Anschluss of Austria in March 1938 and the subsequent antisemitic program, which culminated with the 1938 pogrom of *Kristallnacht* on 9–10 November. These factors created a refugee problem of immense proportions. *Kristallnacht* marked a turning point in how the Nazi Party was perceived by the non-fascist world, making headlines across the world, including Great Britain and Australia. From both within and outside Australia, pressure was brought to bear on the Australian government to liberalise its immigration policies to ameliorate the ever-increasing refugee problems of Europe. Between 1938 and 1939, 6,500 Jewish refugees, mainly from Germany and Austria arrived on Australian shores. They were faced with the challenge of recreating their Jewish identity in a new land. One of the main instruments in meeting this challenge was the development of B'nai B'rith in Australia.

In the previous issue of this *Journal*, Gary Fabian outlined the origins of B'nai B'rith in New York in 1843 and its development in the nineteenth century.¹ Fabian has provided a brief historical overview of the development of B'nai B'rith in Australia from 1941 to the present day. In this article, I shall seek to analyse in more depth the migration experience of the German and Austrian Jewish refugees in Sydney and the role which B'nai B'rith played in their acclimatisation to their new homeland. This article will focus on the period from the 1930s to 1945. It is based on archival research as well as the recollections of four children of the founding Charter members of B'nai B'rith who were interviewed and whose reminiscences help to create a deeper understanding of this formative period of Australian Jewish history.



Ernst Goldschmidt

Amongst the major pre-war wave of Jewish refugees reaching the shores of Australia in 1938–1939 were a number of former members of European B'nai B'rith Lodges.² As victims of Nazi persecution, these middle-aged men had lost their material achievements of a lifetime and faced a struggle to make ends meet in their new country. However, as members of former Austrian, Czechoslovakian and German Lodges they had not lost the ideals of B'nai B'rith, which they cherished as essential for their way of life and which they wished to preserve for coming generations.

One of these men was Ernst Goldschmidt, a refugee from Vienna who had joined 'Wien' Lodge in 1922 and became its president in 1935. It was his involvement with B'nai B'rith in Vienna that resulted in his arrest by the Nazis on *Kristallnacht*. Before arriving in Australia, Goldschmidt had written to B'nai B'rith Headquarters in Washington inquiring as to the existence of B'nai B'rith in Australia. It is clear he had already conceived the idea of establishing a Lodge in Sydney before his departure from Europe.³

In order to understand the impetus for the establishment of B'nai B'rith in Australia, it is important to describe the Jewish society in Australia in which the Jewish refugees from Europe found themselves. Until the arrival of the Jewish refugees from Nazism in the late 1930s, the established Australian Jews comprised a small group that was well integrated into the Australian society.⁴ They were thoroughly assimilated, given the low levels of antisemitism and their high level of acceptance into the general society. At this time, Jewish life in New South Wales revolved mainly around one institution — the Great Synagogue.⁵ Strong Jewish identification was lacking within the established Jewish community in Sydney. The main goal of all the Jews was acceptance within Australian society while being able to practise their religion at a minimal level.

Upon arrival in Australia in the late 1930s, Jewish refugees brought with them a strong sense of Jewish belonging and cultural backgrounds that differed greatly from Australian Jewry. Among some of the difficulties the Jewish refugees encountered was a sense of lack of acceptance and interest from the Jewish establishment. This sense of alienation was a major factor in preventing the newly arrived from integrating into the Jewish community of Sydney.

The memories of my four interviewees help to create a clearer image of the difficulties some of the older Jewish refugee males encountered during the late 1930s and early 1940s. They described the characters and ideals of their fathers and their motivation and needs for the establishment of B'nai B'rith in Australia. When asked about the earliest experiences in Sydney, the interviewees all revealed similar responses regarding the general negative attitude

of the established Jewish community to the newcomers, as well as the non-acceptance and sense of alienation experienced by the Jewish refugees. During her interview, Lisie recalled:

The Australian Jews were not very friendly towards the German-speaking Jews. I don't think my parents had any friends who were established Australian Jews — maybe one couple. My parents didn't feel welcome or comfortable here at the beginning. A feeling of companionship and moral support was lacking here.⁶

Similarly, Gerry commented on his negative experiences with the Australian Jews as follows:

Connections with Australians were neutral. I remember my first visit to the Great Synagogue in 1939, when Rabbi Falk told the congregation to be kind to the newly arrived Jewish refugees. I heard a man behind us say that they [Jewish refugees] should all go back where they came from.⁷

These recollections highlight the difficulties the newcomers experienced in their social interactions with the established Jewish community.

It is not an uncommon phenomenon to find conflicts arising when a 'new' ethnic group, with its cultural differences, settles in an established community. The Australian Jews enjoyed a comfortable and protected lifestyle and had no desire to see their position in society jeopardised by the arrival of their fellow Jews who appeared so different. Indeed, the cultural differences between the Jewish refugees and the established Jewry created barriers, which in turn deepened the rift making integration even more difficult. It was not easy for the refugees to meld into the predominantly British culture of Australia.

In order to fully comprehend the reasons for this lack of understanding between these two groups of the same religious background, it is necessary to analyse the past milieu of the central European Jewish refugees who arrived in the late 1930s. Nearly all of them belonged to the middle classes and a very large percentage were professionals who had an above average university education. They were very cultured, as they came from a background of gracious living and brought with them a love for classical music and the theatre, an interest in the fine arts and the humanities and a thirst to further their knowledge in these areas. Good food and European coffee were also part of their milieu.

Up to this point in time, 'culture' had not played such a vital part

in Australian life. Sydney offered very little in terms of culture⁸ and what level of culture existed was seen as mediocre. The cultural clash that existed between the Jewish refugees and the established community, created a greater need for the former to socialise with people of similar backgrounds.

As early as 1941, these German-speaking refugees started to meet socially in private homes in order to provide moral, cultural and intellectual support for each other. New surroundings, new language and customs created the need for these meetings. To the outsider, these meetings would have seemed anything but informal.⁹ Full titles were bestowed — nearly everybody was 'Herr Doktor' — the vicissitudes of life, the loss of home, fortune and position had not diminished their pride.

During the war police regulations, applying to aliens coming from Austria and Germany, severely restricted their movements and the social meetings in each other's homes had to be suspended. As enemy aliens, the refugees were subjected to onerous restrictions of their movements and locations. They were required to report to the police station weekly, as well as obtain permission of the military authorities when moving from one police district to another or within the one police district.¹⁰ As a result of these travel restrictions, the Jewish refugees found it easier and more convenient to meet in the Tarbuth Rooms in George Street in the city of Sydney.

The Tarbuth Rooms were a Zionist-funded communal centre, created largely by Jewish refugees, following the formation of the Tarbuth Zionist organisation in 1940 by a number of Viennese Jews. Tarbuth was to play a vital role in the development of the Jewish cultural life in Sydney in the 1940s by providing a central meeting place for the refugees.¹¹

These social meetings created a feeling of belonging amongst the newly arrived refugees, eager for social and cultural contact. It was only after a few years of these early social meetings that the seeds were sown for the establishment of a B'nai B'rith lodge in Australia. The interviewees expressed the necessity for their parents to be able to share experiences with people of similar cultural backgrounds. Trude described these early social meetings, which eventually led to discussions as to the possibility of forming B'nai B'rith in Sydney, as follows:

The German-speaking Jews were used to experiencing culture — it was part of their lives. It was important to establish a circle of friends. If the Australian Jews had been a little more forthcoming, the refugees would have been happy to join in their particular interests.

There were quite a number of people he [my father] had known in B'nai B'rith and known of from Vienna. He felt it would be a good idea to be together with people he used to know. This was the first interest really. The first meetings were social ones [in people's homes]. I remember these meetings quite well at our place. There would be a few couples and it was a social outing — they would come for lunch and then they would have afternoon tea. It was a lengthy visit. They would exchange their experiences here and then they would start talking about the possibilities of establishing B'nai B'rith here.¹²

The other interviewees had similar memories. Before embarking on the attempts of those responsible for establishing B'nai B'rith in Australia, it is necessary to describe the characters and personalities of these men including Ludwig Reiss, Julius Loewinger and Ernst Goldschmidt who were amongst the founding members of Sydney B'nai B'rith. The Nazis arrested these three men because of their B'nai B'rith connections. The children of the founding Charter members of Sydney Lodge N. 1546 depicted the type of character and ideology behind the personalities of their fathers all of whom were 'altruistic'.¹³ They all described their fathers as 'kind' and 'always wanting to help others'. For example, Lisie described her father Ludwig Reiss as follows:

He was a very kind, caring and loving person — a '*mensch*'. He always told the story that when he made his way across Central Europe, having been a prisoner of war in Vladivostok in World War 1, he remembered how the Jews in the villages helped him. When he became a successful businessman, he always felt that he wanted to help others. He liked to be a good member [of B'nai B'rith]. My father helped young people get apprenticeships in Prague. He was an active and conscientious Jew. He knew he would have to leave Prague, when the Nazis came in March 1939, because of his Jewish connections.

Trude depicted her father, Julius Loewinger, in a similar fashion:

My father was born in Vienna in 1887. He was one of the most outstanding personalities that I have known, really. He was a very kind man — people always came to him for moral support, especially after 1933... He had this certain ability to uplift people. He really looked after the extended family as well — he took in an orphaned nephew.

He joined B'nai B'rith in 1932 — the 'Masada' group in Vienna. He was quite active. Apart from his activities with B'nai B'rith, he offered his accounting skills to other charities. He was the treasurer of B'nai B'rith just before the Nazi changeover in 1938. B'nai B'rith had a lot of buildings and cash and the Nazis were interested in that. My father was then arrested, because of his connections with B'nai B'rith, the day after the Nazis marched in. He was released in July, regaining his freedom because he promised to leave Austria.

At first the prime motivation of the Jewish refugees of the late 1930s was to re-create a bond or friendship that was lacking within the Australian Jewry. They needed to be among people of similar backgrounds, where they could speak their language freely; not to feel outcasts in their new land. They missed not being able to help others. The Jewish refugees spent the first few years in Australia re-establishing themselves in their new country. The interviewees talked about the important role the initial social meetings played in providing an opportunity for their parents to mix with people of similar cultural backgrounds. These meetings also provided an outlet for moral support and a chance to help each other. Lisie talked about the altruism and moral support missing from her father's life:

The newly arrived Jewish refugees were mainly of German speaking backgrounds and they needed a feeling of belonging to somebody and companionship and being able to help each other. This was one of the main driving forces. And so the German-speaking Jews felt the need to establish a focal point where they could meet and just be together. Nothing existed here. There was no sense of belonging. He was a member in Prague and I'm sure he felt the need for such a worthwhile organisation. My father and the original founding fathers needed a focal group of solidarity, where they could find moral support rather than financial. The feeling of belonging to something was important to them — and the loyalty to the concepts of B'nai B'rith. They felt the need to help each other.

The concept of honour also played an important part in the principles of B'nai B'rith in Europe in the late 1930s and membership of the order of B'nai B'rith was regarded as a privilege.¹⁴ Admission required proof of economic independence, a spotless record and a commitment to fellow Jews. Men had to be nominated to become members. It was a prestigious organisation and only people of a certain calibre were accepted. As Auerbach wrote: 'membership of B'nai

B'rith was not easily achieved and rarely, if ever, relinquished.¹⁶ B'nai B'rith had once symbolised the promise of an orderly, fulfilling progress through the rest of their days and the founders of Sydney B'nai B'rith were determined to restore this sense of fulfilment. The interviewees all stressed this aspect of honour, the necessity for a certain status within society and the fact that one had to be invited to join B'nai B'rith. Once this honour of being nominated had been achieved, B'nai B'rith members felt obliged to help others less fortunate.

Lisie talked about her father as follows:

He was very proud of the fact that he had been invited to join B'nai B'rith in Prague in 1935-6. In Europe you had to be asked to join B'nai B'rith — you had to have the 'Matura', education and be financially secure. It was an honour. In turn the people who were invited [to join] felt the obligation to help others. In the early days here you still had to have a certain level of education to be accepted into B'nai B'rith.

Recreating that sense of honour was an important motivating factor in the foundation of B'nai B'rith in Australia.

It was only after a few years of the early social meetings at the Tarbut Rooms that the seeds were sown for the establishment of a B'nai B'rith lodge in Australia. By 1944, the motivation and determination to establish B'nai B'rith in Sydney had become increasingly stronger. When describing the purpose of founding the Lodge, Ernst Goldschmidt said in one of his many speeches:

As I started to realise my plan, I had in mind, first of all my dear old brethren. I wanted to gather them, to bring them consolation in their loneliness through the ideas of our Order and my heart was for them. But beyond it, my thought was for our beloved Order. I wanted to plant a small tree here in the Australian soil, the B'nai B'rith flavour of which would bring blessing not just for the old brethren but for the noble thinking Jews who would join our Lodge.¹⁵

Goldschmidt described these emotions (in German) in a letter addressed to a fellow member in New York. He talked about the indescribable joy amongst the brethren who for the last six years were unable to fulfil the beloved duties of the Order. He mentioned that one of the brethren had described the day of the first B'nai B'rith meeting as one of the happiest so far in Australia.¹⁷

Another factor which became evident when analysing the inter-

views is the vital role that women played in assisting their husbands establish B'nai B'rith in Australia. This may have been due to the fact that their husbands no longer had the positions in employment or society, they once held in their lands of origin. Realising this and accepting that their dear ones may never reach their desired social positions, the women felt it necessary for their husbands to retain some of their lost dignity; at least have the 'honour' of being part of the prestigious B'nai B'rith once more. Trude confirmed this, commenting:

All the women pushed their men for the honour. It was due to Mrs. Goldschmidt that the whole thing was continued. She was very firm about this and she tried to really establish B'nai B'rith. She pushed her husband to continue. It was for him, not for her. Times were very difficult for them. She worked out of home in an orphanage and cooked for people and he stayed home and made shopping nets.

