

AUSTRALIAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY JOURNAL



VOL XVIII



PART 1

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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Associate Professor Dr Suzanne Rutland, BA (Hons), MA (Hons), PhD, Dip Ed (Editor)
Mrs Helen Bersten, OAM, BA, Dip Lib (Honorary Archivist)
Mrs Judy Shapira, BA, Dip Ed (Newsletter editor).

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Dr Hilary Rubinstein, BA (Hons), MS, PhD, FRHistS, (Associate Editor)
Rabbi Dr John S. Levi AM, DD, MAHL, MA, Dip Ed

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 or CD. 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. 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, Associate Professor Dr S.D. Rutland, or Mrs Helen Bersten, Honorary Archivist, AJHS, Mandelbaum House, 385 Abercrombie Street, Darlington, 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, Elizabeth James, PO Box 4820, Armadale, Vic, 3143, from whom information about membership of the Society and its other activities and resources may also be obtained.

website: www.ajhs.info

Front cover: The opening of Mandelbaum House. Left to right: Mr Michael Marx, Sir Zelman Cowen, Emeritus Professor Alan Crown, Dr Simcha Mandelbaum, Rabbi Raymond Apple

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

EDITORIAL

I am pleased to submit for our readership another June issue of the *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal*. This issue spans the two centuries of Australian Jewish history, from the nineteenth century to the twenty-first century, starting with a new contribution to a Jewish convict story — that of Israel Chapman — and finishing with an analysis of the 2001 census in terms of New South Wales Jewry.

The journal's first article has been written by Dr Grace Karskens, who has researched and written widely on the early beginnings of Sydney Town with its many fascinating convict stories. Dr Karskens's title, 'Resurrecting Chapman', is a play on words. She not only seeks to bring a fresh view to his story, but is also referring to his role in England as a 'resurrection man', one of the grave robbers who, working in gangs, opened fresh graves, removed the corpses and sold them to the anatomists for dissection. Isaac Chapman's story was told in our *Journal* by the late Dr George Bergman in 1969 in his article entitled, 'Israel Chapman (1794-1868): Australia's First Police Detective and Noel Chapman, Chief Constable', published in Volume VI, Part 7. Bergman later published some additional information in Vol VI, Part 3, 1972, and he also included a chapter in *Australian Genesis*, co-authored with Rabbi John Levi. As well, the late Nancy Keesing examined the story in reference to John George Lang, the first native-born Australian writer of fiction, who was partly Jewish. After more than thirty years, Dr Karskens has decided to revisit the story of Israel Chapman, particularly in the context of the Sydney Town as it was when Chapman arrived in 1818. She has brought her considerable knowledge of Sydney's early history in achieving this aim, as well as producing an interesting and lively account of the life and times of Israel Chapman.

The next article is set in the 1930s and is an analysis by our committee member, Philip Moses, of his father, Braham Moses' description of his visit to Palestine in 1938. This article is an extract

from an account of the whole trip his father undertook, which is entitled 'Braham's Diary - A Voyage of Discovery', Philip Moses uncovered and retyped the whole manuscript. Copies of this are available by contacting the Society.

Jewish-Christian relations in Australia is one theme that has been of interest in our journal. In 1968, Rabbi Porush published an article in the *Journal* on the New South Wales Council of Christians and Jews, 1943-1948, but little has been published since. Rebecca Lacey undertook a study of the 1992 Guidelines of the Australian Catholic Bishops as part of her Master of Arts degree. I decided to publish the product of this research because all too often graduate theses are lost to posterity. The research is based on both archival work and oral history. It is important to ensure that it is published, since those who participated in the project take their memories with them. Already, one key player in this story, Sister Lenore Sharry, has passed away, but luckily she took notes of the various meetings and Dr Sister Marianne Dacy was able to make these available to Rebecca Lacey as well as providing her own account of these developments. In addition, the oral testimonies of our patron Rabbi Raymond Apple, Cardinal Cassidy, Jeremy Jones and Josie Lacey, all central to the story, were transcribed verbatim and provided the basis for this article.

I am publishing Dr Gary Eckstein's analysis of the data in the 2001 Commonwealth Census on the Jewish community of New South Wales. The NSW Jewish Communal Appeal (JCA) commissioned this study and I would like to acknowledge their contribution and thank them for permitting us to publish it. Over the years the AJHS has published statistical studies of Jews and the census figures, one of the earliest being published by the late Rabbi Dr Israel Porush in 1954. Rabbi Porush published further statistical analyses, as did the late Walter Lippmann, and more recently Professor W.D. Rubinstein, who published an overview of the 2001 census in the *Journal* in 2003. I have found Dr Eckstein's careful work on New South Wales Jewry an invaluable resource and have drawn on it for my own writing. Hence, I asked him if we could publish this work so that other scholars can have access to it. This material will be updated when the data for the 2006 census becomes available, but these analyses take time to be completed and published.

This year Mandelbaum College is celebrating its tenth anniversary. The College has become a very important institution for the Australian Jewish Historical Society in Sydney, as we moved into our new premises at Mandelbaum shortly after its opening, having previously been housed at the Great Synagogue since the 1960s.

This move was marked by our June 1996 *Journal*, where we included a photo of Rachel Lipton, whose bequest made the building of Mandelbaum College possible, and Helen Bersten's speech at the opening of the Society's rooms at the College. Mandelbaum has proved to be a very convenient location and has helped the AJHS in Sydney to continue to grow and flourish. Our many volunteers, led by Helen Bersten, enjoy its facilities, often having lunch downstairs, and once a year the Society holds a thank you luncheon in the dining room for all our volunteers. Gidon Druery was appointed as the first CEO of Mandelbaum and he served the College for five years from 1996 to 2000. After he returned to his position as a mathematics teacher at Moriah College, he wrote his account of his foundation years at Mandelbaum. Last year he died suddenly at a young age, leaving behind his wife Tamara and children. With his loss, combined with the tenth anniversary, publishing his reminiscences seems an appropriate memorial to his hard work and valuable contribution to the early years at Mandelbaum. His piece does not aim to be a full history of Mandelbaum College, but will make a valuable contribution whenever that is written.

We have a large number of book reviews in this issue, too numerous to discuss each one in detail here. Committee member, Russell Stern, has reviewed a number of specialist works, which include *Jews and World War I*. Two other committee members, Judy Shapira and Helen Bersten, and our president, Sophie Caplan, have also reviewed a number of books on different topics, including Sophie Caplan's review of *A Time to Keep*, the special publication from Melbourne in November 2005, covering the history of Temple Beth Israel. We have also had some outside reviewers. Diane Armstrong kindly agreed to review *Jewish Country Girls: A Collection of Memories* by Diana Encel. Two key new books relating to Australian Jewry have also been reviewed: *Jews in Australian Politics*, edited by Geoffrey Brahm Levey and Philip Mendes, for which Andrew Jakubowicz has provided a lively and interesting review, and my own, most recent book, *The Jews in Australia* published by Cambridge University Press, which Professor Sol Encel has reviewed. It is of interest to note that Mireille Juchau wrote a review of *The Jews in Australia* in the *Times Literary Supplement*, reflecting the international interest in the history of our community. In this review, she wrote that the book 'makes an indispensable resource for those seeking a broad overview of Australian Jewry'.¹ There is no doubt that the wide range of books reviewed in this issue of the *Journal* is indicative that research and writing into issues relating to Australian Jewish history is flourishing.

1 *Times Literary Supplement*, 31 March 2006, p.33.

We have decided for the Sydney edition of the Journal to renew the practice of publishing the president's annual report. It gives me great pleasure to present to you in this journal Sophie Caplan's annual report for 2005.

Once again, I would like to thank wholeheartedly my Journal sub-committee without whose assistance this issue could not have been produced. I would like to thank Helen Bersten for all her invaluable assistance both in the sub-editing and in supplying information and photos from our archives and also Judy Shapira for her careful sub-editing. I continue to work with Dr Howard Freedman who is ably assisted by Dr Hilary Rubinstein in editing the Melbourne Journal and thank them for their co-operation. I would also like to acknowledge the financial assistance we receive from the Jewish Communal Appeal (JCA), which enables the Australian Jewish Historical Society's archives in Sydney to function effectively, although its funds are unable to be used for publications.

Suzanne D. Rutland

RESURRECTING CHAPMAN

by Grace Karskens

In 1818, a man named Israel Chapman arrived in Sydney aboard the ship *Glory*. He was in his mid-twenties, a little over five feet three inches tall, of dark, ruddy complexion with black eyes and dark hair. Convicted of highway robbery in London in 1817, his death sentence had been commuted to transportation for life in New South Wales.¹

When Chapman came ashore, Sydney was a town which was both ordinary and strange — it was a colony like many others Britain had founded around the world, yet here the colonists were transported felons. However, people expecting to find a miserable gaol-town full of evil miscreants were surprised to discover a steadily-growing port-town, with crowded houses tumbling down the west side of the cove, shops, warehouses and wharves, and healthy children everywhere. This town had been shaped partly by successive governors' attempts at order, but more strongly by the tastes and aspirations of the convicts themselves.²

So the Sydney that greeted Israel Chapman was a curious combination of order and chaos, each struggling with the other. There were traditional vernacular buildings set riotously along footpaths and crooked roads. This was the people's town and would have shone like welcoming beacons to newly arrived convicts. More orderly and substantial houses stood in Bridge Street on the east for the Governor and the civil officers, and handsome buildings were rising or planned in Macquarie Street: a fine hospital with three wings, a new pedimented three-storey barrack, and even a fantasy Gothic castle built as stables for the governor's horses! The convicts would instantly have understood *these* as the buildings representing order and judicial, civil, medical and church authority. Like all the other convicts before 1819, Chapman would have had lodgings in a private house somewhere in the town, and his landlady or landlord would also have been convicts or ex-convicts. Unless they committed a crime in the colony, Sydney's convicts were not housed in gaol.³

As in the great story of migration everywhere, the vast ocean,

the long voyage and the new life allowed many people to hide their personal histories. This was especially true of Israel Chapman, because in his youth he had been a 'resurrection man'. These were grave robbers who, working in gangs, opened fresh graves, heaved out the corpses and, for a price, delivered them to the anatomists for dissection. They travelled all over the country to carry out this business. The rise of the science of anatomy and the need to train physicians had transformed the dead human body into a commodity - it had a market, it was worth money.

Anatomy also transformed the body of a loved one into a depersonalised object for dismemberment. Chapman had worked in the arena where early modern medical science collided violently with traditional popular Christian and quasi-Christian beliefs about the dead. These still revolved around the idea that the personality or soul of a person stayed close to the body for some time after death, as well the belief that the dead would rise again when Christ returned at the end of time. So, for Christians in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it was extremely important that the dead not be disturbed or dismembered, since this would jeopardise their spiritual journey, as well as their future resurrection with Christ. The integrity and proper care of the corpse were of deep importance, and so when people discovered empty graves left by grave robbers there were riots and mass hysteria. Resurrection men like Chapman were hated and despised. They quite rightly feared for their own lives if they were caught at their frightful trade.⁴ Israel Chapman's history becomes more ironic because he was a Jew, and the Jews traditionally also have strict rules about the integrity and sanctity of the body after death, and the avoidance of grave disturbance.⁵



Fig. 1: Joseph Lycett (attrib.), 'Convict Barracks Sydney N. S. Wales' c1820 (courtesy Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales). This image was painted about the time that Israel Chapman was Chief Wardsman at the newly-opened barracks.

The people of early Sydney (that is the convicts as well as the free arrivals) took great care with the burial of their own dead. They were suspicious of doctors partly because they feared them as possible anatomists, and blissfully unaware of the resurrection man in their midst.⁶ The peculiar circumstances of these early colonial years meant that a man, convict or not, could rise to the level of his competence (and sometimes above it, it has to be said). Israel Chapman must have soon demonstrated his qualities as someone who could be given authority over others, whom others would obey, and who was willing to do the government's work in directing, controlling and guarding his fellow convicts. Within a year of his arrival, having been sentenced for life, he was appointed Chief Wardsman at the new Prisoners' Barracks (now Hyde Park Barracks) when or soon after it opened in June 1819.⁷

As historian John Hirst has pointed out, convicts in early Sydney were not treated according to their crimes or sentences, but according to their skills, talents and usefulness.⁸ Convicts were in fact the makers of the new colonial society. They were not only the workers but the overseers, the guards and sometimes the managers. They were not only servants, they also became masters and mistresses. It was immediately clear that Israel Chapman was a very useful man. In 1820 he became constable and principal overseer at the lumber yard in George Street and was so successful that he was awarded a conditional pardon in 1821. In 1822 he was dismissed from this position for reasons, which remain unclear. However, after numerous petitions, he was reappointed to Sydney's rudimentary police force. These were not police officers as we understand them - they wore no uniforms and had no training. Many, though not all, were of fairly low character and turnover was high because of dismissals for various misdemeanours. On the one hand, the townsfolk called for constables when they were being robbed or attacked, but, on the other hand, often disliked them because they interfered with their traditional pleasures (they broke up fights and raided after-hours drinkers), and of course because they were flunkies for the authorities.⁹

Stomping around the town with stave and rattle, breaking up fights and bawling out the hour at night was not for Chapman. He had already proved himself the 'most active and intelligent' in the force because he constantly pursued thieves and bushrangers, had an enormously successful arrest rate and collected considerable reward money. He always got his man (or woman). So, in a neat antipodean reversal - now engaged in the pursuit of the living rather than the dead - he was eventually appointed a police runner, that is, in modern parlance, our first police detective, at a salary of

£100 per annum. He was granted an absolute pardon in 1827.¹⁰

Chapman was also among those fortunate convict men who married. His wife was Catherine Martin, a twenty-year-old convict needlewoman from London. They were wed at St Phillip's Anglican church a few months after she arrived on the *Morley* in 1820. Catherine was granted a ticket of leave soon after the marriage and the couple lived in Clarence Street in 1827 and 1828, along with their government servant and a convict lodger.¹¹

Chapman's younger brother, Noel, also arrived in the colony in 1826, sentenced for seven years for what looks suspiciously like a crime deliberately committed to get to Sydney. He was 17, had no previous convictions and had stolen a watch. Dr Bergman, the brothers' biographer, describes Noel as a 'rough coach boy [with] pugilists tattooed on both arms'. Israel Chapman tried to have Noel assigned to him, but this was unsuccessful. However, by 1828, Noel was a lodger in Ben Goddard's house in Kent Street, probably not far from Israel and Catherine's house.¹²

Noel followed his brother into police work. In 1827 he was evidently chasing villains with Israel - the *Australian* reported in September that year that 'four notoriously bad characters were brought up before the bench...by Chapman, the Police Runner, and Chapman junior'. By 1828 Noel had already earned his ticket of leave for catching six runaways. He, too, became a constable and married, though he moved away from Sydney, first to Windsor, and later to Berrima.¹³