What also motivated my father was that my mother thought it was a good idea. I think quite a lot of the women were keen on establishing B'nai B'rith. It was to mainly retain a certain amount of the common background they had and to help others. The Mothers' Help came into being soon after the establishment of B'nai B'rith, where the women became very active.

Another interviewee, Lily, reinforced the concept of the importance of the role played by the women. She described her mother-in-law, Mrs Goldschmidt, as being very influential over Ernst Goldschmidt, her husband¹⁸. The strength and determination of the wives of the B'nai B'rith brethren led to the formation of the Women's Auxiliary, shortly after the formation of Sydney Lodge 1546. Goldschmidt wrote to Bernard Postal, National Director of Information, B'nai B'rith in Washington, informing him of the inauguration of the Women's Auxiliary.¹⁹

In early 1944, Ernst Goldschmidt started to arrange regular meetings of former Lodge members at the Tarbut Rooms. Lectures were held at these Sunday meetings and a group of about forty Lodge brethren and their wives enjoyed a genuine B'nai B'rith atmosphere. Rabbi Dr. Israel Porush, appointed as senior minister of the Great Synagogue in 1940, was one the first speakers.²⁰ Rabbi Porush actively supported the creation of B'nai B'rith in Australia. Having seen B'nai B'rith in action whilst studying in Berlin, he believed the movement would greatly enhance the local Jewish community and he demonstrated his belief in the objectives of B'nai



Stephanie Goldschmidt

B'rith by becoming a foundation member of Sydney Lodge. He continued to serve as senior minister of the Great Synagogue for thirty-three years as well as recording Australian Jewish history in his scholarly writings. His contributions to the rabbinate of Australia and to the leadership of its Jewish and national life were highly acclaimed.

In March 1944, Goldschmidt placed an advertisement in the *Hebrew Standard* calling on all former members of European Lodges to contact him to assist with his intention of applying for a Charter for the establishment of a B'nai B'rith Lodge in Sydney.²¹ The advertisement read: 'Any member of the Order B'nai B'rith to

whichever Lodge they belong are cordially invited to meet at a social function. There will be an opportunity of discussing the proposition to apply to the authorities of the order in Washington, U.S.A. for a charter to establish a Lodge in Sydney.'

On the occasion of Sydney Lodge's 20th anniversary, the then president Klimt described the response to his invitation as:

...an excellent one and he [Ernst Goldschmidt] found immediately the necessary support for his project. The former members of B'nai B'rith, educated in their European Lodges in the true spirit of B'nai B'rith to perform in brotherly harmony 'charity' tasks of a rather incredible extent, were longing for a continuation of these activities in their new homeland.²²

A small committee was formed to support Goldschmidt in his determined efforts to secure a Charter for a B'nai B'rith Lodge in Sydney from the Supreme Lodge in Washington. Forty-one brethren signed the following petition:

We the undersigned brethren of the B'nai B'rith order have today decided at a meeting held at the premises of the Tarbut to ask the President of the Order of B'nai B'rith for a Charter letter for the purpose to establish in Sydney a B'nai B'rith Lodge. The undersigned are signatories of this request. Sydney March 19th, 1944.²³

Meanwhile in Melbourne, Franz Lippmann, ex-President of Steinthal Lodge, Hamburg, having learnt of Goldschmidt's intention of starting a Lodge in Sydney, wrote to him requesting 'full details as far as possible about membership and suggested laws'. Lippmann also suggested it would be 'desirable and necessary to work together from the start in close and brotherly connection. Also an united action in America may be advisable.'²⁴

In response to these developments, Goldschmidt wrote to Henry Monsky, President of the Executive Committee and to Maurice Bisgyer, Secretary of Executive Committee requesting the 'granting of a Charter for the establishing of a B'nai B'rith Lodge in Sydney'. He stressed that the Lodge would be started by brethren 'who have received a most exact education as members of the order in well approved European Lodges.'²⁵

However, the initial response from the US was a negative one and the request for a charter to form a Sydney Lodge was rejected. The refusal of Washington's Supreme Lodge to grant a charter caused great disappointment. Maurice Bisgyer in his letter of

refusal stated that 'it had been the policy of the Order not to issue a charter unless the majority of the petitioners are citizens or long-time residents of the country in which the lodge is to be organized.' He suggested that if residents and citizens were 'in a number at least equal to the number who have signed the petition, we shall gladly issue the charter.'²⁶

Bitterly disappointed and yet undaunted by this refusal, Goldschmidt persevered with his pursuit of forming a Lodge in Sydney. He renewed his application, stressing the uniqueness of the situation of Sydney's Jewish refugees wishing to establish a Lodge. He explained that only once it was formed and led by members of the Order of longstanding and experience, would the Australian Jews be prepared to join. He expressed his disappointment about the instructions from B'nai B'rith in Washington. He (and the other brethren) thought 'that the mentioned condition is not consistent with the recent development[s] in the Jewish world.' He requested that 'our case be considered as a special one as we are doing pioneer work for the B'nai B'rith on this continent'. Goldschmidt pointed out that many of the brethren 'have been persecuted on account of their membership.' He explained that 'the brethren who have signed the petition did not come to Australia as a temporary refuge but with the sole intention to settle down here and become loyal citizens of this country.....Most of them have applied for Australian citizenship as soon as the possibility was given'. Goldschmidt also outlined his long-held views on the question of including Australian Jews in the initial formation of B'nai B'rith in this letter. He stressed that: 'We do not know whether there will be so many suitable candidates nor if these would have the inclination to join the Order.' In a further argument for his plea for a positive response, he explained how 'it will be our keenest endeavour to disseminate our ideals among all noble thinking Australian Israeliteswe would launch an efficient drive for members among the long time Jewish residents of New South Wales.' He concluded the letter by requesting the Secretary 'for reconsidering the matter and for granting the charter to the brethren who have the petition.'²⁷

This second letter convinced the B'nai B'rith Headquarters in Washington to reverse their original decision of refusing to grant the charter. On 18 August 1944, a telegram stating 'Charter granted, letter following' was sent to Goldschmidt.²⁸ The Charter was granted on 21 August 1944 under the signature of President Henry Monsky and the Secretary, Maurice Bisgyer.²⁹

On 29 August, following this announcement the brethren alone were 'cordially invited to a Very Important Meeting in the library of the Maccabean Hall at 8 o'clock sharp.'³⁰ Goldschmidt was clearly

greatly relieved and most appreciative of the reversal of the earlier decision and expressed his gratitude in a letter addressed to Maurice Bisgyer. He wrote:

In the name of all our brethren in Sydney and myself we greatly appreciate being given the opportunity of serving our great order within our new Lodge. The high ideals it stands for led us in those dark days of the past, they may lead us in the days to come.

His continual desire to help others less fortunate was brought out in this letter when he stated: 'we shall devote ourselves wholeheartedly to the great task of assisting those poor Jews still left in Europe in every possible way to the best of our possibilities.'³¹ On 13 September 1944 the provisional Lodge held its first meeting in Sydney's Maccabean Hall and the first Council of the Lodge was elected. To assist him in the formation of Sydney Lodge, Goldschmidt wrote to various Lodges in the United States, namely Chicago, Nebraska and Ohio, requesting 'literature published by your committee, such as pamphlets or any other material which you think helpful to our organisation in Sydney.'³² Bisgyer forwarded Goldschmidt 'two copies of each of our newly revised Constitution and Ritual.'³³

On the 17 December 1944, Ernst Goldschmidt, as delegate of the Supreme Lodge, solemnly installed the first B'nai B'rith Lodge in Australia: Sydney Lodge, No. 1546 with an original membership of 74 foundation members. Sixty had been former members from Europe, acting as Charter members, and fourteen were newly initiated members. He began his address to his brethren with the following words: 'We have today a very festive day, a day of joy you surely will remember all your lives and even our successors will, I hope, not forget this very day.'³⁴ Goldschmidt wrote to Bernhard Postal, National Director of Information describing the event as follows:

I had the honour to institute the Sydney Lodge No. 1546. It was a very festive day for not only the brethren but also in consequence of the high interest for the first B'nai B'rith Lodge in Australia for the whole Jewry.³⁵

The *Sydney Jewish News* in an article entitled 'Sydney Lodge of B'nai B'rith Inaugurated', concluded by stating 'it is to be hoped, that B'nai B'rith will faithfully take part in the development of Australian Jewry in the sincere and humble spirit of the Order.'³⁶ B'nai B'rith was started by men well into middle age and beyond. It



Picture of inaugural dinner left to right: Frank Wenger, Walter Bendit, Herman Schneeweiss, Ernst Goldschmidt, Philip Kantor, Franz Lippmann, Ernst Levy, Hugo Glattaver, Martin Maschler.

offered them social contacts in an alien world, an illusion of safety and security and a helping hand from other members.

Reactions from the established Australian Jewish community to the formation of B'nai B'rith had been an issue of major concern from the very beginning. In the first place, the Jewish refugees would not have felt the need to establish a separate social network, had the Australian Jewry been more welcoming. In the correspondence between Goldschmidt and his counterpart in Melbourne, Lippmann, a great deal of discussion centred around the question of whether to invite Australian Jews to be involved in the formation of B'nai B'rith. Both men realised the importance of having 'a fair proportion of citizens'³⁷ as one of the conditions of being granted a Charter. However, they both agreed that, before being admitted to the Lodge, one had to understand and be taught the principles of 'Brotherly Love and Harmony'. Goldschmidt outlined (in German) his opinion of 'Sydney' brethren regarding the position of Australian Jews. He felt that a Charter should be obtained before asking Australian Jews to become members. The reason for this was, it was believed, that the Australian Jew knew nothing about B'nai B'rith and therefore may influence it negatively.³⁸

In a further letter, Goldschmidt pointed out that Rabbi Porush had been invited to speak at one of their meetings. Porush was also of the opinion that the Charter should first be achieved before discussing the matter with Australian Jews, adding that the number of Australian Jews interested would not be great.³⁹

Goldschmidt was well aware of the differences, cultural and otherwise between the established and newly arrived Jews in Australia. In reply to a request regarding information about the Jewish communities in Australia from a prospective immigrant from Chicago, Goldschmidt responded:

Older Jewish residents are few in this part of the world, relatively big is the number of recent Jewish immigrants who came to Australia as refugees from Germany and Austria, while the older residents directly or indirectly hail from parts of Russia and Poland.

What is more significant is perhaps the following comment he made in this letter regarding the relations between the refugees and the established Jewry: 'The time, so far, has been too short to amalgamate both groups.'⁴⁰

By 1948, however, Goldschmidt, as the installing officer of the fifth executive council of B'nai B'rith, saw the importance of integration into the Australian Jewish community. He expressed this in a speech at the time: 'You should think about "Australianism" that means patriotism and love for Australia; thus you will show that you are feeling united with this land.'⁴¹

On a final note, it is appropriate to describe the man who instigated the idea of founding a B'nai B'rith Lodge in Australia. It is held that without the persistence of Ernst Goldschmidt, B'nai B'rith would not have happened when it did and might never have happened at all.⁴² He is described as the Grand Old Man who by founding the Sydney Lodge put B'nai B'rith on the map of Australia.⁴³ Ernst Goldschmidt continued to be active in B'nai B'rith until his death on 21 November 1951. As Honorary Life President, he was responsible for installing seven presidents and executives in Sydney. At the time of his death the *Sydney Jewish News* wrote:

The Australian Jewish community has suffered a grievous loss....he has enriched Jewish life in Australia by introducing here the ideas of B'nai B'rith (Sons of the Covenant), a worldwide organisation of highest reputation which was established about 110 years ago in the United States. Mr. Goldschmidt espoused always the principles of B'nai B'rith. He worked for uniting Jews without regard to their political or religious orientation for the purpose of living up to the commandments of our Torah dealing with the care for widows, orphans, the needy and the persecuted ones.The establishment of the first lodge of B'nai B'rith in Australia was no easy task, but

Mr. Goldschmidt, a personality of courage, determination, intensity and fairness overcame all obstacles. Now B'nai B'rith fills its place in Jewish life of Australia in an honourable way.⁴⁴

In 1984 on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of B'nai B'rith in Australia, *The Australian Jewish Times* described Mr. Goldschmidt as 'the driving force and spiritual father of B'nai B'rith in Australia.'⁴⁵

In a letter to Goldschmidt on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday, Erwin Hacker, a Charter member wrote to him (in German), describing him as a man of unsurpassable energy and capability. He added that 'you, as founder of our Lodge can be proud that you were responsible for all the wonderful deeds and friendships, that the Lodge has achieved.'⁴⁶ On a more personal note, Gerry Levy described Ernst Goldschmidt 'as your grandfather, Ernst Goldschmidt was really the spiritual leader of this group. He was very energetic and I think he made B'nai B'rith possible. Perseverance! There was a commitment of spirit and decency [within him]'.⁴⁷

Ernst Goldschmidt's contribution was recognised by his peers in B'nai B'rith with the dedication of a plaque of acknowledgment at their headquarters. He was a man of significant character, arriving in Australia at the age of sixty-five, into an essentially alien environment and with minimal skills in English. His previous success and status in Austria coupled with his drive and energy saw him determined to challenge the reduced circumstances that he and so many of his charter members found themselves in.