Meanwhile, Israel Chapman became a great celebrity in Sydney. The Governors loved him. The newspapers loved him, and constantly ran stories about his daring deeds and derring-do. The straight laced *Sydney Gazette* rejoiced because Chapman, the 'flower of constables', 'this renowned Hebrew', was on the side of law and order. The ruder *Australian* celebrated him because he was a bit of a lad, fond of a drink and of flamboyant showmanship. They described him as 'active' and 'intelligent' which certainly distinguished him from the run-of-the-mill constables.¹⁴

And he was extraordinary. He was an excellent horseman, and had astonishing stamina. He knew the entire country in the vicinity of Sydney thoroughly and made long journeys on horseback over rough country, and always at breakneck speed. He knew how bushrangers thought, and had an uncanny knack of turning up where criminals least expected him, no matter how isolated their hideouts. He knew Sydney's people — nefarious, law-abiding and everyone in between. He said, himself, via the *Australian*, that 'it is the duty of every constable in a community like this one we live in,

to make himself acquainted with the character he does not know, or of whom he may have the least suspicion'. He had a photographic memory, and could recognise a face from a decade before. He astonished everyone by quickly locating stolen goods and arresting thieves - this suggests he knew the town, houses and hiding places intimately as well. He would set up artful traps to catch sly-grog sellers, and sometimes used effective disguises to trick his suspects into giving information.¹⁵

Some suggest Israel Chapman was vain and conceited, an egoist who loved his high public profile.¹⁶ If so, he would have enjoyed the *Gazette's* account of his raid on a party of bushrangers:

About 1 pm on Sunday [3 February 1826] in consequence of some information he received, Chapman went together with some other constables to Mr Haslem's house in Parramatta Road to search for some bushrangers. On approaching the house, the party divided, one half taking the back, the other coming from the front of the house. Chapman rushed into the house, armed with a cutlass and pistol and cried out: "Here is Chapman - who is going to kill him now?" The bushranger Roberts seized the cutlass and a struggle ensued in the course of which Chapman wounded Roberts severely in the groin. He also wounded Morrison and Mackay and secured them in the outside room, and then repaired to the assistance of constable Jilks and secured MacCallum... and also Patient.¹⁷

These bushrangers were tried and sentenced to hang. No doubt this afforded Chapman great satisfaction.

His success and reputation had yet another dimension. Like the Irish with their visions and dreamed prophecies, and the insights of Aboriginal clever men and magical powers of some of their warriors, Chapman acquired a reputation for second sight. He became known as the 'Hebrew dreamer', for he claimed to foresee crimes and identify criminals in his dreams. By October 1827 the *Gazette* reported that this was already well-known:

Israel Chapman, the fidelity of whose dreams has almost become proverbial, was, for three successive nights, tormented with a vision, in which he beheld a man who had been appointed guardian in the shop of Mr Dillon, carrying off sundry goods and chattels. This renowned dreamer, certain that three successive warnings were not to be disregarded, watched about the premises three nights and on the third he made a prisoner of the alleged thief and detected the stolen property.¹⁸

His powers were not just intelligence, knowledge and physical prowess, but supernatural as well. No wonder he was so well known, and held in some awe.

What is also clear here is that Chapman was self-conscious, he was *aware of himself* in this role, and he seems to have actively shaped and cultivated his persona and reputation. He did not simply carry out his duties; he was *performing his life*, and also creating a public written record of it via the newspapers. In this, he was very much like other figures in nineteenth century Australia who literally made their own history. Think of Governor Lachlan Macquarie, with his public rituals and gestures, naming and building, writing enthusiastic accounts of his own contribution to the fledgling colony, and the many places that still bear his name. Think also of that consummate performer, Ned Kelly, and the way he continually wanted to tell his story, justified himself through his long letters and immortalised himself through his flamboyant actions.

But fame and wonder had a flip side for Israel Chapman. The total ruthlessness of his early career translated into total zealotry in his police work. Some criticised him as overzealous, for he seemed to see no difference between a dyed-in-the-wool villain and an innocent person whom he simply thought suspicious. Nor did he distinguish between serious criminals and those who were fighting or drunk or simply prisoners at large. In 1827 the pro-convict paper the *Monitor*, attacked Chapman for his 'rude blustering misapplied zeal' and reported that he had knocked down and searched a young man who was free simply because he would not give his name at night. Chapman, of course, summarily dismissed these complaints in a rude, blustering, zealous manner.¹⁹

Clearly he had few constraints on his power to arrest or physically attack suspects, and this was resented. Sometimes people tried to resist. On one occasion in 1827, for example, a group of people described as a 'large party of vagabonds' tried to rescue a number of prisoners whom Chapman and other constables had arrested at the racecourse. The *Gazette* described this as a 'desperate conflict' in which the assailants were eventually beaten off. Chapman had a rib fractured but of course 'held fast his man'.²⁰

The rank and file soldiers stationed in Sydney also developed a deep dislike for Chapman, probably because of his role in the notorious Sudds and Thompson case. Two soldiers, Joseph Sudds and Patrick Thompson, had committed thefts for the express purpose of being discharged from their Regiment. Governor Darling made an example of them by putting them in iron collars and chains and had them drummed out of the Regiment. Sudds died five days later and

a huge public outcry against Darling as a cruel tyrant ensued. Chapman had been involved in the case because he had searched Sudds and Thompson in the watchhouse and confiscated the shirting they had stolen. Their brother soldiers had long memories. In September 1827, a party of them attacked Chapman's house in Kent Street. The *Gazette* reported '[they] were about carrying it by storm, when Chapman tried the effect of a brace of pistols and finally lodged the hostile party in the Military Barracks guard house'.²¹

On the 41st anniversary of the colony's founding, 26 January 1829, Catherine Martin/Chapman died. She was buried in the Devonshire Street Cemetery, now the site of Central Railway. Israel made sure her grave was properly marked with a respectable headstone. He also ensured it was a monument to himself, for it read:

Sacred to the memory of /Mrs Catherine Chapman
Wife of Mr Israel Chapman/Late Police Runner [in large letters]
Who departed this life/On the 26 January 1829/Aged 29 years.

A simple poem referring to Catherine's relative youth, and perhaps her beauty, was also added:

Life is short, the finest flower/often withers in an hour
Today we flourish in our bloom/tomorrow brings us to the tomb.²²

Catherine's death seems to have been a turning point in Chapman's life. He resigned his position as police runner and sailed back to England in the same year. Perhaps he had unfinished business, perhaps he thought with his colonial success and money he could now return home. Or possibly he was required to give evidence in the Sudds and Thompson case, although he published a statement denying this.²³

Soon after he left, though, someone sent the *Australian* an old clipping from *Blackwoods* magazine about his dark past as 'a body snatcher, drinker and burglar': the truth was out. The *Australian*, perhaps seeking to settle a score over the Sudds and Thompson case, republished it verbatim, including all the bad puns and the allegation that Chapman had been 'the first man in his calling who hit upon the device of stealing bodies before they were buried'.²⁴ The *Gazette* spluttered indignantly 'We knew nothing of Chapman, further than that he was a very efficient police officer' and accused the *Australian* of 'hitting a man behind his back, or striking him when down'.²⁵

That should have been the end of this story, but Israel Chapman decided to return to Sydney. Perhaps, as Nancy Keesing suggests,

he was lonely and miserable in England. His patron, the former Governor Darling, wrote him a recommendation and Israel sailed back through Sydney Heads in March 1833. The short lived newspaper *Currency Lad* reported that 'Izzi Chapman, the renowned bush beater, has returned to our shores with Mrs Chapman'. However, the Scots Church Sydney marriage registers show that he actually married Mary Slater on 23 October 1833.²⁶

What of Chapman's illustrious career? The bad publicity did not seem to have done him much harm — perhaps no-one believed it. The press seemed to sigh in relief and predicted that scoundrels everywhere would once more be quaking in their boots. He was immediately appointed as a Sydney wardsman, and in April managed to arrest no less than 34 runaways at the races, while the mounted police caught only four.²⁷ Following this, his situation began to deteriorate. In 1834 he landed in the watchhouse for drunkenness and he was dismissed from the police force for 'insubordinate behaviour to the Chief Magistrate of Police'.²⁸ Perhaps he still considered himself the celebrity hero of the colony and had difficulty with the new authorities. He also seems to have had difficulty accepting that he was no longer a policeman, for he went on arresting people nevertheless. Perhaps not knowing what else to do with him, the government re-instated him in 1835, but this time as a conductor, which was lower-ranking, and lower-paid.²⁹

Chapman never really regained his former celebrated reputation. Newspaper reports now often presented him as a figure of fun. Eventually he spiralled into lowlife. He was charged several times for indecent behaviour, assault, disturbing the peace and for wife beating. How could this have happened to such a talented man? Besides his tongue, fists, temper and pride getting him into trouble, I think there were two broader reasons. First, while transportation had certainly wrought a remarkable transformation - Chapman went from the most despised and ruthless of men to a celebrated hero - he *himself* was not culturally transformed. He did not become some respectable, right-thinking, well-behaved, morally worthy figure. He was tough, outspoken, probably a heavy drinker, and he could be ruthless. These had been qualities celebrated, or at least tolerated in early Sydney. By the 1830s and 1840s, and with the end of convict transportation, they were beginning to be regarded as distasteful. The colony had changed but Chapman had not: he was increasingly out-of-kilter.

The second reason is that Chapman was getting old. The arduous nature of his work had been hard on his body and his famous energy was dwindling. He had often been severely injured in the course of his work. In 1826 a fowling piece (gun) had gone off acci-

dentally and shattered his left hand 'almost to pieces'. The surgeons did what they could, and he survived, but his hand was permanently crippled.³⁰ But New South Wales was not a place where you would want to grow old, frail and dependent. As Pat Jalland demonstrates in her study *Australian Ways of Death*, utilitarian and progressive thought dominated in the nineteenth century colonies and there was little sympathy or humane provision for the aged, sick and infirm. They ended up in asylums living in shocking conditions and at the mercy of often brutal caretakers.³¹

Most people fell back on their families for support in old age, if they had them, and this is what Israel tried to do. In 1840 at the age of about 46 he went to live with his brother Noel, now the Chief Constable at Berrima, and his family. He sent two petitions to the governor pleading for a grant of land as a reward for earlier meritorious conduct, pointing out his contribution, his crippled hand. But his appeals fell on deaf ears — his claim to land was said to have lapsed long ago, and as for his earlier work, this colony had a short memory.³² Chapman and his generation increasingly became an embarrassment to colonial aspirations. They were the living evidence of a convict past, which became more embarrassing and sinister as the decades passed.

Noel Chapman died in 1849, and Israel was evidently forced to return to Sydney, where he got work as a bailiff. In 1852 he and two other men were tried and convicted for robbery, which earned him



Government Printing Office, 'Main Entrance, Poor House' 1876 (courtesy Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales). The photograph shows the façade of the old Liverpool Hospital, now an asylum and the refuge of many old ex-convict men. Israel Chapman died here in 1868.

six months with hard labour in the Darlinghurst gaol.³³ After this he must have drifted about, picking up work here and there, surviving somehow. Like many of Sydney's elderly male ex-convicts in this period, he ended up alone and destitute. From 1861 he was in and out of the Benevolent Asylum at Liverpool — it seems to have been a last resort. He died there in 1868, of 'age', as his death certificate puts it. He was about 74. No relatives, origins or other lineaments of personal history were listed. Israel Chapman, so typical of early Sydney, so integral to it, died a nonentity.³⁴

As an inmate of the asylum, Chapman would normally have had a pauper's burial in a mass grave. Had he died in England, his body would have been given up to the doctors for dissection, under the Anatomy Act of 1832, which had put an end to the grisly trade of his youth.³⁵ But by the 1860s, Sydney also had a growing and self-conscious Jewish community — so active in fact that there had already been a split between the 'Macquarie Street Jews' and the 'York Street Jews'. They even buried their dead in different cemeteries — the Macquarie Street Synagogue went to the Raphael cemetery at Haslem's Creek, and those from York Street went to the newly-laid out grounds at Rookwood nearby, soon to become the great necropolis of Sydney. Although Chapman was known as a Jew, there is no evidence so far that he ever practised religion or associated with the Jewish community. Nevertheless, upon his death, the York Street Synagogue came out to Liverpool to claim him as their own. They buried him with Jewish rites on the 5 July 1868 in the Jewish section at Rookwood. He would have been one of the earliest burials in this modern new cemetery. Thus, through the strange confluence of colonial circumstances, and unlike the victims of his youth, he lies there still, undisturbed.³⁶

Clearly brilliantly talented and energetic, Israel Chapman went from infamy to celebrity and back again, and thence to obscurity. He had earned his living servicing the rising demands of a new science and thereby violated a much older culture entwined around the treatment of the dead. In New South Wales, anonymity meant a new life and career for Chapman and in his glory days he wove a complex, brilliant path between authority and people, crime and justice, escape and apprehension. During his later career, he suffered because of the rise of Victorian respectability. Such men as Chapman were no longer thought 'active and intelligent' or suitable for important office, let alone reward. Colonial amnesia, the shortness of memory in a place full of newcomers, banished Israel to the fringes, along with other old, destitute ex-convicts of his generation. Yet, there were also determined efforts, on the part of the Jews,

to establish tradition, identity and heritage in this raw, new city. So in death Israel Chapman's own body was reverently treated, though his life was forgotten.

Or was it? Chapman's name is not as well known as those of Lachlan Macquarie or Ned Kelly, but his story persists, disappearing and reappearing constantly, rather like the man himself. It has been told by several people, of whom I am only the most recent. In the 1880s, several old colonists were publishing their reminiscences about early Sydney in newspapers. John Martin in the *Camden Times* in 1883 remembered that 'the most renowned [thief catcher] was a runner... named Izzy Chapman. This man seemed to have a clue to everything'.³⁷

Scholars researching the early New South Wales police force, such as Hazel King, noted Chapman's remarkable career. King also contributed an entry on Chapman for the first volume of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, so there he is, alongside the governors, explorers and higher officials.³⁸

The rising interest and research in Jewish history in Australia led Dr G. F. J. Bergman to write fine, detailed biographies of both Israel and Noel Chapman for the *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal* in 1969. He also delivered this paper before the Society that year. In the audience was a researcher called Nancy Keesing who was intensely interested in John George Lang, the first native-born Australian writer of fiction, and also of part-Jewish descent. Keesing says this was an 'odd and uncanny experience', because as she listened with increasing excitement and impatience to Dr Bergman, she realised she had the answer to a literary mystery she had spent weeks trying to untangle. John Lang's novel, *The Forger's Wife*, published in 1855, was set in Sydney in the 1820s and has as its central character a renowned detective named George Flower. Although Flower is not a Jew in the story, the similarity to Chapman's character and career clearly shows that Chapman was the model for the protagonist. Of course 'Flower' may refer to Chapman's common description as 'the flower of the constabulary'. Lang himself grew up in Sydney and while 'not considered a great novelist... he was an outstandingly good reporter'. He had a 'clear memory [and a]... marvellous ear for dialogue as spoken by all classes of society'.³⁹ So Chapman is also immortalised in our earliest works of fiction, and in the pages of Lang's novel we might even hear his way of speaking, his view of the world.

Chapman continues to give rise to 'odd and uncanny' experiences. While I was researching death and dying in early Australia in 1996, I came across Ruth Richardson's marvellous book, *Death, Dissection and the Destitute*, a powerful history of grave-robbing,

anatomy and the poor in eighteenth and nineteenth century England. Richardson explored the shadowy world of the resurrection men, and among the names was that of Israel Chapman. It caught my eye. Could this possibly be the same Chapman who I knew as a constable in Sydney town? I felt that same uncanniness that Keesing described. I was curious, pursued him and established that it was indeed the same man: so began my own quest to learn from his story.

Then at a conference in 2003, I was talking with John Peterson, then curator at Hyde Park Barracks Museum, the place where Israel Chapman began his colonial career. John mentioned that he was trying to purchase a Certificate of Freedom for the Museum's collection. Whose was it, I asked? Out of thousands of possibilities, it was, of course, Israel Chapman's.

This essay is thus part of a bigger cycle of remembering and retelling Chapman's story, in which each teller relates it to different wider themes - whether an desire to portray in fiction the lively world of early Sydney, or through an interest in Jewish colonial pioneers, or in the early New South Wales police force. I see his story as a bright window onto the real experience of convicts in early Sydney, their ways of fashioning new lives, and what happened to them when they grew old and the town they made grew into a great city. I am certain there is more to tell, just as I am sure others will be captured by Israel Chapman's story in the future.

NOTES

1. G. F. J. Bergman, 'Israel Chapman (1794-1868): Australia's First Police Detective and Noel Chapman, Chief Constable', *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal*, vol. VI part 7, 392-409; Old Bailey Session Papers, Second Session 1818, p. 75, 1817, Mitchell Library [hereafter ML].
2. See Grace Karskens, *The Rocks: Life in Early Sydney*, Melbourne University Press, 1997.
3. Karskens, *ibid*; James Broadbent, 'Building in the Colony', in James Broadbent and Joy Hughes (eds), *The Age of Macquarie*, Melbourne University Press, 1992, pp. 157-72.
4. Ruth Richardson, *Death, Dissection and the Destitute*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987, Chapter 1, quote p. 7; ref to Israel Chapman as resurrection man, p.62.
5. Maurice Lamm, *The Jewish Way in Death and Mourning*, New York, Jonathan David Publishers, 1969, pp. 3, 9, 10, 70-2; pers.com. Helen Bersten, Australian Jewish Historical Society, 1997; pers. com. Julian Cass, Jewish Cemetery Rookwood, 23 July 2002.
6. Grace Karskens, 'Death was in his face: Dying, Burial and Remembrance in Early Sydney', *Labour History*, No 74, May 1998, 21-39.

7. Bergman, 'Israel Chapman', 393ff.
8. John Hirst, *Convict society and its enemies*, Sydney, George Allen & Unwin, 1983.
9. See Colonial Secretary's papers, Index, 1788-1825, ML; Karskens, *The Rocks*, chapter 17, 'The Constables', pp. 195-200.
10. *Sydney Gazette* [hereafter SG] 9 May 1827; Bergman, 'Israel Chapman', 393ff.; Hazel King, 'Israel Chapman', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* [hereafter ADB], volume 1.
11. See entry in T. D. Mutch, Index to Births, Deaths and Marriages, Mitchell Library; witnesses to their marriage were Aaron and Ann Barnett, both listed as 'Hebrew' rather than 'Jew', see entries in Malcolm Sainty and Keith Johnson (eds), *Census of New South Wales November 1828*, Sydney, Library of Australian History, 1985.
12. Bergman, 'Israel Chapman', 406-7; *Census of 1828*.
13. Bergman, *ibid*; SG, 21 September 1827
14. SG, 9 May 1827, see also 20 June 1828 and index held in the Mitchell Library for numerous references to his career; *Australian*, 23 March 1826, 14, 21 September 1827 and see index.
15. Bergman, 'Israel Chapman', 394-7; SG, 2 May 1827, see also 20 June 1828, 18 January 1844; see also index; *Australian*, 23 March 1826, 14, 21 September 1827 and see index. As we shall see Chapman was also immortalised in fiction by John George Lang in *The Forger's Wife*, London, 1855.
16. Nancy Keesing, 'Israel Chapman in fiction', *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal*, vol. VI part 7, 414.
17. SG, 4 March 1826; See Chapman's version of this story in SG, 23 November 1827, which seems to be taken from the earlier *Gazette* report.
18. SG, 26 October 1827; and see discussion in Bergman, 'Israel Chapman', 398.
19. *Monitor* 19 November 1827; Chapman's response, SG, 23 November 1827.
20. SG, 2 May 1827
21. Brian Fletcher, *Ralph Darling: A Governor Maligned*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1984, pp. 245-9; Bergman, 'Israel Chapman', 396-7; SG, 21 September 1827.
22. The headstones in the Devonshire Street Cemetery were transcribed and photographed by Mr and Mrs A G Foster in 1900, Devonshire Cemetery Epitaph Book, Foster Collection, Mitchell Library; The Royal Australian Historical Society holds the Fosters' glass plate negative collection, including one showing Catherine Chapman's grave. The cemetery was removed in 1901 to make way for Central Railway Station and her headstone and remains were moved to Bunnerong. They survived there until the early 1973 when this section of the cemetery was destroyed for a Pioneer Park. Catherine's headstone was in poor condition and not among those preserved, and her grave was lost; see Keith A. Johnson and Malcolm R. Sainty, *Sydney Burial Ground (Elizabeth and Devonshire Streets) and History of Sydney's Early Cemeteries from 1788*, Sydney, Library of Australian History, 2001, pp. 43, 47, 50, 58, 348.

23. *Australian* 3 February 1829; SG 10 February, 31 March 1829.
24. *Blackwood's Magazine*, vol. XVIII, p.157; *Australian*, 8 April 1829.
25. SG, 11, April 1829.
26. Keesing, 'Israel Chapman in fiction', 414; Ralph Darling to R.W. Hay, 30 June 1832, Colonial Office Misc Letters NSW 1832, ML A2146 p. 134; Bergman, 'Israel Chapman', pp. 403-8 and see also G. Bergman, 'More about Israel and Noel Chapman', *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal*, vol. VII part 3, 249-55; *Currency Lad* 11 March 1833, cited in Bergman, 'Israel Chapman', 403; Scot's Church Register, No 36 2667 records that Israel Chapman married Mary Slater, spinster of Sydney on 23 October 1833.
27. SG, 16 March, 2 April 1833; Governor's Despatches, vol. 22, 1833, ML A1211, p. 742; Bergman, 'Israel Chapman', 403.
28. *Australian*, 6 May 1834; *Monitor*, 7 May 1834 but see Chapman's challenge SG, 8 May 1834, reproduced in Bergman, 'More about Israel and Noel Chapman', 250-1.
29. *Australian*, 1 December 1835; Bergman, *ibid.* 252.
30. *Australian*, 23 March 1826; SG 23 March 1826.
31. Pat Jalland, *Australian Ways of Death*, Melbourne, Oxford, 2002 chapters 11 and 12.
32. The petitions are discussed and cited in Bergman, 'Israel Chapman', 404-6.
33. *Bell's Life In Sydney* 5 June 1852; Bergman, 'More about Israel and Noel Chapman', 253-5.
34. Liverpool Asylum, Register of Admissions and Discharges R1398; State Records of NSW; Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Death Certificate, Israel Chapman, 4 July 1868. For the history of and conditions at the Liverpool Asylum, see Christopher Keating, *On the Frontier: A Social History of Liverpool*, Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1996.
35. Richardson, *Death, Dissection and the Destitute*, Chapter 11.
36. Bergman, 'Israel Chapman', 406; Burial Register, Australian Jewish Historical Society; Helen Bersten, *Jewish Sydney: The First Hundred Years 1788-1888*, Sydney, Australian Jewish Historical Society, 1995, pp. 17-20; David A. Weston (ed.), *The Sleeping City: The Story of Rookwood Necropolis*, Sydney, Hale and Iremonger, 1989; pers. com. Julian Cass, Jewish Cemetery Rookwood, 23 July 2002. There is no plot number recorded, however, so the location of Chapman's grave is unknown.
37. John Benson Martin, *Reminiscences*, (reprint from the *Camden Times*) 1863; Camden, A. J. Doust, 1884, p.35.
38. Hazel King, 'Police organisation and administration in NSW 1825-51, MA thesis, University of Sydney, 1956; and entry on Israel Chapman in *ADB*.
39. Nancy Keesing, 'Israel Chapman in fiction', 411-15.

BRAHAM MOSES' VISIT TO PALESTINE IN 1938: AN AUSTRALIAN JEWS PERSPECTIVE

Philip Moses

On 4 December 1937, a month after his twenty-eighth birthday, my father, Braham Moses, left Sydney on the *SS Orcades*, returning on 3 October 1938 aboard the *SS Mariposa*. During that absence of 302 days from home he kept a diary in which he recorded the places he visited, the things he did and the places he saw, people he met and his impressions of the times and the countries he visited. Almost seventy years later, his observations, especially in regard to Jewish life in Palestine at that time, are worthwhile revisiting. There were few Jewish visitors from Australia in this period, so his observations provide an interesting historical insight into life in Palestine from Australian Jewish eyes.



Braham Moses

You may ask how I came across this diary. When the time came to clear away their possessions from my parent's home, amongst the photo albums, certificates, letters and books was the diary. I put it in a large box with a number of the photo albums and other mementos, promising myself I would read it one day. From time to time I took it out and glanced at it. In May 2005 (ironically, the twentieth anniversary of my father's death), now knowing the reasons for the diary, I thought it would be nice to write a short piece about the trip he undertook to add to an album of family history I had commenced collating two years earlier.

In order to read the diary thoroughly, I decided to transcribe all the entries in their entirety. I devised a template of a diary page and

started typing away. 340 pages later I was finished! Doing this turned out to be a real labour of love. With his familiar handwriting staring up at me from the page, it seemed as if Dad was talking to me as I learned about this wonderful trip he had made, but had never talked about with his children.

The diary contained the following dedication on the inside cover:

Presented to Braham Moses by the members of the Sydney Ski Club at a party on 27th Nov, 1937 held in his honour to wish him Bon Voyage.

R. Michaelis, President.

Among the 16 people who attended the party and signed the diary were Athol Burns who, a little over a year later became his brother-in-law, when he married his sister Ruth, and Helma Neu who, just over two years later became his wife. For his birthday on 1 November 1937, Helma gave him a photo album in which to keep the photos he would take during the trip. It bore the following inscription,

Memory is the only paradise we cannot be driven off, with kindest thoughts and very best wishes for a pleasant trip.
Helma.

I have no idea where my mother obtained this message, but my instinct tells me it is her own composition. Nevertheless, it is remarkably poignant for the times, considering she had fled Nazi Germany in 1935, arriving in Australia in 1936, and Braham was about to undertake a long journey and visit a Europe on the brink of war.

It is not surprising Braham was farewelled by members of the Ski Club; he was a keen skier and planned to spend a month skiing in Austria. However, this trip was not only about holidays and seeing the world. He was expected to study hotel management in London and New York and on his return would run the hotel 'Mansion House', which his father was building on the corner of Elizabeth and Goulburn Streets in the city.

At the instigation of his father, Phillip Moses, a passionate and dedicated Zionist and, at the time, treasurer of the Australian Zionist Federation, he was to visit Palestine. Visiting the 'holy land' at this time, was unusual not only because of the distance involved, but also because of the uncertainty created by the Arab Revolt which had started in 1936 and finally petered out in 1939.

From the copies of correspondence kept in the Zionist archives

in Jerusalem, sent to me by Eliyahu Honig of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem I was able to learn that on 2 December 1937, Phillip Moses wrote to a Mr. Herrmann of the Keren Hayesod (Palestine Foundation Fund) in Jerusalem and that letter said, in part:

My son, Braham will be arriving in Palestine a short time after this letter. He leaves here by the *Orcades* today. This boat reaches Port Said on January 1st and he is coming straight through so should be in Jerusalem about January 2nd 1938. He is 27 years of age, a graduate in Economics at the Sydney University and is having twelve months travel to improve his general education and his knowledge of the world.

He has been doing some philanthropic work for the Jewish community here and I think is well thought of. He is not an enthusiastic Zionist and I have induced him to go to Palestine with the idea of increasing his sympathy towards the movement which I have so much at heart. It is his class which will carry on the next generation and I think it important that he should become Zionistically minded. I suggest it might be worth your while to assist him to get a real understanding of the Zionist position.

This letter is an interesting reflection of mainstream attitudes to Zionism in the general Australian Jewish community where, most Australian Jews were suspicious of Jewish nationalism if not strongly opposed to it. Thus, the fact that Braham was 'not an enthusiastic Zionist' was not unusual for the times. It was his father's support of Zionism, which was ahead of the times, and the fact that he decided to send his son to visit Palestine, which is of historical interest.

After World War I, Braham's parents, Phillip and Esther, decided to undertake a world trip, leaving Sydney in September 1919 and returning in May 1921. As part of this trip, they visited Palestine in December 1920. During the trip Esther wrote numerous very long and detailed letters to her children and family and these letters are retained in the family archives. The opening remarks of her letter written from Jerusalem, however, show that it was not only Braham who was not particularly Zionistically inclined, but also how the Australian Jewish community of the 1920s and 30s as a whole felt little sympathy for the nationalist aspirations of Zionism. She wrote:

Here am I - Esther Boas - in the city of Jerusalem - back in my own country as the guide informed me - I don't mind

informing you - that I don't want to be in my own country - I'm quite satisfied to let it belong to all the other Jews that want it & I'll be content with one short week or less.

The fact that she was the daughter of an orthodox Rabbi, seems to have counted for little when it came to Zionism. One suspects her father, Rev A.T. Boas of the Adelaide Hebrew Congregation, who died in February 1923, would probably have shared the anti-Zionist sentiments of the Anglo-rabbinate. This opposition to 'political Zionism' was strongly espoused by Australian rabbis such as Francis Lyon Cohen of the Great Synagogue in Sydney and Rabbi Jacob Danglow of St Kilda Hebrew Congregation.