During the late 1930s and 1940s Sydney Jewry experienced significant changes of communal life.⁴⁸ From being an assimilated group, the Australian Jews were now about to take on a new identity. The foundation of B'nai B'rith played a prominent role in this process, not only in strengthening Jewish life in Australia but also in assisting the Jewish refugees, especially those of German-speaking backgrounds to integrate into Australian Jewish society. The establishment of B'nai B'rith in Australia was part of the transformation that took place within the Australian Jewish community from the 1930s onwards.

Amongst some of the other changes that occurred during this period was the growth of Liberal Judaism, which had its roots in nineteenth century Germany, with the establishment of the Temple Beth Israel in Melbourne and the Temple Emanuel in Sydney. The creation of the Liberal congregations provided an opportunity for those Jews who had moved away from Orthodox Judaism. Jewish

education saw its beginnings with the establishment of a Jewish kindergarten and day school in North Bondi, Sydney, during this period. Charitable organisations such as the Isabella Lazarus orphanage for Jewish refugee children were initiated. The creation of the Jewish Board of Deputies occurred in the 1940s. The refugees contributed greatly to these changes which were to transform Australian Jewish society.

NOTES

1. Gary Fabian, 'The History of B'nai B'rith in Australia,' *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal*, Nov. 2002, Vol. XVI, Part 3, p.351.
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3. *BB Bulletin*, Vol. 12, No.11, December 1964, p.6.
4. Suzanne Rutland, 'A Changing Community — the Impact of the Refugees on Australian Jewry: New South Wales — a case study,' in K. Kwiet & J. Moses, 'On Being a German-Jewish Refugee', Special issue, *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 1985, Vol.31, No.1, p. 90.
5. Suzanne Rutland, 'The 'Thirty Niners', A Turning Point for N.S.W. Jewry,' *B'nai B'rith Background*, Vol. 3, No.1, December 1984, p. 9.
6. Interview with Lisie Parker on 20 March 2002.
7. Interview with Gerry Levy on 2 April 2002.
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9. Egon Auerbach, '40 Years of B'nai B'rith in Australia,' *B'nai B'rith Background*, Vol.3, No.1, December 1984, p.4.
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11. Suzanne Rutland, 1985, op. cit., p. 103.
12. Interview with Trude Hardie on 4 May 2002.
13. An altruistic personality is one of the key factors identified throughout the recollections of interviewees.
14. Egon Auerbach, 'B'nai B'rith in Australia', *The Australian Jewish Times*, 1 November 1984, p. 13.
15. Egon Auerbach, op.cit., p.4.
16. *BB Bulletin*, Vol. 4, No.9, October 1956, p.6.
17. Letter from E. Goldschmidt to N. Rosenthal on 29 June 1944.
18. Interview with Lily Goldschmidt on 1 April, 2002.
19. Letter from E. Goldschmidt to B. Postal on 27 March 1945.

20. Extracts from 'B'nai B'rith in Australia', Bro. Victor Newbrun, Souvenir issue, *BB Bulletin*, 26 August 1962, p. 23.
21. *Hebrew Standard of Australasia*, 9 March 1944.
22. *BB Bulletin*, December 1964, p.6.
23. From original typed document at B'nai B'rith Centre, Yurong St., Sydney.
24. Letter from Lippmann to Goldschmidt on 9 April 1944.
25. Letter from Goldschmidt to Monsky and Bisgyer on 7 April 1944.
26. Letter from Bisgyer to Goldschmidt on 31 May 1944.
27. Letter from Goldschmidt to Bisgyer on 23 June 1944.
28. Telegram sent on 18 August 1944 in the B'nai B'rith archives.
29. Letter from Bisgyer to Goldschmidt on 21 August 1944.
30. Unsigned, typed, general invitation in the B'nai B'rith archives.
31. Letter from Goldschmidt to Bisgyer on 10 September 1944.
32. Letters written 9 October 1944.
33. Letter from M. Bisgyer to E. Goldschmidt 20 October 1944.
34. Prepared address of installing officer, E. Goldschmidt.
35. Letter from E. Goldschmidt to B. Postal on 27 December 1944.
36. *Sydney Jewish News*, 22 December 1944, p.2.
37. Letter from Alfred Cohen (Hon. Pres. of B'nai B'rith, Cincinnati) to Lippmann on 8 June 1944.
38. Letter from Goldschmidt to Lippmann on 12 April 1944.
39. Letter from E. Goldschmidt to F. Lippmann on 27 April 1944.
40. Letter from E. Goldschmidt to Mrs. D. Reece on 19 August 1946.
41. Prepared address of installing officer, E Goldschmidt, October 1948.
42. Egon Auerbach, *BB Background*, op.cit., p.4.
43. *BB Bulletin*, Vol.4, No.9, October, 1956, p. 6.
44. The *Sydney Jewish News*, 14 December 1951, p. 9.
45. The *Australian Jewish Times*, 1 November 1984, p. 13.
46. Letter from E. Hacker to E. Goldschmidt on 7 June 1949.
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48. Suzanne Rutland, 1985, op. cit., p. 106.

ARRIVAL AND ABSORPTION IN AUSTRALIA

By Hugh S. Rassaby

My earliest recollection of life was in the city of Calcutta in India where I was born into a Sephardi Jewish family, in November 1921. My father had arrived from Yemen in 1901 as a ten-year old, and my mother was born in India of parents who had migrated from Iraq during the 1880s. The first Jewish migrants to India in any significant number had begun to arrive at the beginning of the nineteenth century. They came largely to escape conditions of privation and discrimination prevalent in countries under Ottoman rule. Most of them were small time traders and businessmen.

The Calcutta Jewish community at its peak prior to World War II numbered about 2500 persons, with a strong infrastructure of synagogues and schools, a hospital and cemetery. I received my primary education, and part of my secondary school education at Christian missionary schools where the quality of secular studies was recognised as outstanding. My final years of secondary education were received in a boarding school in the Himalayas which had been established primarily for the children of expatriate British families and persons of mixed descent. The quality of education received was similar to that delivered in the better known English public schools such as Eton and Harrow. I completed requirements for the Cambridge School Leaving Certificate in 1936 and a BA Honours degree from Calcutta University in 1940.

During my time in boarding school I had decided on a career in surveying and mapping which would satisfy my love of the outdoors and my skills in mathematics. The organisation I proposed to join was the prestigious Survey of India which had been established towards the close of the eighteenth century on the lines of the world famous Ordnance Survey of Great Britain. Entry to the superior cadres of the Survey was by competitive examination on a country-wide basis. In December 1941, I was appointed on probation to one of three vacant positions of Assistant Superintendent of Survey. After three years of intensive training, my appointment was confirmed.

Almost immediately thereafter, I applied successfully to have my services seconded to a military survey unit so that I might be involved in the forthcoming invasion of South East Asia by forces under command of Lord Louis Mountbatten then based in Ceylon. In March 1945, I was commissioned 2nd Lieutenant in the Survey Branch of the Royal Indian Engineers and posted to Kurunegala, Ceylon, where the landing maps were being prepared under conditions of strict security.

After months of work using source material of variable quality, and bearing in mind that the lives of our servicemen could well hinge on the quality of our landing maps, we were ready to go. As we know, however, fate intervened with the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the abrupt end of World War II with the surrender of Japan on 2 September 1945.

My unit arrived in Singapore towards the end September and I was assigned the task of examining Japanese map archives in Medan, Sumatra. There I found detailed maps of northern Australia prepared by Japanese cartographers using sophisticated mapping equipment seized from the Dutch. The maps were later used in Australia as replacements for the poor quality Admiralty charts in existence at the time.

It was in Singapore that I met my future wife Gretha (Margaret) Bonewit, the only child of Dutch parents who arrived in the Netherlands East Indies in March 1939 and had been interned by the Japanese from December 1941 until liberation four years later. Margaret's father, Louis, did not survive internment, succumbing in January 1946 to gastro-intestinal problems, complicated by the hardships and privations of internment. Margaret and her mother had also suffered from berri-berri and other tropical diseases during internment, and doctors had recommended that she not reside in the tropics for at least a year. In Singapore they were awaiting transport to Holland, when we met by chance after Friday evening services in a local synagogue.

Margaret and her mother returned to Holland by ship in October 1946, with the arrangement that they would come to India in mid-1947 for our wedding prior to my demobilisation and return to civilian life. As events turned out much to our sorrow, Margaret's mother was unable to obtain a visa for the journey. We were married in Calcutta on 8 May 1947 coinciding in the Jewish calendar with *Lag B'Omer*.

I am a bit ahead of myself in this story and so shall return to Singapore and the period immediately after Margaret's departure for Holland.

One of my fellow officers in our unit in Singapore was a Captain



*Wedding photo of Margaret Bonewit and Hugh Rassaby
Calcutta, May 1947*

Walter Relf from Australia, who had been seconded to us for six months. We became friends so that when his term of secondment expired, I accompanied him to the Australian High Commission's office in downtown Singapore for completion of travel formalities. While awaiting Captain Relf's interview with the Commissioner, his friendly receptionist/secretary in the adjacent waiting room brought me some glossy magazines, depicting life in Australia, to browse over.

After a while the young lady came over and enquired whether I had ever visited Australia, and if not, whether I might like to. When I said that I had not, but would love to, she offered to show me in to the Commissioner after Captain Relf, even though I had no prior appointment for an interview. The informality was truly refreshing

for one reared in British India and accustomed to the formalities of life under the Raj.

The Commissioner too was extremely friendly, cautiously enquiring about my ancestry, and my professional work with the Survey of India. He explained that Australia was a largely unmapped country with a population slightly in excess of eight million. The country had barely escaped occupation by the Japanese in World War II. The slogan for the future, he said, with benefit of hindsight, was 'populate or perish'. He explained that while Australia desperately needed immigrants, its policy since federation in 1901 was for white immigration only and preferably from Western Europe. However some latitude was permitted when quotas could not be met, by admitting immigrants from eastern Mediterranean countries such as Italy and Greece. He even admitted to a trickle of Christian and Jewish migrants from some countries of the Middle East, especially Lebanon, Syria and Palestine, provided they were of predominantly European appearance and subscribed to a comparable life style.

As to myself, the Commissioner said that, whereas I was a bit 'bronzed', I was no more so than the average Italian cane cutter in Queensland, but spoke 'a darned sight' better English. He assured me that I would have little difficulty in entering Australia for permanent residence.

I admitted to the Commissioner that settling in Australia was not yet an option for me. I was frank about my own position with the prestigious Survey of India, and the enhanced prospects of advancement with the imminent departure of the British. On the other hand, I was mindful of the medical advice to Margaret to avoid living in the tropics for at least a year to rid herself of the diseases that had undermined her health during internment. Yes, indeed, we would welcome an opportunity to visit Australia. I then filled in a form requesting demobilisation in Australia, with the prospect of priority of travel on a troopship, at a time of a worldwide shortage of shipping transport.

Some two months later, when no reply had been received from Canberra to my application, I assumed, incorrectly as it turned out, that it had been refused. I was then posted to India to supervise the training of soldier surveyors in the hazardous Northwest Frontier Province of the as yet undivided India. At the time the country was rent by murder and mayhem between the majority Hindu population and the minority Muslim, following the decision to partition the country.

Margaret and I were married, as planned, in Calcutta on 8 May 1947, while I was still in uniform. On account of the communal riot-

ing of the time, which made access to our synagogue in north Calcutta extremely hazardous, we were married at the comfortable home of my mother's sister, Flora Shellim. She, with her husband Arthur, had graciously agreed to accommodate Margaret before the wedding, and to 'give her away' as foster parents. Our honeymoon was spent in the delightful hill station of Musoorie, within easy reach of Dehra Dun, where I was to be demobilised and returned to civilian life.

In Dehra Dun the permission to migrate to Australia finally caught up with us. It had been following me for months from one military post office to another. I was overjoyed both for Margaret and myself, since, apart from her restoration to good health, we were looking forward to exploring the possibility of a new life in a country which appeared to need the professional skills I had acquired.

Many of our friends and acquaintances in Calcutta, who had sought unsuccessfully to obtain immigration visas for Australia, were envious of our good luck. They hoped that our approval presaged a change of attitude in Canberra to the migration of Jews of Middle Eastern origin. Most of these belonged to small communities that had resided in Bombay and Calcutta for less than 150 years and had not intermarried with the indigenous and much larger Bene Israel community on the west coast. The latter, whose origins are shrouded in mystery, claim to have arrived after the invasion of Israel by Antiochus Epiphanes in 175 BCE.

However, as events unfolded, it became clear that, with a few exceptions, the hopes of most applicants would be dashed. The Australian High Commission in New Delhi relied on its Trade Commissioner in Calcutta for advice on the suitability of individual applicants in terms of the government's White Australia policy, and he, in turn, on local British officials. The assessments, with rare exceptions, were negative and the applications refused.

As a result, potential migrants determined enough obtained tourist visas in the hope of having them converted to residence permits on arrival. There are many stories of humiliation suffered by persons who, after revealing their true intentions on arrival, were required to strip to their underwear on wharves, to prove that they were indeed white. In addition, they had to furnish evidence that they were absorbable into the work force at no cost to the taxpayer. Others in time were advised not to reveal their true intentions on arrival, but to pursue matters through local members of parliament, some of whom, as lawyers, would have had an understanding of immigration law. It is known that the late Abe Landa MLA, of the state seat of Bondi, was particularly helpful in this respect.

In course of time even this avenue of entry was closed when Arthur Calwell, then Minister for Immigration, was persuaded by his Department's permanent head, Tasman Heyes, to close the tourist loophole which was claimed to be eroding the government's White Australia policy.