This is further borne out by the fact that Rev. Boas' son Harold, a well known Perth architect, was an active campaigner against political Zionism. Amongst other things, he had a close association with Sir Isaac Isaacs, and with a number of other collaborators they published *The Australian Jewish Outlook*, a monthly newsletter to alert people to what they saw as the dangers of political Zionism.

Esther does not comment on the impact of their visit to Jerusalem on her husband, but this visit is generally regarded as sparking Phillip Moses' passion for Zionism and leaving her in the unenviable position of having her husband and brother at opposing ends of the spectrum of political Zionism.

Braham was a third generation Australian on both his father's and mother's side. His paternal great grandfather, Solomon Moses, arrived from England in 1832 and a maternal great grandfather, Isaac Solomon, in 1833. He grew up in the Sydney beachside suburb, Bondi, in comfortable circumstances in a large family home with his brothers Hubert and Arthur, and his sisters Ruth and Ida. His parents, Phillip and Esther, entertained regularly, travelled extensively and were extremely well regarded in the Jewish community. The family was not particularly observant, although all the boys had their barmitzvah at The Great Synagogue and the girls their 'Confirmation' as it was called (batmitzvah). Like the majority of the community at that time, he felt he was of Australian nationality, thus a loyal British subject first, and of the Jewish religion second. He matriculated from Sydney Boys High School, where he was also a keen athlete representing the school in middle distance events and also the University of Sydney where he completed his Economics degree.

On leaving Sydney, the ship travelled to Hobart, then Melbourne and continued on to Adelaide and Perth where he saw family from his mother's side. After eight days at sea they arrived in Colombo (in what was then Ceylon) on Wednesday 22 December 1937. Six days

later, on 28 December, the ship reached Aden. Braham appeared to have enjoyed shipboard life very much, and, maybe at this time the seed was germinating for a love of cruising that became virtually a passion later in life when the annual (and sometimes biannual) cruises he and Mum made were almost legendary amongst family and friends.

The arrival in Aden on New Years Day 1938 was full of the dramas of travel that exist still today! He experienced delays, difficulties with customs and tight travel connections. Braham describes the passage through the Suez Canal, the arrival at Aden and his journey on to Jerusalem rather tersely:

Early (6am) berthed outside Suez. Entered Canal 9am - extraordinary experience - built up banks through the lakes - miles and miles of desert each side - sometimes few shrubs - control stations - tying up arrangements - slow passage - arrival by night at Pt. Said, world's "serenest" city - berthed 9pm. Found Cooks man - got luggage onto tender - ashore to Customs House - Cooks office - tickets - new time table arrangements (reasons) - ferry across Canal - private car - row in Customs shed - method - signing sheets - row on tender for luggage - searching through cases - rush to Kantara - one horse show - officialdom - train journey to Ludd - not bad but cold and jerky - through desert - breakfast in dining car - Arab villages - dirty, crude - mud huts - further on orange groves - eucalypts - scramble on Liddy - arrival Jerusalem 1pm - Hotel Goldsmit.

What is not recorded in the diary is the cause of all this angst. Braham was doing his best to carry out his father's wishes again. In a letter dated 16 February 1938 to H. Levin at *Keren Kayemeth* in Jerusalem, Phillip Moses said, in part:

One other matter. I took a lot of trouble to send a Custard Apple tree to Palestine. I think we have better Custard Apples than you have. I communicated with a very nice man who is interested in the Acclimatisation Society of Queensland. At considerable cost and a great deal of trouble I had a plant sent from Brisbane to Sydney. I had this put on the boat and Braham was taking it along. His boat, however, reached Port Said late at night and he had to hire a special car to make the connection at Kantara. He could not get the Custard Apple through the Customs at Port Said and apparently abandoned it there. Do you think there is any possibility of your recover-

ing it? I really think it might be worth while making the effort; it was addressed to Rehovoth and apparently was left at Port Said from the *Orcades* about January 1st.

The plant was recovered, as Levin reported in a letter to Phillip Moses dated 3 June 1938:

With regard to the custard apple plant, this matter was satisfactorily settled some time ago. At your son's request the Zionist Information Bureau looked into the matter and made arrangements for the delivery of the plant to the Agricultural Experiment Station at Rehovoth. Subsequently, they wrote direct to your son, advising him accordingly. I am writing now to inquire of the Experiment Station what they have been able to do with the plant.

The concept of sending specific plants from Australia was not that unusual at this time, as during the period of the British mandate eucalyptus trees were imported and planted as part of the process of draining the swamps and reclaiming the land, particularly in the Galilee, as Braham himself noted.

Braham arrived in Jerusalem in the early afternoon. He spent the rest of the day exploring the area in the immediate vicinity of the hotel and the next morning visited the Zionist Federation offices where he had detailed discussions with Leo Herrmann of Keren Hayesod, Harry Levin of Keren Kayemeth (who later came out as the first Consul-General to Sydney in 1950) and Dr. Leo Lauterbach of the Jewish Agency. He caught up with Dr. Lauterbach again in London a few months later where he was delivering a paper to the World Jewish Congress on 'The Situation of the Jews in Austria'. At that time, he also attended a reception for Nahum Goldmann and lunched with him the following day.

Braham was instantly impressed with what was happening in Palestine and wrote:

Three organizations in one building - Jewish Agency (Dr. Lauderback) in centre, Keren Hayemeth one side and Keren Hayesod, other side. Inspected Hertzl [Herzl] Room in Keren Hayesod with Golden books, large illuminated map - idea for Golden book - replica should be sent to Australia and filled in there - organization efficiently run - these people made a great fuss of me on account of Dad's great interest and help for the J.N.F. Dr. Lauderback - very efficient man and his sister works with him. Explained function of Jewish Agency -

Immigration Dept. - Finance - Cultural - Education etc. Most important of the 3 divisions - Mr. Levin of Keren Hayemeth - young man - Oxford graduate and really the finest of the 3. Polite, excellent Oxford accent - and most of all, enthusiastic. Keren Hayemeth in charge of purchase of all land - Keren Hayesod administers it with such an organization Zionism bound to progress. Felt first real urge of Zionism and first national consciousness - never realized before what it was, though impossible to realize this before seeing it and talking to these people.

Lunch that day was spent with some 'real life' Zionists:

At lunch at the hotel met 2 young girls (about 22-25) and young man - all from Canada. These young people are idealists - they have come to Palestine because, as one explained "We want to be Jews as well as persons". Wanted to know a lot of Australia and are so sincere for the cause. They explained with real fervour how colonies (Braham's term for kibbutzim) are started, of the difficulties and determination of these young boys and girls - defence - early struggles - all sorts. How late at night with dirty boots and shirts and trousers they come to the central hut and play wonderful music on the piano - doctors, students etc. I want to spend much time at these villages and shall stay one night in theirs perhaps work there to try and absorb the spirit.

After lunch he went with a guide to the Old City:

Here was a surprise - entering the Jaffa Gate we are in a walled city, 4 miles square. Old wall on the right 2,000 years old, the rest of the walls varying in age. Soon the streets narrow until they are narrow windy alleys going in all directions, cobbled streets about 6' wide. Each side just doors or gaps - hovels there of 2 or 3 rooms - no light and no yards - sheep and goats in the rooms - solid blocks of houses, tiny lanes and steps leading from one to other - absolute labyrinth - sometimes squares of 6 or 10 lots with small shule - saw one Soon we came to Jewish part - old synagogue - one small room - benches and old tiled floor - so quaint - old man with curls teaching small boy (curls) to be Rabbi - quite mediæval - chanting and rocking - then more narrow streets and steps leading to Wailing Wall Here old Jews in hats, caps, curls, beards, gowns, robes etc etc stand and wail and

pray, sway and doven, beat and kiss the wall. The women at the other end do the same – it is so quaint I could not believe my eyes – real, intense old Judaism as practiced 1,000 years ago – one old man came up to my guide and explained there were only 8 of them and would we join in and make a minyan. So in we went and he jabbered off Hebrew blessings, fast and furious. The garb and get up was so intriguing – mostly they never wash but quite pleasant – not like Arabs. All the cracks of the wall are filled with notes and letters addressed to God appeals for long life etc. After the service (New moon- Mincha) held of course, in the open, facing the wall, my guide asked me if I would light candles for my mother and father – so I did so, dipping a wick in oil and floating it - (like "Yotsite"). Gave names and repeated blessing – said 'omen' a most fascinating business all in all. Then to Harvah synagogue in the centre of city – old, building and inside is altar of wood surrounded by seats – from the roof is excellent view of old city. Back through Jewish Ghetto and Bazaars. Here along lanes, winding and turning are small shops, dark inside with old Jews in robes, smoking long pipes, with tittses on them, square beards and skull caps, sitting down behind such wares as they have. Fruit, fish, iron kettles, meat, sweets, chestnuts and fire to roast, boot making etc. were a few things I noticed. As we walk along, we meet a small donkey, hardly bigger than I am, laden with huge bundles, and we have to stand flat up against wall to pass. There is no plan and lanes wind and twist amongst houses and some are built inside the wall – no light – no ventilation – flock of goats, housed in the house are driven along streets, and milked into the bucket of each customer as pass – some stray on as others are being milked.

*The Wailing Wall,
photographed by
Braham at the time
of his visit*



That evening a Mr. Epstein of the *Palestine Review* took him to Café Vienna and he was struck once more by the growing feeling of nationalism and a newly emerging cultural life:

Here is all night life that Jerusalem can offer – scattered population – unsettled aspect – not sufficient to support regular theatre – few picture shows – Jewish café – Jewish proprietor, waiters, clientele, orchestra – an institution typically product of modern Zionism – pleased to do any job and proud of it as are policemen, guides, builders, masons (saw these with smiles and laughing building new Anglo-Palestine Bank) even garbage man and man who cleans my boots at this hotel – all same idea – Palestine for the Jews and Jews for themselves – all jobs. The economic position of Palestine at present is not good uncertainty as to results of Commissions findings – no investments – dealing with immigration (1,000 per month) satisfactorily – building transport and essential services increasing to cope with increased population at sufficient rate. Rents fairly high as is standard of living – will adjust itself later on. Hebrew is spoken as the national language – not as easy as other such as native tongue, but if everyone speaks it it becomes universal – special committee attached to University to deal with new words. Also the spirit of Hebrew – proud to speak it – part of national life.

The next day (4 January) he toured the Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus. He visited the library, which he described as follows: '30,000 volumes in remarkably fine hall – double indexed – books in every language – Hebrew encyclopedia free for all persons not only university students. Better Arabic library than any Arab institution'. From there he went to the science department, which at that time was for post graduate studies only – and the departments of Biblical Botany and Veterinary Science. He also visited the Hadassah – Rothschild Hospital and again he was struck, not only by the high standard and the level of facilities offered, but also by the intense enthusiasm and dedication of all those working there. He felt they all shared, with each other, a strong bond of loyalty and patriotism.

After his visit to the university, he continued on with a drive to the Dead Sea and, here he made the first of many observations of the poor conditions of the Arabs:

Drive to Dead Sea was full of interest, road winds through hills and mountains, past Arab villages, hovels and even holes in the ground where they live. Dirty, impoverished people.

Road falls from 2,000 ft above to 1,400 ft below sea level. Dead Sea loveliest natural place in world – tasted water bitter, salty and bit one's tongue.

On the way back to Jerusalem he visited a WIZO institution, which he described:

Visited the Babies Home run by WIZO small babies mostly orphans or semi orphans taken and cared for up to 2, 3, or even 4 yrs old – in 14 yrs only 36 deaths and all children taken in would have died if not for this attention. Here every type of child is seen happy, healthy and playing, again run by remarkably fine fully trained nurse. The School for Girls and Women in the Bucharanian (Oriental) quarter – after 5-30 when work is finished, illiterate girls and women are taught to read, write etc for 1 – 1½ hours daily – all Oriental and black Jews – they are very enthusiastic and want to learn – mentality very clever – run by WIZO – all ages 16 – 40 there – remarkably fine young German girl as teacher of class (we inspected) – feeling of pride aroused. Very full days here, but begin to see the basis of the building up of National Home and what it means. Each person's work is done with that spirit and resolve that it is a national duty being performed and that e.g. by learning the Hebrew language or attending these schools or teaching the illiterate, some good is being done.

The entry for the day included a short sentence showing life in Israel today, unfortunately, still has many of the same problems as Palestine in those days. He wrote: 'Here I saw 2 Jews shot at Jaffa Gate this morning – both badly wounded – one died tonight'. This was life for the Jewish settlers during the major Arab Revolt of 1936-1939.

That evening there was a broadcast regarding the new Commission for Palestine:

This evening we heard the broadcast re the new Commission for Palestine, of course great interest is aroused here by it. Constant delay and uncertainty has thrown Palestine into a very bad depression financially and economically. Millions of £'s are lying idle, waiting investment. Practically no development and little building – that means all those thousands of immigrants of 1935 and 1936, brought in on the basis of an even increase, are out of work, as essential services have been provided at the basis of 70,000 p.a. increase and only 12,000

arriving – also no one knows what will be the ultimate outcome of the Palestine Position and what Britain's final answer will be and whether the Arabs will ever cease their reign of terror. Here in Jerusalem the problem is very acute and is exercising the minds of all and creating much interest among the Jews and a feeling that Britain is not doing all she should to solve the problem. Meanwhile the position is that progress and immigration is at a standstill. Everyone here talks of land, land and more land. And now is the time to buy. Arabs are offering land cheap as they too are uncertain what will happen and in any case want to get out of trouble. If more money was available the Keren Keyemeth could buy up nearly all Palestine at fairly reasonable prices. (Levine & Herrmann [sic]).

The next two days were spent visiting kibbutzim and included an overnight stay at Givath Brenner. Along with detailed descriptions of the communal lifestyle, the role of the Histadrut and other institutions, there is glowing praise for the hard work and dedication of the 'kibbutzniks' in their efforts to build a homeland, whilst also noting the Arabs' inability to improve themselves. If he could have seen into the future, he would have known he was to meet the first President of Israel! He set off by car accompanied by a Mr. Schackne of the Zionist information bureau.

Keryath Anavim The colony nearest Jerusalem and run on a purely communal basis called a "Kibbutz" - established 27 odd years ago - one of the first colonies of its kind - present population about 50 families, 250 souls - holding about 500 dunams (125 acres) situated on absolutely barren and rock covered mountain side and small valley - opposite the uncultivated mountainside belonging to Arabs forms a contrast. In the "kibbutz" are gardens, vegetable patches, dairies, stables, hen runs, clinic, school, eating house and workers' houses. All is neat, clean and running smoothly. The colony is entirely communistic Everyone works the women leave the babies at the clinic and the kids at school - easier work than ordinary farmer's wife, as she does only one lot of 8 hours Colony governed by a committee elected by the population. All houses are now of concrete. Previously they had tents and wooden shacks, but now enough money to improve the houses and roads - they own a truck - they have planted trees on bare rocks and made them green - remarkable example of persistence

They have bee hives but not a flower within miles and I asked my guide why the bee hives and he said in the season the hives are transported by lorry, bees and all, to the orange groves 40 miles away! Remarkable.....There is an organization in Palestine called "T'novean" [T'nuva ?] which distributes the products of all these colonies - no middle man commissions to pay. Each colony brings in to T'novean all its products, eggs, vegs, etc is credited with the quantities. T'novean sells the products of all the colonies in the markets, deducts only expenses of selling and wages etc no commission and gives the proportion of profits in full to the colony Also in Palestine is the Labour union with membership of 100,000. Every worker who belongs pays very small amounts for insurance, (cattle insurance provided for colonies) - health, transport and the buses are owned and run by the labour unions The hens at Keyrath Anavim are giving 250 eggs p.a. each, 500 yards away are Arab hens giving 60 p.a. - cows give 3,500 litres of milk p.a. - Arab nearby give 1,000 litres p.a. Afforestation is progressing rapidly and scientifically. Also, here is the wonderful thing about this colony. It is in the midst of hostile Arabs. Every night the boys keep watch from 4 concrete pill boxes at the 4 corners on small hillocks. All night they take shifts at watching against thieves, arson and even murderers. They are armed and drilled by the Defence League and do this work in addition to their daily tasks. What a will to win! A country bought and developed and protected under such impossible circumstances must succeed There is a concert hall (the eating hall) and sometimes the boys come in and play and sing and I believe these Russians in their work clothes, dirty fingers, play pianos, violins and sing like masters. On through other and sometimes larger colonies to Rischon LeZion, an old and fairly large colony where private property prevails and where is established the largest brewery and wine cellars in Palestine. Established by one of the Rothschilds - Carmel Wines - large private undertaking - just like an ordinary village, where each family has a plot of land bought by Keren Kayemeth and developed by Keren Hayesod. Mostly they have 1½ acres each and the men folk or any others in the family work in the town of Tel Aviv or elsewhere, while other members of the family tend the farm. Each farm is not large enough to support the family so outside work is necessary The people in Richon [sic] LeZion are more businesslike and less idealistic, more worldly than those of the kib-

butz, but work harder and some are rich and some are very poor (This sounds more like a moshav than a kibbutz) Ness Zionah – a village much similar to the others, except wholly orange groves. I stopped and spoke to an orange grove owner. He had 6 acres, all remarkably healthy trees, a real colonist, making average money, happy, contented, convinced he was building up the national home. He held up a beautiful orange and said with pride, "Look a product of the land of Eretz Yisroel, 14,000,000 cases next year for all over the world!" He said that I, as a Jew, owned his land and had perfect right to come up and speak to him and ask how my land was getting on. These orange groves are supposed to be the best in the world. They are marvellous. Each man has only a small holding (5,6,7 acres) not much, but enough to make a living. They would put our orchards to shame. Neat, clean, scientifically planted and yielding many more oranges per tree than the Arab trees nearby, which are irregularly planted, unweeded and untrimmed On to Rehovath. Here is a large colony also orange groves and a little mixed farming. A kind of very small township here, acting as a central agency for surrounding colonies. It has a post office, bank and concert hall. Small café, garage etc. Here is established the Experimental Station, subsidized in some way by the Palestine Govt. and the only institution receiving any support from the govt. Here let me say that all the social services such as education, health, clinics, museums, cultural activities etc are provided in Palestine by the Jews for themselves, out of their own money, as well as paying taxes to the govt. These taxes paid to the govt. are used to provide these services for all and sundry, and the Jews do not use the mixed schools and hospitals as they are full of Arabs. So the poor old Jew has to provide his own education even his own university, without a penny from the govt. But this experimental station receives some subsidy, so important is its work. It deals with afforestation problems, experiments with the various sorts of fruit trees. It has nearly every variety of tropical and subtropical fruit tree growing from all parts of the world. It deals with grasses, flowers, soil analysis etc etc. Not only does it do this for Jewish farmers and the colonies, but for the Palestine govt. The High Commissioner paid for one of the laboratories (several thousand pounds) from his own pocket. It has established branches throughout the country, advises the colonists what to plant - and not only Jewish colonists. Over the road are the Arabs struggling along, so we invite him over to the Jewish

colony, show him how to prune his roses, show him how to get 12 crops p.a. of grass used for fodder instead of the 2 he gets - show him how to plant fig trees and eucalypts etc. Then some of his fine countrymen come along at night and burn down the trees and crops of the Jewish colonists in repayment for this information. Rehovath experimental station is the home of Dr. Weizmann. He has a villa there and is a scientist, one of the clueiest. He is perfecting some process for extracting powerful oils and scents from the orange peel. Incidentally, nothing is wasted in these colonies. They use the peel, the juice and the pith of the oranges. We stayed a long time in Rehovath and only learnt a little of its activities. But in that short time I could see that it is the nerve of the whole country - I should say as important as the land. It has worked miracles with barren land - produced trees twice as large as anywhere else, grown fruit on sandhills etc etc. While such a station exists, progress will be accelerated here. In passing, Dr. Weizmann supervises most of the work here as well as attending to all his other Zionist activities. On to Givath Brenner. This is the largest kibbutz and has nearly 1,000 people. Run much the same as the other kibbutzim, populated mostly by young Germans. All here is also orderly, clean and smooth running. The industry is astounding and the amount of produce that comes from that colony astonishing. They are paying for themselves, make, in addition, a large profit which they hand over to the Keren Keyemeth to buy more land somewhere else for other colonies. In this colony members are allowed to work outside the colony and to receive wages, but the wages are paid into the funds of the colony, this is allowed because there is not enough work within the colony to keep everyone busy. Here, they have a small bedstead factory and sell the beds to others. At Givath Brenner is a guest house run by members of the kibbutz, open for paying guests. The profits go to the kibbutz and of course they provide all the produce necessary for the house. The house was built and handed over to the colony by an American lady, Jessie Semple - she is a member of the colony and is on the same terms as the others - her job is the management of the guest house. In order to study night life at the kibbutz, we stayed the night here, had our supper, and visited the main dining room and recreation rooms of the colony. This is the best hour of the day for members now, they take their recreation. Some play the piano and sing - others listen to gramophone records - others read. A good library. All these recreations have been purchased by the

colony or bought on loan. They are very meagre and one would have to be an enthusiast for the cause before being satisfied with such humble pleasures. We visited a hut, one room, an extra large packing case - Dorothy Kahn, an American girl lives there. She is quite happy - works hard, is a communist, and calls everyone comrade. Here, Hebrew is a problem. Nearly all the inmates attend classes for Hebrew instruction as they are Germans, Poles and Americans and have never spoken Hebrew before living in the colony. But the life is marvelous just the same, for them. They are building up "Eretz Yisroel". Next morning (6.1.38) off to Ayamoth, an agricultural school for girls - run by W.I.Z.O., girls are taken in, given a 2 yrs course in every possible subject that could be of use for farm life. They grow vegetables, feed fowls, wash in laundry, cook, nurse etc etc. Really efficient and modern washing machines are there -but also tubs and fires so that the girls will know how to manage if they have not modern equipment. Also here is an incubator turning out 1,100 chickens every 21 days. They do hatching for surrounding farms at so much per egg. This school impressed me with its efficiency and management. There is no doubt about the Jews being good organizers. Then to Mikvah Israel, the oldest and biggest agricul-



*Student at Mikvah Israel
photographed by Braham*

tural college in Palestine - much like Hawkesbury. Boys pay fees and this college gets some sort of subsidy from the Govt. Here, also they farm oranges, raise fowls and sell their products as well as teaching the boys to do all sorts of farm work.

After the tour of the kibbutzim, Braham went to Tel Aviv where he stayed three nights. Here he was impressed with the modern city that was evolving despite the 'terror' campaign of the Arabs and the difficult economic circumstances of the country:

This wonderful city 100% Jewish and the only one in the world, is the most remarkable city I've ever seen. It is modernity personified - largely German, Polish and Central European, its architecture is Oriental harsh square but very well done, streets well planned, efficient transport, clean, fresh air, (it is on the seashore). It is undoubtedly the commercial and industrial centre of Palestine and is destined to grow out of all bounds. Pop. 130,000. Good water supply and electric supply. At present, owing to terrific financial depression, and huge rush of immigrants who have not much money shops have not very attractive goods Not as much Hebrew spoken as in Jerusalem - mostly German - very little English. Hotel Karpin where I am staying is run by German folk, and they are most efficient. I have nice clean single room, basin in room, bath along the passage, 3 good meals, every convenience, for 50 piastres (10/-) per day. Prices are not low here, no-one seems to have any money. All scared to invest until the decision of the British Govt. is announced. This go slow policy is killing the country. The picture show where I went is a novelty. We were lucky and saw an English spoken picture. As the words were spoken, type appeared on the lower part of the screen both in French and German and on a side panel in Hebrew. Most confusing, unless as we did, you can concentrate on the picture and listen and not have to read as well. Every day in Palestine are shootings. The Arab terror is bad. Four this week have been murdered. In this regard, there is no doubt that the bus drivers, especially between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, are brave. Every few minutes are buses leaving and travelling the road, where Arabs are lying in ambush and will pot some of them. It's extraordinary to me why nothing is done by the Govt. to stop this reign of terror and banditry. For 20 months now Palestine has suffered, 156 Jews have been killed and over 300 wounded and not one Arab has been arrested and punished. This refers only to bus shootings. One

or two private fights in the cities have been taking place where the Arabs are caught. Yesterday 2 were hanged and another is under sentence for life. But though the reign of terror continues, the Jewish men and women, both in the colonies, buses and towns, go about their business and cause no disturbances. A really wonderfully peace loving people 'Shabbat' in Tel Aviv is observed strictly. At 4pm Friday the streets are busy and full of people, like Sydney at 5pm any night. By 4:30 there are no buses, no shops open and everything is still and quiet. People are gathered in a few cafes open or in homes. At my hotel this morning there is no hot water, only cold things for meals (except tea or coffee). The spirit of observance of the Sabbath is rather nice, as everyone seems to enjoy this day and relaxes from the usual daily strain.

Following his stay in Tel Aviv, Braham travelled north to Haifa and the surrounding areas. He continues his praise for the settlers and also comments several times on the ongoing difficulties encountered with the Arabs:

The drive to Haifa is via Charon colonies, most of them run on the private ownership principal, known as 'moshaf'. Much of the land used to be swamps and was badly infected with malaria, and many thousands of Australian eucalypts planted. Now fertile country another instance of the industry and persistence of Jewish settlers Haifa - By far the most pleasing of the 3 cities..... visited Hadar Ha Carmel (Mt Carmel) situated at the back of the old town and here is the Jewish quarter. Modern houses, a wide, well laid out main street, with shops brightly lit and of ultra-modern design. Wares displayed here are of excellent quality and prices quite high. Business seemed brisk. In Haifa is a population of 110,000 (50,000 Jews) and I fancy most of them are better off than the inhabitants of the other cities. The town of Haifa itself is at the foot of the mountain and here is the port. Quite a good breakwater, and large boats come right alongside the jetty - also large terminal and oil pipe line, cement works, big hydro electric plant and all factors making for industrial city. Shipping offices, banks and insurance offices etc are here, and housed in quite good buildings. The rest of the town is old Haifa, inhabited by Arabs and is, as usual, dirty and badly planned. Parts of Haifa is used as a tourist embarking and disembarking centre, and is, hence, quite important. The Jews here are of a more tranquil frame of mind, though troubles

here are just as bad, or worse than elsewhere Emek Yesreel (Valley of Jesreel) - This very fertile valley was also swamps a few years ago, and was badly infected with malaria, and quite dangerous to enter. Has been reclaimed and now long valley planted with grasses, where other cultivation has not been started. In this valley are colonies, of both types, and here they grow all manner of crops. As the valley is so fertile, the kibbutzim are wealthier and much better equipped than those in other parts of the country. In this valley some of the worst shooting has occurred, and is still persisting Nahalal - A remarkably fine training school for girls, run by W.I.Z.O. Here are 75 girls from all countries, paying fees (where possible). They are trained, as in other schools, for life on a Palestinian farm or colony. The equipment is good - buildings of stone, excellent recreational rooms and library for the girls, hall with piano and the girls have their own orchestra. Also they dwell in private rooms, or perhaps 2 or 3 in a room. Very similar to well run boarding school. Higher class of girl in attendance. Orchards, fowls and incubator, vegetables and laundry are all here, and the girls are given instruction in all these things. We passed the Balfour Forest, with 450,000 trees, planted over acres and acres of hillsides and valleys. But there is a large brown patch pointed out to us as the ashes of a fire, lit by Arabs, which destroyed 60,000 trees! Here I might mention the watch towers and searchlights. Nearly all colonies, schools etc have erected big concrete watch towers, like chimney stacks, and have installed on the top powerful searchlights. These are turned on all night and are played around to detect raiding Arabs who may come to plunder, destroy, thief or kill. And every night watches are kept all the time by members. This, in addition to their day's work shows how determined they are to build up the national home, no matter what the odds against them are. It is another instance of the spirit that persists throughout the whole of Palestine. And these watch towers and searchlights are very expensive and have to be purchased by the Keren Hayesod..... Ain Herod - This is the biggest kibbutz in Palestine and the best equipped. Established 8 years ago in barren country and on the side of a hill, it is hard to realize how progress has been made so quickly. Here we had lunch in the dining room of the kibbutzQuite a good meal with thick slices of a brownish coloured bread, served to everyone as they come in. They all sit at long benches and relax for a few minutes at midday. Quite an experience to have lunch

here. We were shown around by a very cultured woman (Russian, I think). All the buildings used concrete and better equipped than in other kibbutzim. Here, they own 5 or 6 tractors, lorries and reapers and graders. They have 100 children and a kindergarten and upper schools. The children have their own kitchen and work in it themselves, cook and serve the meals. Also their own garden plots and small dairy and cow sheds. Their play rooms, living quarters and study rooms have every modern convenience. All these things have been acquired by the kibbutz. Things are bad with the Arabs now, shootings occurring almost every day though, luckily, no fatalities lately.



Yemenite Jewess - Etching purchased by Braham in Palestine

Across the top of the page for 9 January, 1938 is a note, 'Etching 150 Piastres Yemenite Jewess'. I have always liked this picture, which hung in our home, and now hangs in my study. It has a strange fascination for me. What a thrill as I was transcribing the diary to learn where it came from.

Braham's visit to Palestine had come to an end and, whilst he was extremely enthusiastic about everything he saw and expressed great admiration for the efforts of the people, he concluded in his diary on a cautious note: 'Here we leave Palestine and many, many problems remain for us unsolved. But there is a certainty in one thing. They are undertaking a large social experiment, are fighting a terrific battle to win and are showing an indomitable spirit everywhere'. It is clear that his father's aim in sending his son to Palestine had been fulfilled, as his diary entries indicated a great

admiration for the Zionist endeavour.