Heyes was no friend of the Jewish community, whereas his Minister, Calwell, shared many friendships with its members, mostly through association in the Labor movement that attracted most of Australia's Jewish voters of the time. I remember well the heartache caused when the closing of the tourist loophole left some families divided, with husband and breadwinner in Australia and wife and family stranded overseas.

I was personally involved with the late Aaron Aaron, both of us founding members of the NSW Association of Sephardim, in advising a Mrs M., who had arrived in Sydney with her four children and had been ordered to leave on expiry of their tourist visas. Her husband, who was to join the family after a stopover in Singapore on business, was refused a tourist visa at the same time.

After much effort we secured an opportunity through the local member for Mrs M. to meet with the Minister, Arthur Calwell, and present her case for permanent residence. Mr Calwell was much impressed by Mrs M's demeanour, her appearance, command of the language and qualifications as a teacher, of which there was a marked shortage in the country at the time. The above-average performance of her children in school also weighed in her favour. In due course, the Minister decided to exercise his discretion and granted the family permission to reside in Australia permanently.

This is just one of many cases of the unreasonableness on the part of the authorities, in the late forties and early fifties, in dealing with the immigration from India of Jews of Middle Eastern origin. Aaron Aaron himself had problems bringing his family to the country, as did I, when seeking to bring my father from India in the early fifties. It was not until the expulsion from Egypt, of Egyptian-born Jews with foreign citizenship following the 1956 Suez crisis, that the Australian government was quietly persuaded of the wisdom of not applying its White Australia policy to Jews from countries of the Middle and Far East. It was not before time, since the record would show that most of these people were successfully integrating within the community, some with marked success and others with signal contributions to the country as a whole.

I revert now to my own story of absorption. Some months after arrival in Sydney in August 1947, I visited the NSW Department of Lands and discussed with the Surveyor General, Dan Mulley, prospects of a career in topographical surveying and mapping in

NSW. Mulley was brutally frank about the negligence of the past and the almost total absence of accurate maps, on which the projected development of the state could take place.

He had sent the government a report based on a six-months' enquiry by a senior officer on mapping practices in North America and the UK, and to recommend what should be done here, to produce the accurate maps required for development. He admitted that the Department had little or no infrastructure on which to build a modern mapping organisation, and that its methods and technology were at least 50 years out of date. He urged me to help start this organisation, the approval for which had still to be received from the government.

I had some reservations about accepting the Surveyor General's offer and severing links with my prestigious alma mater before the government's decision was known. At the time I was on leave on half pay from the Survey of India. Cautiously, I accepted a temporary job early in 1948 for six months, during which time I was given the task of reconstructing the triangulation survey of NSW, which had covered about one-quarter of the state by 1916, before being discontinued temporarily as a wartime measure, but not resumed.

When no reply had been received by mid-1948 to the report of Jack Middleton, the senior officer sent abroad, the author quit in disgust to pursue a career outside the Service. It was a severe setback to the Surveyor General's plans and our hopes. Margaret and I had grown to love the country and its people, and her recovery to good health had progressed well. Moreover the challenge of mapping the state, with an area one and a half times that of France, from scratch, was enormously exciting. Nothing like this was awaiting me in the Survey of India where full map coverage had been completed many decades before.

The break came unexpectedly later that year, when the Minister of Lands of the day, the Honourable William Sheahan, called for the urgent mapping of 40 leases of land in the Western Division of the state covering 17,166 square miles, preparatory to their sub-division and balloting to ex-servicemen. The work had to be completed in two years in order to affect the outcome of the next state elections, by which time the Labor Party's retention of government was seen by the polls as doubtful.

The Minister called a conference in his office with the Permanent Head of the Department, Arthur Jones, and the Surveyor-General, Dan Mulley, the technical head. In the absence of John Middleton who had left a week before, I was invited in, as the only other person in the Department who understood the technolo-

gy required to produce the maps in time. I had made a preliminary study of the project and deemed it feasible if three seemingly impossible conditions could be met:

1. **Staff:** Six junior staff could be assigned to me to work hands-on after a short period of training. The problem was that the Department was itself desperately short of staff, allocated in any event by the Public Service Board, the roof body responsible for the economy and efficiency of state government services.
2. **Equipment:** Modern equipment would need to be purchased abroad and fast-freighted to Sydney. The problem here was the buying practices of the state as a whole, which were centralised under the Manager, Government Stores Department and involved extremely time-consuming procedures.
3. **Aerial Photography:** Special dispensation would need to be given for me to enter into a contract with Adastra Airways Pty Ltd for photography, bypassing the usual system of inviting tenders.

The Minister, a highly irascible gentleman of Irish-Australian heritage, saw no problem in cutting through the bureaucratic obstacles in giving me what I needed, often resorting to barrack room language to express his determination. With my background, I was, of course, entirely unused to being in the presence of a Minister of the Crown, being addressed by my first name, and to listening to such colourful language. I was fascinated. In the end I received what was required and was able to get on with the job of giving the Minister his maps in time.

Following completion of the maps, approval was received in 1952 to the Middleton proposals for the establishment of the Central Mapping Authority of NSW (CMA) in Four Divisions. I was appointed to head its Photogrammetric Division and commenced without delay to deal with problems of infrastructure, namely staff, equipment, accommodation, training courses, education, etc. In July 1954 I was sent to Delft, Holland for six months to attend an advanced course of aerial surveying and photogrammetry under the world-renowned Professor Schermerhorn, sometime prime minister of Holland. I returned with a second degree, a BSc in photogrammetric engineering.

The first precise map of the state was completed in 1957 and the last in 1982, a year after my retirement as Director of the CMA. We had confounded the sceptics who had predicted at best a 40-year

period for the task. How this was achieved in 25 years is a story in itself, and need not concern us now. It appeared in detail in the learned journals of cartography, in Australia and the UK, during 1994-96. To this day, New South Wales remains the only Australian state with a complete coverage of precise maps essential for its development and compares favourably in this regard with the developed countries of the western world.

My last involvement in cartography, before retirement proper, was a six-months' assignment in Indonesia in 1982, under the auspices of UNESCO. My task was to advise the Indonesian government-mapping organisation, Bakosurtanal, how best to map its eight largest urban conurbations outside Jakarta, in order to facilitate orderly planning. My advice was also sought on how best to re-organise the organisation itself. Margaret and I were farewelled by our hosts with a five-day, all-expenses-paid, tour of the beautiful Lake Toba area of northern Sumatra, which I had first visited as a serviceman 27 years before.

So this is my story in brief as to how Margaret and I arrived in Australia 55 years ago, and what we made of our lives since. We have three children, the eldest of whom, Lewis, practises medicine in the Blue Mountains; the second, Elaine, a clinical psychologist, resides in London; and the youngest, Alan, a corporate lawyer, in Montana, USA. In all we have nine grand children, a source of much pleasure to us in our declining years.

Since my retirement I continue to make my contribution to Rotary, of which I have been a member since 1976. I play tennis on Sundays, and attend the monthly meetings of the NSW Jewish Board of Deputies. Margaret and I have been members of the Cremorne and District Hebrew Congregation (the Cremorne Synagogue) almost since its inception in early 1960. Many of our long-standing friendships stem from association with its members over the past 42 years.

In summary then, I can say, without reservation, on behalf of Margaret and myself, that we have had absolutely no regrets whatsoever in our choice of Australia as our home 54 years ago. For the quality of life this country has given us, with its freedoms and opportunities, we are eternally grateful. What we have put back into this country may be small compared with the contributions of the likes of Arvi Parbo, Frank Lowy, Peter Abeles and others. But I, for one, standing on the bottom rung of the contributions ladder, can still look upwards and say to my friends, 'Gosh it was worth it'!

MAX LEBANON (MORDECHAI HEVRONI) — TEACHER AND PATENTEE

By Morris S. Ochert and Miriam Lebanon Gavarin

Some of the many memories I cherish of my childhood in Bondi in the 1920s and 1930s are of my Hebrew teacher, Max Lebanon, who later taught in Brisbane. He was a small, dapper, quietly spoken, gentle and patient man who was dedicated to his vocation as a teacher.

This photo shows him in a typical stance, teaching a class in the courtyard at the entry to the Brisbane Synagogue, Margaret Street,



*Max Lebanon teaching a class
Photo supplied by Morris Ochert*



Mordechai Hevroni (later Lebanon) with his cousin Pesach, Jerusalem c1911.

Hiram supplied to King Solomon. He also had to claim that his birthplace was Russia, since Palestine was considered to be a part of Asia at that time and immigration to Australia was not permitted for Asians. Arriving in Australia in 1911, Mordechai anglicised his first name to 'Max'. The little family first settled in Stockton in rural New South Wales where a group of former Palestinian Jews had settled, but they could not adapt to country life. They then moved to Redfern, Sydney, where three more daughters were born: Rachel, Miriam and Shayna (who was known as Jenny).

Initially Lebanon, like so many Jewish migrants of that era, earned his living as a peddler. Carrying two heavy portmanteaux (suitcases), he travelled the country districts as far as Bathurst, selling women's and children's clothing as well as linen. As a result,

he developed a hernia and after he had an operation, he decided to change both his work and place of residence. The family moved to Newcastle where he opened a secondhand tool shop because he had developed a strong sense of aesthetics. He loved finely crafted tools and the work that could be done with them. He also appreciated art and loved the sciences.

In the Lebanon home, there were reproductions of two portraits; one was of the original rebbe of Lubavitch, Shneur Zalman of Liadi, his face suffused with piety; and the other was of the Vilna Gaon, the renowned Talmudist, with his books as well as his scientific instruments on his table. Together, the portraits of these two leading eighteenth century scholars represented Lebanon's highest ideals.

In Newcastle, Lebanon's wife Matel became ill and he was faced with the task of caring for their four young daughters and earning a living at the same time. In late 1923, he accepted the position of headmaster of the Eastern Suburbs Hebrew School conducted by the congregation in association with its newly opened synagogue premises in Bondi Junction, at the corner of Grafton and Grosvenor Streets. Classes were held for one hour in the afternoons after school at a location near the children's public schools, as well as on Shabbat after the service and on Sunday mornings.³ The synagogue's minister, Rev B. Levito, and Samuel Ochert, an honorary teacher, assisted Lebanon. The first class was held on Shabbat on 1 December 1923. Lebanon was offered a salary of £5 a year, with the synagogue board contributing £3 and the Board of Jewish Education the other £2 per annum.

Lebanon was delighted to be back to where he really belonged, in the field of Jewish education, and his students loved him. After three months, the Hebrew school had attracted an enrolment of 90 students, with 54 attending regularly, while there were up to 105 children at the Sabbath class which proved very popular.⁴ His teaching method has been described as introducing 'the child in a gradual way to the study of the Hebrew text of the Bible, and at the same time acquaint [sic] him with Biblical history, religious observances and ethical and moral teachings'.⁵ The children were taught to learn Hebrew maxims by heart so that they 'could grasp "the real spirit of Judaism" and have the maxims "embedded in their memory forever"'.⁶

However, not only was the pay low, but the only affordable housing was one of two flats on top of the Chevra Kadisha building in Surry Hills. While Surry Hills had been a centre of Jewish concentration at the turn of the century, by the 1920s there was no longer a sizeable Jewish population living in that area as most had moved either to the Eastern Suburbs or to Newtown. Lebanon had to walk

over two miles, regardless of weather conditions, every Shabbat and Jewish festival to the Central Synagogue in Bondi Junction. His children were completely isolated from the Jewish community as the family was too poor to buy suitable clothing for them to accompany him to services. The one great compensation for them was that he was a most loving and interesting father. He loved books, people, places and ideas. Much as he would at times, and with good reason, cry out in Yiddish '*Oy, der schwarzer yahr* [Oh, the black year]', he was so optimistic in his nature that any darkness was momentary and he felt that the world would quickly brighten again.

In 1926 he was offered the position of head of the Brisbane Talmud Torah at what seemed the princely salary of nine guineas a week, with housing in New Farm, where a goodly portion of Brisbane Jewry lived. While it grieved him to leave his Sydney students, this was an offer which was too good to refuse. For the rest of this life, he treasured the beautiful, fine wallet and its accompanying letter of thanks that his grateful students presented to him.

In Brisbane he set about building a vigorous Hebrew School. He also had the financial means to browse secondhand bookshops and to enrol in the International Correspondence School to take courses in English, Art (including learning to stencil), Woodwork and Mathematics. He was an inventive person. When he lived in Sydney, he invented a low-slung beach chair for which he took out a patent, but not being a businessman, he did not succeed in marketing it. (Later such a chair was seen in Macy's in New York.) His main project in Brisbane was to create his own Hebrew printing press, which he did at his own expense. With the requisite planks of wood, he set about cutting them into cubes, large for regular letters, small for the 'Rashi' type. The letters were carved by hand, in reverse. He created floral and other attractive designs in the wood around the letters, arranged them into words and set them into a handmade press of one line, inked and then printed.

At a period when the concept of using audio-visual methods for teaching was almost unknown, he constructed screens of rolls of unbleached linen, mounted on upper and lower rollers, turned by handles, while the whole was mounted on a stand. He printed the lessons in Hebrew and illustrated them with suitable pictures painted in oils. One picture was of an English garden painted with colourful flowers and beautiful trees which he copied from a magazine. He also appointed student teachers and devised for them beautifully decorated pointers to use with the screens. About 1930, he patented this invention of the rolling screen and moveable stand, the blueprints of which must still be on file in the Patent Office. He tried to interest the government school system in his invention, but without success.