On his return to Sydney Braham took up the management of the Mansion House building and the running of the residential hotel in it, carrying this out most effectively for more than thirty years. He married Helma in February 1940 and, after several unsuccessful attempts was eventually accepted into the Australian Army. He served as a Gunner in New Guinea and whilst he was away on active service, in May 1943, his father passed away.

Although he did not rise to the heights of Zionism that his father may have wished for him, he nevertheless remained a loyal supporter of Israel through his commitment to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His father, Phillip Moses, had attended the inaugural meeting in 1936 when the New South Wales Friends was formed and was a member of the committee in the early years.

In 1939, not long after he returned, Braham was elected honorary secretary but had to resign in 1942 due to his army service. After his discharge in 1944 he was re-elected and served as honorary secretary of the New South Wales Friends until 1958. On 29 July 1945 he attended the Inaugural Meeting as the Deputy for the NSW Friends of the Hebrew University, thus becoming a Foundation Deputy of the NSW Jewish Board of Deputies. In 1949 he was elected Secretary of the Australian Friends of the Hebrew University, a position he held until 1963. In 1958 he was elected president of the NSW Friends where he served until 1963. After that he continued again as honorary secretary until 1974. In 1968 he was appointed a vice president.

Over this period of 35 years in addition to the usual fundraising activities, he had acted as an attorney for the University with respect to wills and bequests, ensuring that the University's interests were protected at all times. As well, Helma served as president of the Ladies Committee and they gave their home on numerous occasions for meetings and functions. They also extended considerable hospitality to the many staff and emissaries from the University who visited Australia.

Thus, my father's diary which I finally came to know so well not only provided information on Palestine as it was in 1938, but it also reflected the process by which my father became a Zionist and a supporter of the Friends of Hebrew University. By telling this story, more light is shed on the early phases of the development of Zionism in Australia and its move from a fringe movement into the mainstream of the community.

DIALOGUE, DOCTRINE AND DIPLOMACY: A CONSIDERATION OF THE GUIDELINES FOR CATHOLIC JEWISH RELATIONS, MAY 1992

Rebecca Lacey-Ehrlich

In a dramatic ceremony held in the crypt of St Mary's Cathedral in Sydney on 2 November 1992 Bishop Bede Heather, the Chairman of the Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interfaith Relations, formally launched the Australian Guidelines for Catholic Jewish Relations.¹ In their speeches at the launch, Bishop Heather and Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ) President Leslie Caplan acknowledged the historic significance of the Catholic Jewish reconciliation process which began with the Declaration known as *Nostra Aetate* ('In our Times') initiated by Pope John XXIII and approved by the Second Vatican Council in 1965.

At the same time the speakers could not avoid mention of some of the contentious doctrinal and political issues. Bishop Heather spoke of 'the mountain of Jesus of Nazareth' as the greatest of all barriers between Judaism and Christianity², and concluded 'This mountain will not be readily moved before the faith of us all is transformed by God's merciful grace'.³ In this context he acknowledged the 'delicate path to be walked by the Catholic here, making known to all, including Jewish people, the gospel of Jesus Christ',⁴ while at the same time conducting open dialogue in an atmosphere of mutual respect.⁵ In another section of his speech he noted that 'the Guidelines ask the Catholic people to try to understand some of that mythology which is attached to the State of Israel in the Jewish mind'.⁶

Leslie Caplan responded on the issue of 'the mountain of Jesus of Nazareth':

Dialogue can only be possible on the assurance that it is aimed at building bridges of understanding, love and respect for each other, and that it is not aimed at finding some path to unity. The mountain of Jesus of Nazareth must never be an

issue between us. We respect your faith, but it is a condition precedent that you must not only understand our belief, but accept that we are not involved in any process of unification.⁷

On the 'mythology' of the Land, he emphasised the 'covenant binding the people of Israel to the land of Israel' as 'the touchstone of the future relationship between the Jewish people and the Church'.⁸

These issues represent but some of the areas of difficulty that necessarily arise out of any process of reconciliation between the Jewish people and the Catholic Church. While it will be seen the reconciliation process which is represented by the Australian Catholic *Guidelines* (referred to in this article as *Guidelines*) has resulted in the building of positive personal relationships in the Australian environment, there is no doubt that the ideological chasms which remain, and the need to take account of bitter Jewish memories of centuries of Christian persecution culminating in the Holocaust, will still require careful diplomacy.

The issue of Jewish-Christian relations in general and Jewish-Catholic relations in particular has been the subject of a vast literature. However, to date, there has not been any academic research into the 'Reconciliation Statements' issued by a number of the Christian Churches in Australia during the 1990s⁹. This article will specifically consider *Guidelines*, which was the first and most comprehensive of those statements and which has been associated with an active programme of education and communication. It will outline the general background and the Australian experience of the Catholic-Jewish reconciliation process and it will take the form of an analysis of the principal features of the *Guidelines*, and their implementation and effect on Catholic-Jewish relations.

Much of the information about Catholic-Jewish relations in Australia in this article has its source in the recollections and observations of the active participants in the reconciliation process who kindly assisted me in personal discussion. Those who spoke with me included the interviewees listed in the Appendix. Where possible oral history has been checked against and integrated with the written, archival sources.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

At the core of the relationship between the Catholic Church and the Jewish people lie the historical origins of Christianity in the land of Israel and the unifying context of the Jewish idea of ethical monotheism, the concept of a divinely ordained moral law. Added to this is the adoption by Christianity of elements of the Jewish nation-

al culture represented by the body of Jewish literature comprised in the Hebrew Bible and the features of the Jewish liturgy which have been incorporated into Christian practice.

Historically, however, these elements of shared culture have been overshadowed by destructive processes. The charge of Deicide and an inability to accept Jewish rejection of the Christian messianic proclamation still linger at the heart of the Christian consciousness; and both have been essential elements in the long history of religious hatred and physical persecution directed against the Jewish outsider in the mono-cultural societies of Christian Europe.¹⁰ It was in this context that the Catholic Church eventually wrestled with the implications of the Nazi Holocaust, and determined to re-examine its relationship with the Jewish people.

Arguably the critical event was the election of Pope John XXIII after the death of Pius XII in 1958. In January 1959 John announced the convocation of a Second Vatican Council for the renewal of the Church¹¹. In that same year he also announced a critical change in the Good Friday prayers. Before John XXIII the prayer read as follows:

Let us pray also for the perfidious Jews; that our God and Lord may remove the veil from their hearts; that they also may acknowledge Our Lord Jesus Christ.

Since 1959, after a number of further changes, the prayer now reads:

Let us pray for God's ancient people, the Jews, the first to hear his word: for greater understanding between Christian and Jew; for the removal of our blindness and bitterness of heart.¹²

This decision has produced a major change in the Catholic liturgy and was naturally implemented in Australia.

In 1965, the historic declaration known as *Nostra Aetate* became one of the numerous important achievements of the Second Vatican Council. Robert A. Graham has described the process of the drafting and adoption of the Declaration as follows:

The history of the Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions begins with Pope John XXIII. He wanted the Council to make a statement on the Jews, and he asked Cardinal Bea to see to it. Between that beginning and the outcome there is perhaps the most dramatic story of the Council.¹³

After lengthy and vigorous debate following the presentation of a first draft in 1963 and a number of critical revisions of the text, the Declaration was finally approved by the Council in October 1965 during the papacy of Paul VI, as the final session of the Council was drawing to a close.

The *Nostra Aetate* Declaration does not resile from reciting the Jewish non-acceptance of the Christian messianic message: 'Jerusalem did not recognise the time of her visitation'. However, it seeks to overcome this Jewish rejection of the essence of Christianity as a source of anti-Jewish feeling by proclaiming a continuing validity for the Jewish Covenant. 'The Jews still remain most dear to God because of their fathers, because he does not repent of the gifts he makes.'¹⁴ Interestingly, a reference to 'conversion' of the Jews in an earlier draft was dropped 'because many Council Fathers felt it was not appropriate in a document striving to establish common goals.'¹⁵

Most importantly, on the charge of Deicide the Declaration states 'True, authorities of the Jews and those who followed their lead pressed for the death of Christ; still, what happened in His passion cannot be blamed upon all the Jews then living, without distinction, nor upon the Jews of today.'¹⁶ This paragraph originally included the words 'or guilty of deicide', and much controversy surrounds the circumstances in which this was deleted, with both positive and negative connotations.¹⁷ The third significant element in the Declaration was a forthright condemnation of antisemitism as a sin.¹⁸

In 1966 Pope Paul VI approved the setting up of a special office for Catholic Jewish relations, curiously situated within the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. Cardinal Cassidy explains that it was not considered appropriate to place the office within the Secretariat for Non-Christian Religions, in the light of the special psychological historical and theological relationship between Jews and Christians.¹⁹ He also explains that the emphasis at the beginning was on education of the Christian public.²⁰ In 1970 a Catholic Jewish Liaison Committee was set up, but it was not until 1974 that a dedicated Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews was formally brought into existence.

Meanwhile, an early step in the implementation of the Declaration had come in the United States. In 1967, the United States National Conference of Catholic Bishops issued the first *Guidelines on Catholic Jewish Relations*.²¹

It was not until 1975, a decade after *Nostra Aetate* was finalised, that the new Vatican Commission issued *Guidelines and Suggestions for Implementing the Conciliar Declaration Nostra*

Actate (n.4), which are expressed in non-specific general terms.

In the 1980s the reconciliation movement received new impetus with a series of statements by Pope John Paul II promoting the concept of a 'common heritage' between Jews and Christians. In one such statement, made on 6 March 1982, the Pope promoted the idea of common spiritual purpose:

Through different but finally convergent ways we will be able to reach, with the help of the Lord who has never ceased loving his people (cf Rom 11.1) this true brotherhood in reconciliation and respect, and to continue to a full implementation of God's plan in history.²²

Such statements stimulated further activity in the Catholic movement for reconciliation, even if they did reflect Christian rather than Jewish world views²³. In 1985, the US Bishops issued a fully updated and revised version of the 1967 Guidelines, prepared by Dr Eugene Fisher²⁴, setting out principles to be applied in dialogue, liturgy and joint social action.

The Reconciliation Movement in Sydney

According to Rabbi Apple 'somewhere in the 1970s there was a first attempt to create a climate of understanding between the Catholic and Jewish communities in Australia.'²⁵ He describes the evolution of the *Guidelines*:

Like everything else they had a pre-history...Probably the most important outcome of that was a meeting which took place at the home of Dr Joachim Schneeweiss who was then the president of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry. In the course of that meeting the Catholic representatives made the statement that Catholic attitudes to Jews and Judaism had irreversibly changed, particularly since the Second World War, in respect especially of the issue of Christian proselytising of Jews. It was made perfectly clear that the major change in attitude was that the Catholic Church worldwide but certainly in Australia, no longer believed that it had an obligation to target Jews for conversion to Christianity and the results of that was firstly that it cleared the air, bearing in mind that there had been long term Jewish resentment of Christian proselytising attempts including by the Catholic Church, but it also made it possible for a series of explorations to begin in terms of the right relationship between the Jewish community and the Catholic Church. Now amongst the things which tran-

spired was that a number of key officials within the Catholic Church were deputed to try to put into writing some of the possible ways in which the two communities could speak to each other, understand each other and work together.²⁶

Another key element in the reconciliation movement was the establishment in 1980 of a community of the Sisters of Zion in Sydney under the guidance of Sister Lenore Sharry, with a specific programme of 'commitment to the Jewish people and to reconciliation between Church and Synagogue'.²⁷ The Order, known officially as the *Religieuses de Notre Dame de Sion*, had established a branch in Australia in 1890, when they had been invited by the Bishop of Sale in Victoria to work in the diocese, and had established a school. Founded by a Jewish convert, Fr Theodore Ratisbonne in 1843 in Rome, their original programme was a desire for the conversion of the Jews to Christianity. Since the Second World War and 'ratified by the teaching of Vatican II in *Nostra Aetate*'²⁸, the idea of conversion was replaced by 'the Church's recognition that God is always faithful to the people whom he chose as his own'.²⁹ As the Order's website puts it:

Israel's resurrection as a nation after the Holocaust strengthens faith in God's promises to his people and hence to all humanity, because Abraham, the father of all Jews received God's assurance, 'In you shall all the nations of the earth be blessed', so our faith is 'established in Sion'.³⁰

In 1979, Sister Lenore Sharry made an exploratory visit to Sydney with the aim of developing a plan of action for the Order's work in promoting Catholic-Jewish relations.³¹ She identified the Eastern



Sister Lenore Sharry (NDS), late 1991

Suburbs as her 'area of research' which was 'an almost unknown area in Christian circles'. She noted the existence of the 'Jewish-Christian Study group' which was meeting bi-monthly at the Great Synagogue, a 'Jewish Christian Study Group' which met in Bondi with Rabbi Alony of the Central Synagogue, and a 'Catholic-Jewish Liaison Committee' overseen by Professor Alan Crown, of the Department of Semitic Studies at Sydney University.

Sister Lenore's observation was that 'on the whole' the reaction to Jewish Christian discussion was 'very cautious' and that 'the situation is a very delicate one and much discretion is needed'. As she put it: 'a clear plan is required to get a hearing'. The 'Challenges' she identified were as follows:

1. We enter at our request therefore we have to make our own way.
2. Interest in Ecumenism and interfaith work is almost non-existent among clergy and bishops not educated to it;
3. Many priests "threatened" by changes and involvement of laity etc.
4. Quite a large Lebanese population including recent arrivals.
5. Jewish community not interested in contact with the Church – want to be left alone. (Large number of Hungarian Jews who have suffered). Anything that is done has to be done very quietly at first. The Jewish community is like one big family!
6. To know how to get in touch with informed people on the Christian side.³²

By 1982, after two years in Sydney, she made the following observations:

Jewish Christian Relations in Sydney developed very slowly and received three of the greatest challenges since the Second Vatican Council with reactions to 1) developments of the war in Lebanon; 2) the Papal audience with Yasser Arafat and 3) the canonisation of Maximilian Kolbe.³³ These added to the ever-present need to educate Christians in a true understanding of Judaism and of its significance for deeper appreciation of Scripture, Jesus and his message.

At this stage of their history Jewish-Christian Relations are primarily concerned with sensitizing Christians to the situation of their Jewish brothers and sisters. Contacts with the Jewish community are minimal. Christians have still a very long way to go before we can effectively relate. The Australian Jewish community in general, sees little advantage in contact

with Christians, and are mistrustful of them. The very name for so many – victims of the Holocaust – is synonymous with persecution. There is a great deal of anger which surfaces when either Israel or other Jewish concerns appear jeopardized or are criticised.³⁴

In 1984 the NSW Jewish Board of Deputies hosted a conference on 'Jewish Christian Dialogue Towards the Year 2000', a full day seminar which was organised with the assistance of Sister Lenore Sharry of the Sisters of Sion. According to Jeremy Jones, at the time Public Affairs Director of the NSW Jewish Board of Deputies, discussions at that conference included one on the prospect of a proper formal, reconciliation statement being produced in Australia.³⁵

In 1987, at the instigation of Sister Lenore, a Catholic-Jewish Relations Committee was established as a committee attached to the Archdiocesan Commission for Ecumenism, Sydney. Its members were from the Catholic community, nominated and approved by the Archbishop.³⁶ Father Richard Dixon, director of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine was the Chairman and Sister Lenore was the secretary.

In 1988 the Sisters of Sion played an active role in the revival of the Council of Christians and Jews (CCJ), which had existed in Sydney briefly from 1943-48, the move initiated by the late Rabbi Dr Israel Porush, senior minister of The Great Synagogue from 1940 until 1972.³⁷ In 1974, his successor, Rabbi Raymond Apple and several Church leaders attempted to re-establish the CCJ, but after resistance from some of the churches an inter-faith Luncheon Club was established instead. In 1988, when Sr. Shirley Sedawie of the Melbourne branch of the Order returned from Rome, Sister Lenore and Rev. Bern Stevens of the Uniting Church worked with Rabbi Apple to renew the CCJ.

The Development and Adoption of the Australian Guidelines

When Pope John Paul II visited Australia in 1986, he had a formal meeting with the leadership of the Jewish community. Jeremy Jones recalls a great deal of planning went into the visit, in particular in the drafting of Leslie Caplan's statement which he would present as president of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry.³⁸ The statement presented the Jewish community's concerns regarding Israel, antisemitism and other relevant Jewish Catholic issues. Protocol dictated that an advance copy was to be sent to the Vatican's foreign office. As Jones put it: "They commented on it, they tried to change it, we didn't agree to changes, although if they had some stylistic things or there was a sound argument we would



John Paul II in 1986 meeting members of the Australian Jewish community.

Front from left: Cardinal Edward Clancy, Pope John Paul II, Leslie Caplan, Jeremy Jones.

Back from Left: (Centre) Rabbi Apple, Prof Graham De Vahl Davis, Robert Zabłud, Mark Leibler (partially obscured). Also present: Isi Leibler and Malvina Malinek.

work it out.³⁹ According to Jones this process created a good deal of contact between the Jewish community and the Catholic Church overseas and within Australia. There was that 'build up'.⁴⁰

In 1990, Dr Eugene Fisher visited Australia for the centenary of the Sisters of Sion in Australia, and according to Bishop Bede Heather he encouraged the Sisters to work towards the preparation of Australian Guidelines, presumably on the model of his 1985 American document.⁴¹ Bishop Heather also praised the Sisters for 'preparing material for the consideration of the bishops'.⁴² The minutes of the Catholic-Jewish Relations Committee in 1990 include a perceptive and detailed analysis of the US Guidelines by its chairman, Rev. Richard Dixon⁴³, who is described by Bishop Heather as one of the people involved in the original draft.⁴⁴ Dixon's paper notes that:

Jews see themselves as a people. They are not a Church and there are no exact parallels in this self-understanding... Proselytism is not merely a religious issue for Jews but a cutting of oneself off from the people. Those who practise proselytism are little better than Hitler in their attempt to destroy the Jewish people.

Unfortunately neither the Minutes nor the notes of Sister Lenore make any mention of the concrete proposal to issue Australian Guidelines, or any comment on the drafting process, and Richard Dixon has resigned from the priesthood. This writer has, therefore, not been able to trace the reasoning process behind the Australian variations from the American model.

Jeremy Jones recalls that when the *Guidelines* were being developed 'There were [sic] a lot of discussions with the people who were working on that paper from the Catholic side. I know for instance Bede Heather, he would contact various people in the Jewish community for fine tuning.'⁴⁵ According to Jones such contact was not formal in the sense that approval was sought from the Jewish community. Rather the writers of the document wanted the drafting to be sensitive to Jewish concerns. The process was 'in good spirit - it wasn't as if we were negotiating a contract.'⁴⁶

As to his involvement in the drafting process, Rabbi Apple remembered that he was asked to look at a draft and his comments were invited. 'More or less' everything that he had suggested was incorporated. He believed that 'in a few instances it needed the nuance which an outsider was not always able to arrive at in relation to Jews and Judaism.'⁴⁷

Josie Lacey also recalled a personal discussion with Sister Lenore on the question of Jewish sensitivity to Christian portrayal of the Passover celebration (the 'Seder').⁴⁸ This is the subject of a special appendix to *Guidelines* which insists that the 'rites of the Haggadah should be respected in all their integrity'.

Eventually *Guidelines* was adopted by the Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference and formally launched on 2 November 1992. The document followed the basic outline of the 1985 revision of the US guidelines, with changes clearly designed to suit Australian conditions, and some small but significant differences in language which will be noted later in their context. The Australian document was the first set of Guidelines adopted by any national Catholic Church after the United States.

The current doctrinal source referred to in *Guidelines* is a document that was issued by the Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews at the Vatican in June 1985. The document is entitled

*Notes on the Correct Way to Present the Jews and Judaism in Preaching and Catechesis of the Roman Catholic Church*⁴⁹, referred to as 'Notes' both here and in the text of *Guidelines*. An interesting feature of *Notes* is a repeated emphasis on a need for precision and accuracy in presentation, implying a need for authoritative guidance on a subject which is regarded as difficult and sensitive. The document was signed by Cardinal Johannes Willebrands, then President of the Commission, who was succeeded in that office by the Australian Cardinal Edward Cassidy in 1990, two years before the issue of the Australian *Guidelines*.

Guidelines comprises two operative elements. Firstly, the document affirms and re-states the newly developing Church doctrines concerning the Jewish people which have emanated from *Nostra Aetate*. The second element of *Guidelines* suggests practical steps to be taken for the purpose of implementing the new approach. This article will consider both the theological statements and the proposals for action, as well as the effect of the policies in practice as perceived by leading Jewish and Catholic protagonists.

THEOLOGICAL ISSUES EMERGING FROM THE GUIDELINES

The Teaching of Contempt

Guidelines begins by affirming the central proclamation of *Nostra Aetate*: 'Jews should not be presented as repudiated or cursed by God, as if such views followed from the Holy Scriptures.'⁵⁰ The statement represents a formal end to 'teaching of contempt', a teaching which Cardinal William Keeler records as 'going back to the earliest Fathers of the Church.'⁵¹ In this context it is significant that while the former anti-Jewish teachings of Christianity had their essential origins in the New Testament texts, the elaboration of Jew-hatred as a central doctrine had another early source in the violent outpourings of the 'Church Fathers' of the second, third and fourth centuries CE. It is worth recording a few typical examples from an extensive literature of hatred:

The Passover sermon of Melito of Sardis (second century):

You were celebrating,
He was starving;
You were drinking wine and eating bread,
He vinegar and gall;
You were bright of face,
He was oppressed;
You were singing, he was being judged...

God is murdered.

The King of Israel is killed by an Israelite right hand.⁵⁰

Professor Mark Chancey of the Southern Methodist University⁵⁸ cites Gregory of Nyssa (fourth century):

Slayers of the Lord, murderers of the prophets, adversaries of God, men who show contempt for the law, foes of grace, enemies of their fathers' faith, advocates of the Devil, broods of vipers, slanderers, scoffers, men whose minds are in darkness, leaven of the Pharisees, assembly of demons, sinners, wicked men, stoners and haters of righteousness.⁵¹

Chancey also records that

Saint John Chrysostom (4th century), author of one of the most used liturgies in Christendom, described Jews as drunken gluttons who hire prostitutes and who worship idols; people of darkness, not of the light; and 'Christ killers'. Jews, who had murdered their master, were no better than dogs. They were, in fact, "wild animals suited only for slaughter".⁵⁵

The categorical renunciation of such teaching thus represents the very essence of the reconciliation process. It encompasses all of the theological issues which go to the heart of Christian-Jewish discord, as well as the problem of re-assessing the relevant New Testament texts. In this context this article will consider some of the historic anti-Jewish doctrines of the Church, the specific responses made in *Guidelines*, and the current developments in Catholic-Jewish relations in Australia, which have followed.

The Charge of Deicide

On the critical issue of Jewish responsibility for the death of Jesus, *Guidelines* re-states the assertion in *Nostra Aetate* that the 'Passion of Jesus' cannot 'be blamed on all Jews then living, without distinction, nor upon the Jews of today'.⁵⁶ It is a statement that is highly problematic from a Jewish perspective, reaffirming as it does the New Testament story of a trial by a Jewish court and the Jewish demand that a reluctant Pilate proceed with the execution. However, *Guidelines* does at least follow the US precedent of simply omitting the controversial phrase "True, authorities of the Jews and those who followed their lead pressed for the death of Christ", which precedes the exculpatory words in *Nostra Aetate*.

It is also notable that the statement from *Nostra Aetate* takes

the courageous and essential step of directly contradicting the words in *Matthew* 27.25, the dramatic hand-washing scene in which the Jewish 'crowd' is described as responding to a reluctant Pontius Pilate by demanding the crucifixion with the critical words: 'His blood be upon us and on our children'.

The imperative to contradict the word of Christian scripture in order to preserve a basic humanity was not without its consequences. For example the reconciliation statement was thoroughly condemned by the Arabic Christian newspaper *An Nahar* published in Sydney, which reported the launch of *Guidelines* in a two page article with the specific banner headline 'His Blood be upon Us and on our Children'⁵⁷. The first paragraph of the *An Nahar* article set the tone:

Why, O Council of Churches of Australia, the publication of the document on Christian Jewish religious reconciliation and rapprochement at this time? And why this sudden tolerance by absolving contemporary Jews from the crime of shedding the blood of Christ? That they are not responsible for this crime that their ancestors committed against the Messenger of peace and incriminated their offspring after them?⁵⁸

The publication in Sydney of such a categorical criticism of the very idea of reconciliation certainly illustrates the problems faced by the Vatican both in dealing with literalist Christians opposed to any dilution of Christian scripture, and in accommodating political pressures exerted both by and upon the Churches situated within the Arab world.

Nevertheless, despite the deficiencies in the formal statements and the fundamentalist opposition, the reality which Josie Lacey reports⁵⁹ following personal discussions at the Catholic University in Sydney is that the teaching that 'the Jews killed Christ' has simply disappeared from the Catholic school system, and has probably also disappeared from preaching and theological training in Australia.

The Portrayal of Judaism in the Gospels

One of the basic and repeated themes of the Gospel narrative is the portrayal of an alleged Jewish legalism, narrowness and hypocrisy. Indeed the *modus operandi* of the Gospel account is to denigrate the Judaism of the time in order to proclaim the virtues of Christianity by way of contrast.

The well-known parable of the Good Samaritan is just one of a multitude of typical examples. A man is left by robbers half-dead by

the roadside. A Priest and a Levite pass by on the other side. The man is rescued and cared for by a passing Samaritan, one of a group regarded as heretical by mainstream Judaism. Jesus uses the parable as a means of lecturing a Jewish 'teacher of the law' on the meaning of 'love'.⁶⁰ Some 38 parables in a similar vein have been counted. One Christian website⁶¹ provides a blunt summary of the theme:

As we go through the other 38 parables of Jesus, you will see how many of them make statements that show that the nation of Israel is no longer equated with the Kingdom of Israel on earth. Jesus controverted the teaching of the Jews and said that God could and did change His plan and program for the nation of Israel because of repeated and continues rebellion and unrighteousness.⁶²

Denigration of Jews and Judaism in the Gospels does not, of course, end with the parables. The Gospel narrative is one of unrelenting conflict with every stream of Jewish religious authority, from Pharisees to Sadducees, and from Priests to Levites and 'teachers of the law', from the 'Woe unto the Pharisees' verses in Matthew,⁶³ to the episode of the moneychangers in the Temple.⁶⁴

Guidelines deals with this need for re-interpretation of the New Testament texts without directly confronting the words of the Christian scripture. Recommended Activity 10(d) calls for an 'explicit rejection' of the 'notion that the Judaism of that time, especially Pharisaism, was hypocritical and nothing more than an empty observance'. The Gospel accounts of episodes denigrating alleged Jewish attitudes and practices of the time are countered in paragraph 10(b) which acknowledges the 'richly diverse and creative religious, social and cultural life of the Jewish community in the first century of the Common Era.' Paragraph 10(f) makes a generalised call for 'further analysis' of 'such expressions as "the Jews" by St. John and of other New Testament references'.

There is some doubt whether this particular aspect of *Guidelines* has penetrated to the grassroots of daily preaching. For example this writer had the experience of hearing the story of the Pharisee and the tax-collector at the christening of a friend's child; and Josie Lacey reports the story of the Good Samaritan preached at an inter-faith gathering with Muslims!⁶⁵

How the 'further analysis' of the texts in 'St. John' and other such texts is to take place is not directly addressed in *Guidelines*. Certainly Jewish participants in religious discussions can hardly expect Christians to disown their whole scripture because Jews find it offensive. The general Catholic approach has been to suggest a

need for re-interpretation of the text in the light of the historical context in which the New Testament was written. Sister Dr Marianne Dacy explained:

I think when we're looking at the Gospels, when we're looking at Matthew or John, we're looking at a certain type of literature, we're looking at a different period, we're looking at a time when Christianity was trying to establish itself as an entity against Judaism...Christianity was originally a sect of Judaism but in order to define itself, it had to show that it was better than the group that it was leading. This is how it has come out and in John the separation is more marked because it is later. And again when we talk about curses, this is all a type of literature, a type of mindset that is very far removed from the twenty-first century. People have taken it literally, which is unfortunate.⁶⁶

More particularly the Gospels have been described by the official Catholic commentators as a narrative of conflict between the religious authorities and early Christianity as a dissenting group within Judaism. It has also been noted that the earliest gospels were written at a time when Christians belonging to the early Church were a rejected minority within Jewish society⁶⁷. The problem here is that while such interpretations may explain the text, they only partially overcome the problems posed by the essential anti-Jewish content of a literal reading.