Another program he instituted was teaching boys as young as six years of age how to cantillate the *Haftorah* of the week. This enabled them to take part in the Shabbat service, which was very advanced for children of such a young age. Today, congregations are thrilled if a six year old boy can sing the prayer *Anim Z'mirot* [Hymn of Glory] at the conclusion of the service. As in Sydney, his students responded to his teaching methods with love and enthusiasm. He also gave private lessons to children in Brisbane on Sunday evenings at the home of Mr and Mrs N. Ravdell.

Once again, misfortune struck. This time it was the onset of the Great Depression of 1929 that severely affected the Australian economy. The Brisbane Hebrew Congregation could not afford to support both a rabbi and a teacher and the former, Rev. Nathan Levine, undertook to fill both positions. Lebanon returned to Sydney in 1941. His community teaching days were over, but he continued his own Talmudic studies and taught students privately, as he had done throughout his time in Australia. He lived in Bondi and joined the nearby Mizrachi congregation. He died in Sydney at the age of 63 of a myocardial infarction on 16 June 1951 and was buried next to his wife in Parramatta Cemetery.

NOTES

1. *Hevroni* in Hebrew means 'a Hebronite'.
2. *Hassid* is a member of an Orthodox religious sect in Judaism.
3. Melinda Jones and Ilana Lutman, *Orach Chaim: a way of life*, Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, 2000, p.61.
4. *Ibid.*, p.62.
5. *Ibid.*, p.61.
6. *Ibid.*

AN ANTIPODEAN SCHOLAR: RABBI DR HARRY FREEDMAN

Suzanne D. Rutland

The calibre of rabbinic leadership is important to the development of Jewish life in the Diaspora and this is particularly true for a more isolated community such as Australian Jewry. Due to the problem of 'the tyranny of distance', Australia has attracted only a few rabbis known for their outstanding scholarship, but Rabbi Dr Harry Freedman was one of the exceptions. Even though he was a brilliant scholar and he served two major Australian Jewish congregations whose histories have been written¹, his contributions have not been sufficiently acknowledged, perhaps because he was more of a scholarly and retiring disposition and was known for his humility.² Indeed, when he co-authored the history of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation for its centenary in 1941, he made only minimal reference to his own background and contribution.³ This article hopes to fill this gap in Australian Jewish history.

OUTLINE OF HIS CAREER

Harry Freedman (1901-1982) was born in Russia in 1901. His family moved to England when he was a young child, settling in London where he attended a government school. At the age of 14 he enrolled in the Etz Chaim Yeshiva in London where he studied for ten years. In addition to his Jewish Studies, he completed his matriculation and graduated with a Bachelor of Arts from the University of London in 1923.

Freedman received his rabbinical ordination from Jews' College in 1924 when he was appointed as minister of the North Manchester Synagogue which he was to serve for 14 years. While attending to his pastoral duties, he completed his doctorate at London University, in association with Jews' College, his thesis being on a Spanish Talmudic scholar. He proved to be both a pastoral rabbi, meeting his congregants' needs, as well as a good pulpit rabbi who was known for his erudite sermons.

ק"ק שחרית ישראל
Melbourne Hebrew Congregation

The President, Dr. Jacob Jona, J.D., and Executive
request the pleasure of your company at the

INDUCTION SERVICE

of the Minister-Elect, Rabbi Dr. H. Freedman, B.A.

to be held on

Tuesday Evening, August 16th

at the Synagogue, Toorak Road, at 7.30 p.m.

IT WILL BE APPRECIATED IF YOU WILL BE SEATED BEFORE 7.30 P.M.

Invitation to Induction Melbourne Hebrew Congregation 1938.

In November 1936, Rabbi Israel Brodie, who was later to become Chief Rabbi of the British Commonwealth, announced his resignation from the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation so that he could return to England to undertake doctoral studies. The Board began what became a long search to find a suitable replacement. Rabbi Dr Israel Porush was offered the position but he declined, subsequently accepting the position of senior minister at the Great Synagogue, Sydney, in 1940. The name of Rabbi Freedman was then suggested. In a telephone conversation with the synagogue's president, Dr Jacob Jona, Rabbi Brodie stressed Rabbi Freedman's 'scholarship, earnestness, fine home life and personality', all of which impressed him.⁴ At a special meeting in March 1938, his appointment as chief minister of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation, then located in Toorak Road, South Yarra, was approved.

When Freedman was offered the position, he hesitated to undertake the long trip with his family to Australia. A colleague advised him to go, as he foresaw the strong possibility of a war with Germany and told Rabbi Freedman that his wife and three young children would be much better off in Australia.⁵ He travelled to Australia on the *Strathaird*, leaving England on 1 July and arriving six weeks later. In addition to his family, he brought Jenny Alster, a German Jewish refugee as a mother's help. On 16 August 1938,

Rabbi Jacob Danglow, minister of the St Kilda Hebrew Congregation, conducted the induction service, after which a reception was held at Ormond Hall with 500 people attending. Freedman also served as the *Av Beth Din* (Head of the Jewish Rabbinical Court) in Melbourne. In 1941, he officiated at the congregation's centenary, as well as co-authoring its history.

When he first arrived in Melbourne, he felt that he come to a spiritual wilderness, and if war had not broken out, he and his family would probably have returned to England. The decade he spent in Melbourne was, indeed, a momentous one. Overseas, the major events of the Holocaust and the rebirth of Israel meant that the 1940s was a watershed period in Jewish history. At the local level, the community was radically transformed when the established, anglicised leadership was challenged and a new, more democratic, style of leadership emerged. Rabbi Freedman 'played a crucial role' in this transformation.⁶ He strongly supported Jewish refugee migration to Australia. His decision to bring Jenny Alster as a mother's help facilitated her migration to Australia⁷ and he did his utmost to assist the *Dunera* internees to locate relatives in Australia and to attend to their pastoral needs. In 1943, at the height of the Holocaust, he likened the situation as being equivalent to the 'destruction of the third Temple'. He exhorted his congregants, and the wider community, 'to spare no effort in the sacred work of rescue and relief on behalf of such victims as might make their way from the tortured shores of Europe'.⁸ In 1940, he assisted in the collection of funds for the Chief Rabbi's Religious Emergency Council that aimed to help refugee rabbis.⁹

Rabbi Freedman worked closely with Cantor Josef Kalb, an Austrian refugee who arrived in Australia via Canada in February 1939 and was appointed, initially on a part-time basis, in May 1939. A watchmaker by trade, Rev. Kalb studied singing with the Vienna Opera and officiated at the *Kultus Gemeinde* services in Vienna. He was to serve the synagogue for 20 years.¹⁰ Freedman sought to also upgrade the synagogue choir and in September 1945 he organised a choral radio broadcast of New Year music. This was later to become a regular event.¹¹ At the end of 1945 he had a difference with the Board and, on 13 December 1945, submitted his resignation effective from 30 June 1946. In May 1946 he was farewelled for an overseas trip.¹²

In February 1947, he was appointed as rabbi of the Elwood Talmud Torah Congregation where he served until his departure for the United States in 1951. In New York, Rabbi Freedman initially accepted an appointment as rabbi of the Yeshiva of Bensonhurst in Brooklyn. He then accepted a position teaching Jewish philosophy

at the Yavneh Seminary, and finally he taught at the Teachers' Institute at Yeshiva University. He also contributed to the New York Board of Rabbis and the Rabbinical Council of America, as well as being an active member of B'nai B'rith. His stay in New York enabled him to work within the framework of his scholarly interests and provided him with a completely different perspective from his English and Australian ministries, but he and his wife missed their family who were all living in Melbourne.

In 1955, Central Synagogue was experiencing difficulties finding a replacement for Rabbi Swift and they invited Freedman to apply for the position. Initially he declined, but in 1956 he was approached again by Sol Brender who was in the United States, and after several months of negotiations, his appointment at an annual salary of £1500 plus expenses was approved at an extraordinary general meeting of the congregation in October 1956.¹³ He was also invited to serve on the Sydney Beth Din. His induction was performed by Rabbis Dr Israel Porush and Osher Abramson, assisted by Central Synagogue ministers Ernest Wolff and David Krass. It was reported that Freedman impressed his new congregation with 'his powers of oratory'.¹⁴ The theme of his address was the importance of unity and harmony, with the spiritual leader acting as guide and adviser for his congregation. After his induction, a dinner was held at the New South Wales Jewish War Memorial at Darlinghurst.¹⁵

Freedman filled that position until his retirement in 1965 when he and his wife decided to move back to Melbourne to be nearer their children and grandchildren. He oversaw the congregation as it moved from its small premises in Grosvenor Street, Bondi Junction, to its much larger premises in Bon Accord Avenue, Bondi Junction. He was one of the main speakers at the turning of the soil ceremony held on 7 December 1958, with Rabbis Porush and Abramson. He headed the organising committee for the laying of the foundation stones in August 1959, which was followed by a dinner at the Rex Hotel, Bondi. Rabbi Freedman addressed both gatherings.¹⁶ The climax of his efforts for the new synagogue came with its opening in February 1960 by the then Australian Prime Minister, Robert Menzies. In the following years he assisted in fundraising efforts to finance the new building. For example, in the early 1960s he held a dinner party which raised £6000.¹⁷ During his nine-year term at Central, he guided and developed the spiritual and cultural activities of the congregation in addition to his work for its physical growth. After his retirement in 1965, he returned to Central Synagogue in 1966 and again in 1967 to officiate for the High Holydays because the congregation had not secured a suitable successor.

ק"ק אורח חיים



CENTRAL SYNAGOGUE JOURNAL

Registered at the G.P.O., Sydney, for transmission by post as a newspaper

Vol. 22 No. 3

APRIL, 1965 — NISAN, 5725

Price 2d.

PESACH EDITION



FAREWELL

Central Synagogue's Farewell to Rabbi Freedman.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO JEWISH SCHOLARSHIP

Rabbi Freedman's major contribution was as a world-renowned Hebrew translator. The sheer volume of his translations and commentaries prove his outstanding scholarship. He translated into English eight of the 35 volumes of the Soncino Talmud, including Sandhedrin 1 & 2 (1935), Baba Mezia (co-translator, 1935), Kiddishin (1936), Nedarim (1936), Pesachim (1938) and Sabbath 1 & 2 (1939). In addition, he translated Midrash Rabbah with Maurice Simon (10 volumes, 1934), also published by Soncino Press and five volumes of Menachem Kasher's *Torah Shlemah* (complete bible) under the title *Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation*. After the death of Rabbi Isadore Epstein in 1962, he took over the translation and co-edited the *Entsiklopedyah Talmudit* from the Hebrew into English (four out of five volumes), this being published in 1969.¹⁸ At the ceremony for the opening of the new synagogue at Bon Accord Avenue in 1960, he presented Prime Minister Menzies with a copy of the *Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation*.¹⁹ Rabbi Freedman also co-authored, with A. Newton Super, the history of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation for its centenary in 1941²⁰, and published several commentaries on Genesis, Joshua and Jeremiah in the Soncino Bible.

In 1955, he was asked to be the Orthodox rabbi on the committee of translation which undertook a new English translation of the Bible for the Jewish Publication Society of North America (JPS). This committee had three rabbis representing each branch of American Judaism, Orthodoxy, Reform and Conservative Judaism. In February 1963, he was invited to its launch. On his return, he delivered lectures on this new translation, not only at Central Synagogue but in other parts of Sydney and Melbourne.²¹ After it was published, it was suggested that Rabbi Freedman should undertake a commentary on this new translation. He worked on it for ten years but the JPS did not go ahead with the publication at the time.

His *The Torah: The Five Books of Moses*, with commentaries finally was published posthumously by his children in 1999. This work was edited in Israel by a former Victorian Perry Zamek and included a forward by his grandson, Ian Symons, who paid tribute to his grandfather.²² In his commentaries he preferred the main straightforward explanations, known as '*Peshat*', rather than the more complicated approach, known as '*D'rash*',²³ and in this he concurred with the renowned twelfth century biblical commentator, Rashi. As his editor, Perry Zamek, wrote in his editor's note:

The aim of the work, as set forth in the General Introduction, was 'first and foremost to elucidate the plain meaning of the

Text'. At the same time, Rabbi Freedman took the opportunity to indicate those places where he felt that the translators may have deviated unnecessarily from the traditional meaning of the text, as reflected in Talmudic or Midrashic sources or in the works of the classic commentators.²⁴

Zamek explains that *The Torah* was published by a small publisher because Rabbi Freedman included in his explanations 'non-Jewish and non-Orthodox viewpoints' and he stressed that it would have been a great loss to academia to produce an abridged version. Hence the family decided to publish the whole work as it was originally written. They felt that this was in keeping with his wishes.

The task of the translator is an extremely demanding one and is both an art and a responsibility. Rabbi Freedman was well known for his persistence and dedication in his meticulous efforts for his translations. As Rabbi Coleman noted, 'he would spend hours looking for the right word in the context of his Hebrew translations'.²⁵

SUPPORT FOR ZIONISM

Rabbi Freedman was also known as being an active Zionist at a time when Zionism was still a fringe movement in the Anglo-Jewish world. His strong support for Zionism may have emanated from his East European background as there was much stronger support for Zionism in Eastern Europe, fostered by the antisemitism of Tsarist Russia, than in Western Europe. At the time of his departure from Manchester, he stated:

Zionism to me, has not been something apart from my life as a minister. I regarded the struggle for the fulfillment of our national aspirations as an integral part of my duties. There has never been in my mind any conflict between Judaism and Zionism... The work for and in Palestine has had a profound influence on the Jews of the Galut: it has brought back large numbers of our youth to the Jewish fold and has made us all more conscious of our duties to our people and to ourselves.²⁶

Throughout his life he was a strong supporter of the Mizrachi Religious Zionist movement. He arrived in Melbourne before the Mizrachi movement was established and played a visible and constructive role in its foundation there.²⁷ When he returned to England for an extended visit in 1946, the Manchester Mizrachi Organisation arranged a special reception for him where he spoke about Australian Jewry.²⁸

In his early years in Australia he campaigned hard to raise the community's awareness of Zionism since, at that time, many of the established Anglo-Jews were opposed to Zionism. On his arrival in Melbourne, the *Jewish Herald* commented on his first public address:

A new force has entered into Zionist affairs in Melbourne. Judaism cannot be divorced from Zionism — Zionist emissaries have never ceased propounding this doctrine ever since Israel Cohen commenced the series of appeals. It is time we heard the insistence that equally true is it that Zionism must not be apart from Judaism. Rabbi Freedman is apparently prepared to do this insisting.²⁹

His own association with Zionism was much stronger than his synagogue Board³⁰ but, in June 1942, when Newman Rosenthal expressed strong criticism of Rabbi Freedman's Zionist activities, his Board supported him.³¹

During the war years he stressed the importance of loyalty to Australia and Britain, whilst still opposing the White paper. He set out these views in his 1939 New Year message:

In this titanic struggle I know that there is no need to tell the Jewish people where our duty lies. Notwithstanding the incendiary falsehoods of our detractors, we have always been loyal to the country in which we live, and will be so now too; particularly now, because we know what the victory of Hitlerism would spell for the world in general and for Jews in particular. We have been very critical of the British Government in recent months, on account of its policy in Palestine. Yet how free this criticism was from the faintest tinge of disloyalty was proved by the declaration of Dr Chaim Weizmann a week before the outbreak of war and emphatically repeated in an official letter immediately after its outbreak, that the Jews will wholeheartedly support Great Britain in its fight for freedom and justice.³²

This position was in keeping with the views of David Ben Gurion, leader of the *Yishuv* (Jewish settlement in Israel) that they had to fight the war as though there was no British White Paper and fight the White Paper as though there was no war.

In 1938, Rabbi Freedman was co-opted onto the Jewish National Fund (JNF) Commission and in March 1939 he addressed the Eighth Zionist Conference. He was invited as a guest speaker on

Zionism to different parts of the country. In 1944, he delivered a series of lectures on Zionism in Brisbane where he was supported by local identity, Abraham Newhouse. As a result, a Queensland Pro-Palestine Committee was formed in Brisbane.³³ In December 1945 he was invited to Sydney to address a mass meeting celebrating 25 years of *Karen Hayesod* (Palestine Foundation Fund, later United Israel Appeal). He joined other well-known identities, politician Abram Landau and women's leader Faye Schenk, with all three speakers 'generating immense enthusiasm'.³⁴ Again, in September 1948, he addressed another Sydney public rally entitled 'Israel Speaks — past achievements and future plans', to celebrate Israel's victories in the War of Independence. Joe Solvey, also from Melbourne, addressed the gathering in Yiddish and Zionist Federation leader, Horace B. Newman, was in the chair.³⁵ He also served as president of the Friends of Hebrew University in Melbourne.

Freedman continued his support for Zionism as minister of Central Synagogue. During the Eighteenth Zionist Conference of the Zionist Federation, which was held in Sydney, he welcomed the delegates at a special service held at the synagogue, followed by a kiddush. He spoke in Hebrew, which was claimed to be the 'first time in the synagogue's history'.³⁶

PASSION FOR JEWISH EDUCATION

Jewish education was another area that Rabbi Freedman strongly supported because he believed that 'Jewish survival was intimately linked with Jewish education'.³⁷ He introduced a number of changes at the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation. In 1940, he introduced a Children's Service to parallel the main service and replace the Sabbath School. Rabbi Freedman clashed with Newman Rosenthal, principal of the United Jewish Education Board (UJEB), who was running the children's services, and Maurice Cohen took over from Rosenthal.³⁸ In 1942, these services were changed to a monthly schedule because of insufficient attendance. During the war years, the synagogue experienced problems as members were conscripted into the services and Rabbi Freedman had to campaign for increased synagogue attendance. He also ran a fortnightly Sunday lecture series during the winter months as part of an adult education program, as well as conducting a weekly study circle in Bible and Talmud.³⁹ In 1942, he introduced religious instruction at Camberwell High School on Thursday nights and also held classes at University High School in North Melbourne.⁴⁰ When Rosenthal was conscripted to active duty, Rabbi Freedman assumed the

responsibilities of principal of UJEB, even though he had been previously critical of Rosenthal.⁴¹ His commitment to his teaching is seen in the following story. At the time of the announcement of World War II in 1939, Rabbi Freedman was addressing the Junior Melbourne Hebrew Society and at 9.20pm, when someone opened the door and announced the outbreak of war, 'Freedman hardly paused and the lecture continued'.⁴²

Rabbi Freedman was an active campaigner for the establishment of Mount Scopus College, the first Jewish day school in Melbourne in 1949. He contributed to the passionate debate about the need for a communal Jewish day school in Melbourne, writing in support of the concept in the *Jewish Herald* in 1945. He supported the views of the Victorian Jewish Advisory Board's education officer, Abe Feiglin, that the part-time Jewish education system was inadequate and the only answer was a Jewish day school. He also supported Feiglin's view that the school must offer excellent facilities, stating that:

[the school] must compare favourably in staffing, premises and general amenities with the best school of other denominations. Its secular education too must be of the highest standard. Only then will it be a success and overcome opposition and hostility. Such a school will be a potential factor in creating a generation consciously, actively and splendidly Jewish.⁴³

He also helped to establish the Department of Semitic Studies at the University of Melbourne and in 1946, whilst on a visit to England, he purchased books for the new department.⁴⁴ In July 1947 he attended the World Education Conference held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem with the idea of learning new ideas and teaching methods and conveying these to the Jewish education boards throughout Australia.⁴⁵

As rabbi of Central Synagogue he continued to work hard for educational endeavours. When he arrived in Sydney, he organised monthly lectures for adult education held in his home. He gave the first lecture entitled 'Whither Jewry?' and invited other speakers such as the Minister for Israel, Mordechai (Max) Nurock who spoke on 'The Economy and Culture of Israel'.⁴⁶ He also taught the B'nei and B'not Mitzvah classes and ran post Bar and Bat Mitzvah classes in his home⁴⁷ in an effort to ensure that the Jewish learning of the youth of his congregation did not end at the age of 13.

During his period at Central, the congregation held its first Bat Mitzvah ceremony on 28 June 1959. In his sermon, Rabbi Freedman spoke of the concept of *Ashet Chayil* [A woman of valor] 'which he

interpreted as meaning a woman of strength or a woman enlisted in the army. The "army" was the Jewish people and the Jewish faith in which the women were soldiers and to whom they had declared their allegiance. The women had to "show strength and resolution in their practice of Judaism, like true soldiers in an army, for upon the women depended the Jewishness of the home".⁴⁸

INTERFAITH AND COMMUNITY WORK

During his years in Melbourne, he was very active in promoting interfaith dialogue at a time when this was a very new endeavour and he continued his efforts for the general community throughout his life. He also served as chaplain to the Citizen's Military Force (CMF). At the end of the war, he conducted a special victory service in the synagogue with a state government representative present.⁴⁹

When he served at the Central Synagogue in Sydney he continued to work to establish ecumenical links.⁵⁰ Freedman also contributed to the general community as vice-president of both the Waverley Historical Society and the Good Neighbour Council. At the time of his retirement from Central Synagogue, a testimonial dinner was held when the Mayor of Waverley, Alderman D.J. Morey, stressed the Council's appreciation for his efforts both for the Historical Society and also attending many naturalisation ceremonies. The mayor presented him with a letter of appreciation under the Council's seal.⁵¹

RABBINICAL LEADERSHIP

Throughout his ministry, Rabbi Freedman served on rabbinical courts and associations with distinction. When he arrived in Melbourne, where he was *Av Beth Din*, he worked to increase standards of Orthodoxy. He refused to participate in a funeral service prior to a cremation⁵² and introduced a stricter policy on conversions.⁵³

After his arrival in Melbourne, he did experience his share of what can only be described as unjustified criticism. In 1938, Rabbi Gurewicz contacted the Tel Aviv Rabbinate, casting aspersions against the Melbourne Shechitah Board under the Beth Din headed by Rabbi Freedman. This led to handbills that cast doubt on the integrity of the Melbourne Beth Din being posted in Tel Aviv streets.⁵⁴

As a result of his active involvement with the Association of Rabbis and Ministers of Australia and New Zealand that was established after 1945, he was appointed as life vice-president. In 1984,

after Freedman's death two years earlier, Rabbi Shalom Coleman paid tribute to his contribution:

His clear thinking mind made a most valued contribution to our discussions, with time to pause in our anxiety to "push through" our resolutions. Many have been the times when his quiet interpolations would give us the opportunity to rethink, and so improve, upon a word or phrase, in order to provide greater clarity of purpose, which must always overcome emotive or pious sentiments.⁵⁵

Rabbi Coleman also stressed that he was a 'man of patience' who had a very 'calm disposition' so that he did not react with anger or impatience.⁵⁶ During his years at Central Synagogue, he always tried to intervene when there were conflicts between lay leaders to resolve the issues amicably. In one instance, the *Australian Jewish Times* described him as 'Rabbi as peacemaker in synagogue row'.⁵⁷

Despite his strong Orthodox perspective, Rabbi Freedman was willing to work closely with his liberal colleagues when the occasion demanded it. During the war years, he combined efforts with Rabbi Dr Herman Sanger, senior minister of the Temple Beth Israel liberal congregation in the face of the crisis facing European Jewry. This willingness to work with Sanger was in stark contrast with Rabbi Dr Itzhak Rapaport, who served the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation from 1952 to 1979 and the Beth Din, and who was strongly opposed to Liberal Judaism, ending any co-operative approach.⁵⁸

FAMILY AND PERSONAL LIFE

His wife, Rebecca (Bea) Ginsburg was born in Vilna. Her parents migrated to London when she was a baby and her father struggled to make a living through manufacturing cigarettes by hand. She left school at the age of 12 to assist her father selling those cigarettes. When machinery was introduced to manufacture cigarettes, her father could no longer compete. Rebbetzin Freedman was her husband's constant companion and helpmate following their marriage on 17 March 1928 and their hospitality has been described as 'legendary'.⁵⁹ She also founded the Ladies Mizrahi (later renamed Emunah) in Melbourne in the 1940s. They had three children all born in Manchester: Ruth (17 January 1929), Elaine (5 June 1932) and Bernard (18 February 1936). Ruth married Phil Symons and Elaine, Arnold Bloch and both sons-in-law served as presidents of Mount Scopus. His son, Bernard, became a doctor and married

Barbara Goldberg.

A committed family man and devoted grandfather, he officiated at many of his grandchildren's weddings. He was a warm loving man, with a good sense of humour and a circle of very close friends. Wherever he went he and his wife lived they made life-long friends who were very attached to them.

While he was short of stature and not an imposing or highly charismatic figure, he could be an impressive speaker. No portrait was painted of him, but in the 1940s Melbourne artist, Percy White, did a charcoal drawing of him.⁶⁰

Rabbi Freedman passed away on 4 December 1982, having suffered from a stroke twelve months earlier. After his death, the *London Jewish Chronicle* paid tribute to his erudition, noting his 'important and lasting contributions to Jewish scholarship in the fields of Bible, Talmud and Midrash'.⁶¹ Without doubt, there was no other Australian rabbi who made such a contribution to two major congregations, one in Melbourne and one in Sydney, whilst at the same time continuing to contribute to Jewish scholarship in the English speaking world thanks to his major translations of those traditional Jewish works. The fact that he worked with such well-known Jewish scholars such as Maurice Simon and Isadore Epstein, is a tribute to the high level of his scholarship.

NOTES

1. See Joseph Aron and Judy Arndt *The Enduring Remnant: the first 150 years of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation, 1841-1991*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1992; and Melinda Jones and Ilana Lutman, *Orach Chaim: a way of life — the Central Synagogue* Sydney: State Library of New South Wales Press, in association with Chapter 8, 2000. The Melbourne Hebrew Congregation History does provide an overview of Rabbi Freedman's life, pp110-116, but the Central Synagogue history only concentrates on his contributions as rabbi in Sydney.
2. For example, a feature article published in Melbourne in the *Australian Jewish News (AJN)* in 1980, 140 years after the beginnings of Jewish settlement in Melbourne, devotes four lines to Rabbi Freedman. Rabbi Michael H. Newman, 'Golden Day Views Past, Future', *AJN*, 6 June 1980, p.3. In 1982, some obituaries were published in the *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal (AJHS Journal)*, but only one paragraph was devoted to Rabbi Freedman. 'A tribute and an obituary', *AJHS Journal*, Vol IX, 1982, p.307.

3. In this 32 page history, he included only one sentence about himself as follows: 'The resignation of Rabbi Brodie in 1937 brought to the leadership of the congregation our present minister, Rabbi Dr H. Freedman, BA, who has Rabbinic Scholarship'. H. Freedman and A. Newton Super, *One hundred Years: the story of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation, 1841-1941*, Melbourne: Board of Management of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation with Freeman Press, 1941, p.32.
4. Aron and Arndt, op. cit., p.111.
5. Telephone interview with Ruth Symons (nee Freedman), April 2003.
6. Address delivered by Reuben Havin, who had been editor of the *Australian Jewish Herald*, at the *Shloshim* Service in honour of Rabbi Freedman, personal archive of Ruth Symons (nee Freedman).
7. Aron and Arndt, op. cit., p.111.
8. Havin, op. cit., p.2.
9. Aron and Arndt, op. cit., pp.229-230.
10. Ibid., p.131.
11. Ibid., p.276-277.
12. Ibid', p.115.
13. Jones and Lutman, op. cit., p.148.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., p.149.
16. Ibid., pp164-5 and 168.
17. Ibid., p.188.
18. Rabbi Dr Shalom Coleman, 'The Role of Rabbinic Leadership', address to the Sydney Conference of the Association of Rabbis and Ministers of Australia and New Zealand, Wednesday 30 May 1984, p.4, in the personal archive of Rabbi Freedman's daughter, Ruth Symons.
19. Jones and Lutman, op. cit., p.175.
20. H. Freedman and A. Newton Super, op. cit.
21. Jones and Lutman, op. cit., p.187.
22. *Australian Jewish News (AJN)*, Melbourne edition, 14 September 2001, in AJHS Archives, file no 504, Mandelbaum House, Sydney.
23. Coleman, op. cit, p.4.
24. Rabbi Dr H. Freedman *The Torah: The Five Books of Moses*, including the Haftarot and the Five Megillot, edited, with a bibliography by Perry Zamek, Jerusalem: 1999.
25. Ibid.
26. As quoted in Aron and Arndt, op. cit., pp111-112.

27. Havin's *Shloshim* address, p..2.
28. *Jewish Chronicle (JC)*, 13 September 1946.
29. As quoted in Aron and Arndt, op. cit., p.111.
30. Ibid., p.222.
31. Ibid., p.230.
32. As quoted in Ibid., pp112-113.
33. Hilary L. Rubinstein *The Jews of Australia: A thematic history* Melbourne: William Heinemann, 1991, p.519.
34. Max Freilich, *Zion in Our Time: Memoirs of an Australian Zionist* Sydney: Morgan Publications, 1967, p.135.
35. Ibid., p.212.
36. Jones and Lutman, op. cit., p.160.
37. Havin's *Shloshim* address, op. cit., p.1.
38. Aron and Arndt, op. cit. p.154.
39. Ibid., p.113.
40. Ibid., p.114.
41. Ibid., pp301-302.
42. Ibid., p.212.
43. Ibid., p.114
44. *JC*, 12 July 1946, in AJHS Archives, file no 504.
45. Cuttings of the Australian Jewish Historical Society, Inc, no 2, p. 85, Archive of AJHS, Mandelbaum House, Sydney.
46. Jones and Lutman, op. cit., p.153.
47. Ibid., p.187.
48. *The Central, Journal of the Central Synagogue*, 7 August 1959, as quoted in Ibid., pp.166-167.
49. Aron and Arndt, op. cit., p.213.
50. Jones and Lutman, op. cit., p.188.
51. Ibid., pp.193-4.
52. Aron and Arndt, op. cit., p.369.
53. Ibid., p.355.
54. Hilary Rubinstein, *The Jews of Australia*, op. cit., p.262.
55. Coleman, 'The Role of Rabbinic Leadership', op. cit., p.2.
56. Ibid.
57. *Australian Jewish Times (AJT)*, 29 November 1957, as quoted in Jones and Lutman, op. cit., p.160.
58. Aron and Arndt, op. cit., p.195.
59. Havin's *Shloshim* address, op. cit., p.2.
60. Telephone interview with Elaine Bloch (nee Freedman), April 2003.
61. *JC*, 10 December 1982, AJHS Archives, file no 504.

BOOK REVIEWS

SECRETS AND SPIES; THE HARBIN FILES

By Mara Moustafine, Milsons Point: Random House, 2002, xxv+468pp.

This is an amazing book in many ways. It has been reviewed in a number of publications, but its story demands to be told again. Its author knew only fragments about her family's lives before their migration to Australia from Harbin in 1959. From photographs in her grandmother's possession she imagined romantic lives in romantic places and was particularly obsessed about her great aunt, Manya, after whom she was named. While on an overseas posting in 1992, she decided to visit Riga where some of her grandmother's family were living. Their own copies of those same photos identified people and places which led her deeper and deeper into the terrible truth about the fate that had befallen her family.

Lucky meetings with people, such as the governor of Nishny Novgorod, resulted in her gaining access to a wealth of material from Russian archives which completely stunned her. She went to the former Soviet Union and the former Manchukuo and consulted archives there. Her use of the present tense in describing her search underlines its intensity and gives the story the vitality it needs to carry the reader with it, despite unfamiliar names and places. She takes us on the journey of discovery as she travelled it, so that even though we have been introduced to a particular relative and she knows their fate, it is not revealed to us until the logical time in her tale. Like a good detective writer, she gives us enough bait to keep us interested, but does not feed us until the time is right. Pieces of her puzzle only fitted when she was in the right place at the right time with the right people who could unlock the secrets. As she acknowledges: 'This book is the result of curiosity, good fortune and the willingness of people across the globe to help uncover truth, restore memory, and piece together the fragments of broken lives'. Serendipity also played its part. The book would make a wonderful film.

She uses some telling quotations in her introductory pages: a Russian saying, 'If you spit on the past it will land on the future' and a saying of her great-grandmother, Chesna Abramovna Onikul,

'A human being is stronger than stone'. There are some gruesome and detailed personal accounts of tortures that her relatives underwent. The fact that Moustafine spoke fluent Russian and was able to access the archives of a number of departments gives her story the gritty reality it requires. She brings her dead relatives back to life in documents and reproductions of the precious photos she acquired. The importance of keeping family documents and identifying them is highlighted in a book such as this as well as the value of oral history and the necessity to crosscheck information. The value of archival documents created by obsessive societies is again underlined. Before writing her story, Mara Moustafine had been a diplomat, intelligence analyst and a journalist as well as working in the private sector. She has recently been appointed as National Director of Amnesty International Australia. (After researching her family's treatment at the hands of Stalin's lieutenants, and the Japanese, she is certainly qualified.)

Although it can be difficult to follow all the names and relationships of family and Russian organisations in the book, Moustafine has provided a two-page family tree of the Onikuls and their relations, 16 pages of family photographs; two maps showing the location of cities in Manchuria, Mongolia and their position in relation to the Soviet Union and surrounding countries; a four-page glossary of acronyms for Soviet organisations, three pages of key historical dates relating to the period she describes, three pages of brief biographical details of key historical figures, 24 pages of chapter notes which detail the bibliographic resources used to confirm historic facts and a twelve-page index. She provides a translation of the Harbin Order of 1937 by which all 'Harbintsy' were subject to arrest as Japanese spies.

This book is a blueprint for thorough archival and historical research and at the same time it is a gripping portrayal of the struggles of a family caught up in one of the most horrific of purges. For those who died, she has created a fitting memoir; for the survivors, she has provided a story of heroism of which they can be proud. Moustafine has made a memorial in more ways than one. In meeting the members of the Russian group, Memorial, whose aim is to put names to all Stalin's victims, she was able to provide a memorial to her great uncle, Abraham Onikul, who died so cruelly in an Arctic death camp.

For anyone with a Russian background in the 1930s, this book can make you wonder whether gaps in your own family's history could be explained by undertaking a similar exhaustive search for the truth.

Helen Bersten

A LOOK BACK OVER MY SHOULDER

By Garry Fabian. Published by Makor Jewish Community Library in the 'Write Your History' Collection.

It is only recently, after nearly sixty years since the end of World War II, that we can start to realise the full impact of the Holocaust even on those who survived it. Every age group of that generation was affected in a different way: some children had no education, or at best a delayed one, often never fully completed; young couples were lucky to be able to start a family, or had to limit it to a single child; middle aged families had their lives uprooted, their children scattered, their livelihood destroyed; and aged parents saw their homes and families broken up, their family continuity shattered. We Jews do not need to be reminded of what the Shoah did to European Jewish life. However, we do need to remind ourselves of the courage, the ability to adapt to a terrible situation and to go on to start a new life, in a new country, with a different language and lifestyle which immigrants and refugees faced.

Such a story is Garry Fabian's *A Look Back Over My Shoulder*. The only child of a middle class Jewish family which had lived in Germany for over four hundred years, (on his father's side), and probably since the thirteenth century (on the mother's side), the family realised the true nature of the situation in Germany as early as 1936. They bought a surgical instrument factory in Sudetanland, Czechoslovakia and emigrated there. This included his parents, maternal grandparents and Garry (Gerhard). Of course it was not far enough away to escape what was to come, but at least it provided a breathing space. With the German occupation of Sudetanland, Garry and his mother spent weeks shuffling back and forth across borders, caught in the no-man's-land of statelessness. There they met up with Garry's father and grandparents again.

They were saved at a border by meeting up with a former employee, who spoke Czech, who informed the constable the next time they were stopped. He said: 'I told the constable you were relatives from my village and not very bright. It was no good asking you anything as you would not understand anyway'. Although this was not very complimentary, it was, in this case, effective in saving the family.

Fabian's wry sense of humour is used to show the passage of time. He describes how news of the invasion of Sudetanland affected the family as follows: 'The whole family was just getting ready to sit down to lunch, the food steaming on the table...' The meal was interrupted and the family hastily packed up their car to leave. He commented that: 'When you are four and a half years old, lunch has

far greater importance to you than any other events, no matter how cosmic they may be'.

A little later in the book, he wrote: 'I remember my father coming home at lunchtime announcing that the German army was marching into Prague. It would appear that in our family, significant events in history always seem to coincide with meals. Any event is obviously seen differently by a six year old than by an adult'.

So they had been at least eighteen months in Czechoslovakia.

In November 1942 they were arrested and deported to Theresienstadt, where he again wrote with irony that: 'the food did not conform to the highest culinary standards, to put it politely! In fact it was practically inedible in quality, microscopic in quantity and most likely quite useless in nutritional value'.

The descriptions of the census of Theresienstadt on 17 November 1943, when all the inmates spent 18 hours being counted, without being given any food or water, and the beautification which was carried out prior to the visit of the International Red Cross representatives are described in great detail. At ten years of age, Garry was working in the tailoring shop sewing shoulder pads into German uniforms. They waited, as they believed it was only a matter of time before their number would come up for deportation. In May 1945, after their being in Theresienstadt for almost three years, the Germans walked out and left them. They returned to Bodenbach (now known by the Russians as Podmokly in Czech), but had lost everything.

Garry regards himself as lucky as he and his parents had survived, but his maternal grandparents, grandmother and the rest of the family had perished.

At the age of eleven and a half, Garry started school for the first time. By then he could speak fluent Czech and he managed to keep up with the rest of the children, many of whom had also missed years of formal education. It took another three years before the family was able to leave for Australia, even though an uncle had sponsored them. The journey was an extremely convoluted one. They travelled by train to France, ship to New York, plane to San Francisco and another ship to Australia. At school Garry was warned about the kangaroos which attacked people in the main street and, as he wrote, 'I wondered if the sheep had read Treasure Island so that we could communicate'.

The rest of the book describes how Garry and his family settled in Melbourne, how he was educated and became an electrician. His involvement with B'nai B'rith Youth introduced him to his wife Evelyn and his efforts to help his parents in business dictated several changes in employment. He has become a stalwart of B'nai B'rith in Victoria and, indeed, at the federal level as well.

Of the 15000 children who entered Theresienstadt, only about 150 survived. This book provides an eyewitness account, a primary document, of the survival story of one of them. What a different story it may have been had Garry Fabian had a 'normal' childhood and life, with his keen perceptions and memories and his outstanding ability to express himself in writing and to hint at the humour of the situation rather than explore it.

Those few thousands who survived the Shoah and managed to carve new lives for themselves in distant countries such as Australia deserve every success they achieved. They are living examples to those of us who have had a stable background and lived far from the horrors of war, to achieve whatever we have in peace and relative tranquillity.

Garry Fabian's life story *A Look Back Over My Shoulder* is not a simple story, but is clearly told, with no recriminations or regrets about what might have been. The story starts with the background of his parents and it is liberally illustrated with photographs at every stage of his life. It is lucky that so many family photos were saved, despite the displacement from Germany to Czechoslovakia and thence to Theresienstadt. Makor publishers are to be congratulated for sponsoring this publication and producing so many of the family photos. It is certainly one of the better written and produced survivor stories and is well worth reading

Judith Shapira.

JUST THINK IT NEVER HAPPENED

*By Paulette Goldberg, The 'Write Your Story' Collection
Makor Jewish Community Library, Melbourne, 2002, \$ 25.00*

Paulette Goldberg-Szabazon was born in Paris to Polish Jews from Warsaw. Her father was a first class tailor who initially settled in Spain but left when the Spanish Civil War started. In March 1938, her father returned to Poland for his father's funeral and again in August 1939 for the consecration of the tombstone. He stayed just a few weeks too long, was caught in the German invasion and was murdered in the street.

His widow in Paris, left with the young children, struggled to make a precarious living. Paulette, then only eighteen months old, had to learn all the facts about her family's history from her siblings and other relatives. Her mother was caught in a round up by the

Germans on the 28 September 1942 after taking the children into supposed safety with a French foster family. The mother was taken to Auschwitz and gassed. The children then started an odyssey from one tenuous shelter to another cruel foster home. Eventually they ended up temporarily in OSE home at Chabannes, but then were hidden again. Paulette was only four years old and her memories of people, times and places are very evanescent and blurred. She later spent a lot of time revisiting places and finding people who could confirm her memories, some of which were true.

Even after the war in France, Paulette and her sister Celine were moved around children's homes in various locations. She wrote that: 'The OSE tried to do everything that a normal family did for their children, so we wouldn't miss out. It was the only family I knew. But there was always an emptiness inside me. When people talked about family I never understood what they were talking about. I was always searching for something, not knowing what I was searching for. I felt I never belonged to me'.

It seems that our paths even crossed briefly in Limoges, when I had rejoined my family and she was in the local Jewish children's home. Then she was moved to Taverny, an OSE home on the outskirts of Paris where she was very happy until she was told to travel to Australia to join her older brother. An OSE official told her: 'Just think it never happened and you will start a fresh new life'. This was the attitude of adults, even Jewish adults, to child survivors. They thought that the children could just forget the loss of parents, the traumas of the war, the cruelties of strangers and of fate and start again, oblivious of their past.

Paulette's story is a moving one, for she was a tender shoot, a helpless, shy child who often did not understand what was happening to her. The Makor Library's project, 'Write Your Story', has encouraged survivors, young and old, to write down their life story and explore what actually happened to them. Even in Australia, her life in Brisbane was not easy, but eventually she moved to Melbourne and found her feet. Her second marriage and the birth of her children helped her to settle down and research for her memories has brought her closure. Her skills as a needlewoman and embroiderer have also brought her great satisfaction.

The Makor 'Write Your Story' scheme has now also been transferred to Sydney through the Sydney Jewish Museum and the Australian Jewish Genealogical Society and will probably result in many more moving true personal stories being printed.

Sophie Caplan

A COURSE OF HISTORY: MONASH COUNTRY CLUB

1931-2001, By Colin Tatz Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2002,
pp xix + 340.

The story of Jews and sport in Australia is an important, if at times, neglected area of study. I know that in my own study and writing of Australian Jewish history, I tend to neglect Jews and sport because I personally have not been active in any competition sport since my school days. Professor Colin Tatz's history of the Monash Country Club is a timely and important publication and helps to fill this gap, providing insights not only into an important part of Australian sporting history but also placing this into its social and political context. His writing of this history combines his own passion for golf with his life-long research into many issues of prejudice.

Tatz has chosen to take a thematic rather than a chronological approach to his study. The central theme in the founding of Monash in Sydney is that of prejudice and discrimination. Professor Tatz has clearly demonstrated how Jews were excluded from the private Group 1 golf clubs from 1908 to the 1950s — in 2001 some discrimination still exists. It was this 'gentlemen's antisemitism' which inspired the founders of Monash to found a Jewish club which would have an open policy to all members, regardless of their religious affiliation. Tatz's discussion of this important episode of discrimination in his chapter, 'Jews, Golf and History' is significant and highly relevant in understanding the issue of prejudice in Australian society. He also deals with the parallel events in Melbourne with the foundation of Cranbourne in 1954. In his chapter, 'Nomads and Niblicks', Tatz discusses the origins of Monash in the Young Men's Hebrew Association, founded in 1929. Its golf section, established in 1931, experienced problems in finding golf courses where they could play. As the story unfolds, it is clear that not only were Jews excluded from the top golf clubs, but so were Catholics who established their own club, St Michaels, earlier than Monash. The complex relationship between Jews and Catholics at St Michaels is investigated.

A Course of History also explores the issue of Jewish contributions to sport in Australia and Professor Tatz discusses other leading Australian Jewish sportsmen, such as boxer Harry Cohen, in addition to providing a detailed history of the evolution of the Club itself. He gives excellent pen sketches of the original founders of Monash such as Dr Joseph Steigrad and Hyman Eizenberg. The book deals with the major developments relating to history of the club. These include buying and preparing the grounds, providing for water with the building of dams, the problems created by two major bush fires

in 1957 and again in 1994, and the issue of first building and then expanding the club house. He shows how the determination and energy of the club's founders led to a rough piece of bushland being transformed into one of the top golf courses in New South Wales, which was able to host a major national tournament in 1984 won by Greg Norman. Issues such as the social life of the club and the efforts to finance building and expansion are also included. For a non-golfer like myself, the book was easily accessible and a detailed glossary of terms at the end of the book facilitates this access.

One theme that is explored is that of the changing nature of the club's membership. This is discussed in Chapter 8 in relation to two main issues: accepting Japanese in particular and Asians in general as members and the struggle for equality for women golfers. This chapter clearly deals with issues closely connected to Professor Tatz's concerns. He was a strong supporter of and player in the fight for creating a 'genderless constitution' in the late 1990s. As he writes in his introductory chapter: 'I deplore discrimination, in all its forms, and that is why I became involved in the issue of women joining Monash as full playing members in the mid-1980s'. His discussion of these developments makes for fascinating reading and is an important addition to Australian social history and the functioning of the Anti-Discrimination Board.

This is a book that deserves to be read by a much broader readership than Jews and golfers because of its broad scope — it is indeed an 'outward history'. There are many qualities that recommend this book to the general reader. At the start of every chapter, Professor Tatz creates a broad socio-historical picture of the period under review, thus placing his subject matter into a broader context. He includes humour and many personal anecdotes that add colour and make for a readable narrative. In addition, he has not tried to avoid writing about the unpleasant episodes in the Club's history, particularly in relation to the dumping of clean fill in order to build a practice fairway in the 1980s. The Club failed to monitor the dumping process and some toxic wastes were also included, resulting in major difficulties. This whole episode is dealt with clearly and fairly. As Professor Tatz notes at the beginning of the book, 'one cannot tamper with history'.

While the thematic rather than purely chronological approach works well in the main, there are a few points in the early part of the book when the narrative moves very quickly from the early history to the present day, resulting in a sense that the story is disjointed in parts. In addition, the discussion of discrimination against Jews in the early chapters of the book could have been broadened to include not only the Australian comments at the Evian

Conference of 1938 but also the discrimination practised by the Australian government in the postwar era. The issue of professional discrimination, in relation to the prejudice displayed by the British Medical Association, forerunner of the AMA, against Jewish refugee doctors in the 1930s and 1940s in New South Wales, could have added further strength to the overall picture of upper class prejudice in this period.

Overall, this history of the Monash Country Club is highly recommended reading to all those with an interest not only in sport but also Australian social history. Professor Tatz has certainly achieved his goal of not only reconstructing history in a very readable fashion, but also interpreting it for us.

Suzanne D. Rutland

THE HISTORY OF THE SOUTH HEAD SYNAGOGUE

*Compiled by Mark Braham, 266 pages, Playbill Pty Ltd,
Sydney, September 2002. Recommended retail price \$50.*

This is an excellent book for anyone — historian, interested congregant or anyone who enjoys a well-written, carefully compiled and researched story of an institution or organisation. The presentation is immaculate, the printing first class. It is strongly recommended. Any reservations might be because it could have been more carefully proofread, but this is a minor detail; its main area of shortfall is that it does not contain an index. This is always an important part of any work of history. But any faults are more than offset by the otherwise splendid quality of the book as a whole. It would be an asset on anyone's bookshelf. The story in itself is worth reading, whether one is a member of the South Head Synagogue and District or not.

This is Mark Braham's third book and his experience as a careful author is evident. The book begins with a list of the present congregants, their four rabbis — since its inception — and the 25 presidents. The fourteen chapters make interesting reading; nowhere has Mr Braham dodged any 'inconvenient traditions.' At the conclusion of the book are nine appendices; these are relevant and worth the time to study.

Every congregation should have its history recorded, and from time to time updated; surely this is so obvious that it does not need to be said. It has been rightly said that every Jew holds the honour

of his people in his hands; the fact also is that every Jew holds the future of his people and his heritage in his hands. Every Jew has to say, 'Everything depends on me - what I know as a Jew, what I observe as a Jew and what I stand for as a Jew.' A book like *The History of the South Head Synagogue* will be of infinite value when the definitive history of Australian Jewry is recorded.

In a work by a rabbi in America, published late last century, entitled *Thoughts about God*, we read: 'One thing that everyone needs is to feel like they're part of a community, because it is too painful to think that you are utterly alone in the world and to share a sense of spirituality with other people is the opening up of a place in our hearts that most people keep protected in the everyday world'. A history of one's congregation reinforces this. So many families decided to live in the Vacluse-Dover Heights area because of the South Head Synagogue. The story of this congregation is one of 'highs and lows', but also of persistence and faith — in every sense of that word.

The history begins in 1948, when the Braham family moved into the area and decided there was a need for a place of worship within walking distance of most Jewish families. 'In the early months', writes Braham, 'the services were poorly attended; often there was no minyan. Polly Braham [the author's mother] would stand outside on a Shabbos morning seeing a Jewish face to invite inside. Polly's unique personality made it difficult for anyone to refuse her invitation. Her persistence paid off and it was not too long before there were regular services with a minyan both on Friday night and Saturday morning'. Someone in the eighteenth century wrote: 'Tall oaks from little acorns grow'. Today, the congregation numbers upwards of 650 families.

Of the congregation's four rabbis, all have been strongly Orthodox in orientation. The present Rabbi Benzion Milecki, when he arrived in 1984, told his congregation, 'I'm of strictly Orthodox persuasion myself, but I don't expect all my congregants to be just like me in this respect. I simply want to be able to see you observing the advice of our sages, "Let your tomorrows be better than your yesterdays"'.

Sometimes congregants were not happy with their rabbi, and would say so in forthright terms. Sometimes board members would resign in order to make a point. But one example of this congregation's general support and appreciation of their minister was when a report appeared in the *Australian Jewish Times* of 7 May 1989. 'The Board of Management of the South Head Synagogue is standing by its chief minister, Rabbi Benzion Milecki, despite a groundswell of public opposition?' Rabbi Milecki had had to take

issue publicly through the correspondence pages of the *Sydney Morning Herald* with 'a prominent Jewish leader', on the question of euthanasia. He quoted the views of the current Chief Rabbi of the British Commonwealth, Rabbi Immanuel Jakobovits. He described this as the authentic Jewish approach, adding that 'this matter is based on Judaism's attribution of infinite value to human life'. All human life is of infinite value. The issue had outraged a substantial body of the community bent on challenging Orthodox Judaism and its demands.

It is obvious that the book contains some lively reading.

Louise Rosenberg

GENEALOGICAL ENQUIRIES

This list represents enquiries made to the AJHS until May 2003, where we were not able to supply information. If you did not initiate the enquiry but would like to add information, please write to our genealogist at 385 Abercrombie Street, Darlington, NSW, 2008.

ABRAHAM, Lewis, of London, father of Louisa Abrahams, married to Lewis Austin.

CANTOR, Joseph and Rachel (née Barnett) married c. 1810 London.

DE PASS, Ernest Simon, born London, silver refiner. Awarded medals in Sudan Campaign and Boer War.

JACOBS, George. Born England, died Tamworth. Daughter May born Tamworth 1887.

KASSEL, Arthur. Doctor, b.Breslau (Wroclaw), d. 1947, Naranderra. Sent to Aust. on the Dunera, with brother Fritz. Information sought by Joanna Hackett.

LEEDMAN, Jenny(ie) née COHEN, daughter of Woolf Cohen, died WA 1905. Siblings' names sought.

SIMMONS, Jacob, father of Leah Georgina, married to Lewis Austin.

SYMON, Bernard and Frederika (née MEYER), children Edward and Sarah. Info sought about origins in Germany. (Hamburg and Rendsberg)

WOLF, Adolph. Died Albury 1887, aged 62. Information sought by J and M.Cullen.

NEW MEMBERS

NEW SOUTH WALES:

S.K. Atlas
Benjamin Caplan
Gideon & Kim Caplan
Julian Cass
Rabbi Jeffrey Cohen
Joy Dinte
Robert Gavshon
Debbie Krigstein
Peter Lewis
S. Malouf
Anna Marks
Philip Moses
Lea Portrate
Michael Rosenfeld
Leslie Stein
Kerrie Thorley
Mr & Mrs H. Turtle
I & R Weinberg & Family

WESTERN AUSTRALIA:

Penny Barnett

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Morris Forbes, OAM, BA, LLB, Fellow of the AJHS Inc, previous past president and editor of the *Journal of the AJHS*.

Morris S. Ochert, OAM, ASTC, (MechEng), MIE Aust, CP Eng., Queensland correspondent for the AJHS, researcher and author of many articles on Australian Jewish history, specialising in Queensland topics, a retired engineer and honorary life member of the Institution of Engineers of Australia. He is an honorary life member of the Brisbane Hebrew Congregation.

Hugh Rassaby BA (Hons), BSc, Foundation member and first Director (1973—81) Central Mapping Authority of NSW. Long time member of the NSW Jewish Board of Deputies.

Suzanne D. Rutland, MA (Hons) PhD, Dip Ed, is chair of the Department of Semitic Studies, University of Sydney, president of the Australian Jewish Historical Society, Inc, the Australian Association of Jewish Studies, and Sydney editor of this Journal since 1991.

Louise Rosenberg, OAM, a member of the AJHS for over thirty years. Honorary Secretary for 25 years, including 11 years as Secretary/Treasurer from 1966 to 1977.

Judy Shapira, BA, Dip Ed., English/History teacher, who has been most involved over the last few years in Holocaust education, and in that capacity has read a lot of survivor stories. She was also very

involved in the Anti-Defamation Unit, B'nai B'rith, New South Wales, of which she is past president, and especially the Courage to Care Exhibitions. She is a vice-president of the Society and editor of the Sydney Newsletter.

Russell Stern, BA, LL.M., honorary treasurer of the Australian Jewish Historical Society, Inc.

Ruth Wirth, BEd, MA (TESOL), is a retired teacher. She is currently completing her Masters in Holocaust Studies degree at the University of Sydney.

Nate Zusman, committee member and former vice-president of the Australian Jewish Historical Society, Inc, who has contributed a number of articles to the Journal. He had been editor of the *Maccabean* and was active as a Jewish youth leader in WA.

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