Also, where the issue is really serious, as in the particularly extreme accounts in *John* and *Matthew* of Jewish complicity in Deicide, there has been minimal Christian re-examination of the relevant scriptural texts in the light of the imperial Roman environment in which they were written.⁶⁸

The Concept of a 'New Covenant'

The negative portrayal of Judaism in the Gospels is supplemented by the Pauline epistles which speak of a new Covenant for the Christians based on 'love' and 'the Spirit of Jesus' which supersedes the Jewish covenant of the moral law. *Galatians* 4, for example, defines the Christians as the spiritual Isaac, while 'Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia; she corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for she is in slavery with her children.' This theme is a central feature of Christian doctrine, affirmed and spelled out in detail throughout the epistles.⁶⁹

Nostra Aetate hints at the concept of a separate Jewish covenant, which is supplemented but not replaced by the 'New

Covenant' of the Christians, with the elliptical observation that God 'does not repent of the gifts he makes.'⁷⁰ It is a theme affirmed in a statement by Pope John Paul II to the Jewish community of Mainz in 1980 referring to the 'people of God of the Old Covenant which has never been revoked.'⁷¹ A related concept, elaborately explored in *Notes*, is the medieval idea of 'typology', that the 'Old' Testament allegorically foreshadows the New by way of 'promise and fulfilment'⁷², and that Christians should 'learn to appreciate and love the [Jews] who have been chosen by God to prepare the coming of Christ... notwithstanding their difficulty in recognising in Him their Messiah.'⁷³ On the other hand, the authors of *Notes* are still very careful to assert that the 'Church and Judaism cannot...be seen as two parallel ways of salvation, and the Church must witness to Christ as the Redeemer for all, while maintaining the strictest respect for religious liberty.'⁷⁴ Presumably this rules out compulsion, but not persuasion.

Cardinal Cassidy similarly wrestles with the question of the two covenants and the issue of mission, though in a more sympathetic fashion:

The Catholic Church does not have a mission to the Jewish people... There's a covenant with the first people of God that's never been revoked...Does that mean that the Jewish people have no need at all to know the second one because they've got their own and that will lead them to salvation? Or are we still obliged to do that first thing, to proclaim our message believing that that would also enrich the Jewish people if they were interested in it?⁷⁵

It is a theme which is sensibly and diplomatically completely ignored in *Guidelines*, which is very careful to avoid any direct articulation of the central ideological chasm. In particular, no reference at all is made to the extremely sensitive concept of an 'Old Covenant' and a 'New Covenant'.



Cardinal Cassidy with Josie Lacey, April 2002

The Characterisation of Jesus Christ and the nature of Dialogue

A central basis for the Christian 'doctrine of contempt' arises from the Jewish rejection of the both the divinity and the messianic character of Jesus Christ, the 'mountain of Jesus of Nazareth' referred to by Bishop Bede Heather. Dialogue on such matters is a particularly sensitive issue given the Jewish recollection of the forced 'Disputations' of medieval Europe and the riots, book-burnings and occasional massacres which followed.⁷⁶

The subject appears by implication in Item 6 of the 'General Principles'. *Guidelines* follows the theme of Notes in condemning 'proselytism, which does not respect religious freedom'.⁷⁷ However, *Guidelines* then asserts a right of Christians to 'witness to Jesus as the Risen Christ',⁷⁸ and follows this with a reference to 'conversations' about the 'vocation of Christians and the Jewish people to witness to the whole world',⁷⁹ as reflected in the statements of John Paul II but not particularly welcomed by Jewish community leaders such as Leslie Caplan.⁸⁰

Again the reality is that discussions between Catholic and Jewish participants encounter none of these problems, and that there is an atmosphere that is far more positive and friendly than the theoretical positions would indicate. Indeed, both sides seem to be genuinely interested in a process of learning without missionising, and in the diplomatic process of establishing relationships, which make it possible to act co-operatively in a variety of situations. As Sister Dacy explained:

Dialogue is between two people who are willing to learn from each other without trying to get the other to accept their viewpoint...dialogue is between one who is prepared to regard the other as an equal...I don't think Christians have to witness to the Jews at all, I wouldn't say that was necessary. I think that if you want to explain what you believe, fine. But the question of witness I don't think is relevant, and that's certainly not part of dialogue in my mind.⁸¹

Josie Lacey also outlined her experience of inter-faith dialogue in the Women's Inter-faith Network and the World Conference for Religion and Peace. She found that the Catholic participants strictly adhere to the principle that each was there to explain their own beliefs and practices, to answer sincere questions and not to presume to understand or compare the beliefs and practices of others. The result was a genuine broadening of understanding and the development of real friendships.⁸² Needless to say, any form of 'pro-

paganda' in the traditional Catholic sense, was out of the question.

Similarly, in my discussions with Cardinal Cassidy, he expressed the view that 'the Catholic Church does not have a mission to the Jewish people'.⁸³ He referred to the 2002 statement 'issued by the Ecumenical and Interreligious affairs Committee of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops and the National Council of Synagogues USA' entitled 'Reflections on Covenant and Mission'⁸⁴ ('*Reflections*'), a document which generated a storm of controversy within the Catholic community.

Essentially *Reflections* puts forward the proposition that 'campaigns that target Jews for conversion to Christianity are no longer theologically acceptable in the Catholic Church'. It refers to a formal statement⁸⁵ made by Cardinal Walter Kasper, President of the Vatican Commission for the Religious Relations with the Jews in which he put forward the following proposition:

The term mission, in its proper sense, refers to conversion from false gods and idols to the true and one God, who revealed himself in the salvation history with His elected people. Thus mission, in this strict sense, cannot be used with regard to Jews, who believe in the true and one God. Therefore, and this is characteristic, there exists dialogue but there does not exist any Catholic missionary organization for Jews...in dialogue Jews give witness of their faith...and Christians give account of the hope they have in Jesus Christ. In doing so, both are far away from any kind of proselytism, but both can learn from each other and enrich each other...⁸⁶

Thus, *Reflections* considers that Judaism is salvific for the Jews because it is a faithful response of the Jewish people to God's irrevocable covenant. On the other hand, *Reflections* states that the Catholic Church must always 'evangelise' and 'will always witness to its faith' and that 'sincere individual converts from any tradition or people, including the Jewish people, will be welcomed and accepted'.⁸⁷ Cardinal Cassidy stated that he had always been a strong advocate of a deep theological study of the nature of the Jewish covenant long before *Reflections* was drafted, and that he agreed with the ideas expressed in that document.⁸⁸

According to Rabbi Apple the Catholics 'have learnt how to witness to their faith in a constructive way without trying to ram it down anyone's throat...the Catholics are leagues ahead of the others'.⁸⁹ Interestingly, Rabbi Apple believes that the Catholics did have a mission for Jews 'because they would like to see everyone including the Jews, seeing the light...one has to grant that this is their

way of thinking, so long as they don't impinge on my Jewish conscience.⁹⁰

Jeremy Jones also stressed that the Catholic representatives with whom he has been engaged in dialogue (as opposed to other Christian denominations) 'have their beliefs and they believe that they're right but they don't try to make you one of them – [but] if you become one of them they will probably be overjoyed..⁹¹ As far as proclaiming one's faith Jeremy colourfully put it 'if a Catholic came to me...and they said oh I'm a Priest but I really don't know that my religion is the best thing there is – you'd think this person is either a fool or a liar and so we don't lie and they don't lie – we have a good relationship.'⁹²

Antisemitism and the Holocaust

Guidelines refers to the large numbers of Jewish Holocaust survivors in Australia as one of the reasons giving rise to the need for the issue of the document, and it refers to Holocaust denial and a need to overcome 'impatience with Jewish sensitivity'.⁹³ Another reference is in General Principle 9, that 'Christians must strive to learn by what essential traits Jews define themselves', and that in this context 'topics such as the Nazi attempt to annihilate the Jews...will obviously come up for discussion'. It is also acknowledged in Recommended Activity 10 (b) that 'anti-Semitism has resulted in centuries of persecution which reached its climax in this century' with the Nazi Holocaust.

Since the publication of *Guidelines*, the Church has attempted to grapple with the question of Christian responsibility and culpability. There are various issues. One relates to the 'centuries of persecution' which are specifically connected to the Holocaust in *Guidelines*. The question which follows is whether the 'teaching of contempt', and the resulting persecutions in the name of Christianity, created the social and moral conditions which led to unparalleled atrocity and mass-murder in the name of a non-religious racially-based 'antisemitism'.

A totally different issue arises out of the actions of individual Catholics and of the organised Church during the events of the Nazi Holocaust. It is beyond argument that individual Catholics, including some leading Catholic clergymen, actively participated in some of the worst barbarities,⁹⁴ and that this was particularly the case in Catholic regions such as Slovakia and Croatia which welcomed the Nazis as liberators and set up puppet regimes. Theologically, of course, their actions were those of individuals, and the Church as such does not consider that it bears a responsibility for their actions which calls for repentance.⁹⁵ Nevertheless the reference to 'impa-

tience with Jewish sensitivity⁹⁵ does seem to be grossly inappropriate.

Much has also been made of the failure of Pope Pius XII to exercise moral authority in intervening by way of emphatic calls to the Catholic world to resist manifest evil.⁹⁶ All of the associated issues, including the Concordat with the Nazi state⁹⁷ and allegations of post-war Church *Ratlines* to protect suspected war criminals continue to rankle.⁹⁸ Whatever the eventual verdict of the historians, the need for a more definitive statement by the Church still remains.

Cardinal Cassidy in his capacity as head of the Vatican's Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews was deeply involved in drafting the document *We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah*, which was issued by the Vatican on 19 March 1998. The document provoked a heated response.⁹⁹ In particular many Jewish writers and leaders were distressed by the document's defence of Pope Pius XII and by the assertion that the Holocaust was the work of a Nazi neo-pagan regime whose roots were outside Christianity. As Elie Wiesel pointed out: 'The truth is that the majority of Christians did not lift a finger because in their parishes they heard repeated every day that Jews are perfidious Christ killers.'¹⁰⁰ According to Cardinal Cassidy:

I think that what is very important is that the document sets out very clearly that there was a Holocaust, and that the Jewish people were the victims...The Jewish expectation was much greater than what we at the time felt that we could do. I would have liked it to have been a bit stronger but I think the Church wasn't able to go further at that time. We had to take our Church with us. We couldn't just do it on our own and say, this is how we see it.¹⁰¹

Sister Lenore, in a commentary on an article by Josie Lacey published in the B'nai Brith *Background* magazine in 1990, expressed the following view:

No Christian with any knowledge of Church History can fail to acknowledge Christian responsibility for the 'teaching of contempt', albeit in ignorance, which marred so much of Christian presentation of the Jewish people...This stance served as justification for all kinds of inhuman behaviour and persecution...Hitler in our century had little to create, but plenty of material and theories to put into practice, during the Nazi era.¹⁰²

Sister Dacy remarked:

I think that for 2000 years there's been this terrible triumphalism on the part of the Church and...it took a Holocaust to wake the Church up that what it had been teaching for generations had prepared the ground for what happened with Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, that the attitudes that had been propagated prepared people to think this way and to act this way and if there had been a more vigorous defence on the part of the Christians, I don't think it would have happened. I don't know, it would not have been to the same extent.¹⁰²

It is not within the scope of this article to make a detailed analysis of the Vatican's Shoah Statement. However, despite its weaknesses it is notable that both Marianne Dacy and Jeremy Jones consider the Statement to be a very important 'breakthrough',¹⁰⁴ and 'a step in the right direction'.¹⁰⁵

The Vatican and Israel

When Guidelines was launched in November 1992 the Vatican had not yet recognised the State of Israel or established diplomatic relations with it after 44 years of independence. At the time the issue was regarded by the Jewish communities throughout the world as a matter of central importance in their relationship with the Church, and this was reflected in the comments of ECAJ president, Leslie Caplan, at the launch.

There were those who believed that the attitude of the Church in failing to recognise the State had doctrinal implications. The early 'Church Fathers' had prophesied continuing exile as a punishment both for 'unbelief' and for the 'murder of God', and the concept of exile as a just punishment has long been a central Christian doctrine. Some examples of these attitudes include:

Tertullian, in *An Answer to the Jews* written in 198 or 208 CE¹⁰⁶ wrote:

Chapter XIII.-Argument from the Destruction of Jerusalem and Desolation of Judea.

But we perceive that now none of the race of Israel has remained in Bethlehem; and (so it has been) ever since the interdict was issued forbidding any one of the Jews to linger in the confines of the very district, in order that this prophetic utterance also should be perfectly fulfilled: "Your land is desert, your cities burnt up by fire,"-that is, (he is foretelling) what *will have happened* to them in time of war "your region

strangers shall eat up in your sight, and it shall be desert and subverted by alien peoples.¹⁰⁷

Again, Origen of Alexandria in the third century CE wrote that:

On account of their unbelief and other insults which they heaped upon Jesus, the Jews will not only suffer more than others in the judgment which is believed to impend over the world, but have even already endured such sufferings. For what nation is in exile from their own metropolis, and from the place sacred to the worship of their fathers, save the Jews alone? And the calamities they have suffered because they were a most wicked nation, which although guilty of many other sins, yet has been punished severely for none as for those that were committed against our Jesus.¹⁰⁸

However, most influentially, Saint Augustine in *The City of God*, wrote the following in the fourth century:

Book XVIII, Chapter 46—'Of the Birth of Our Saviour, Whereby the Word Was Made Flesh; And of the Dispersion of the Jews Among All Nations, as Had Been Prophesied'.

But it was not enough that he should say, 'Slay them not, lest they should at last forget Thy law,' unless he had also added, 'Disperse them'; because if they had only been in their own land with that testimony of the Scriptures, and not every where, certainly the Church which is everywhere could not have had them as witnesses among all nations to the prophecies which were sent before concerning Christ.¹⁰⁹

In the introductory section, *Guidelines* disposed of any such interpretation of the Vatican's refusal to recognise the State of Israel which still continued at that time. It clearly acknowledged both the religious attachment of the Jews to the land of their ancestors and the establishment of Israel 'according to international law'.¹¹⁰

The effect of this straightforward statement was marred a little in General Principle 9, in which Catholics are urged to 'make an honest effort' to understand the link between the land and the people. While this unfortunate phrase also appears in the US precedent, *Guidelines* differs by omitting the more positive American references to the 'rebirth of the Jewish State in the Land of Israel' and the Jewish 'longing for the homeland, holy Zion'. There was, in addition, the problem at the launch of the introductory address of

Bishop Heather referring to 'that mythology which is attached to the State of Israel in the Jewish mind'.¹¹¹

Unknown to the participants at the launch, however, the Vatican and the Israeli state were at that time actually engaged in the negotiation of the document which would be known as the Fundamental Agreement between the Holy See and the State of Israel, and signed on 30 December 1993.¹¹² According to both Cardinal Cassidy and Rabbi David Rosen, the chief Israeli negotiator, the delay until some three months after the Oslo Accord had neither political nor doctrinal implications. Both diplomatically insisted that it resulted rather from technical matters relating to the status of the Church in Israel, particularly in Jerusalem, which were eventually resolved by creative ambiguity.¹¹³ Rabbi Rosen nevertheless noted the wider implications:

As the Preamble of the Agreement indicates, the accord took place within the wider context of Catholic-Jewish reconciliation on which it undoubtedly had a profoundly positive impact in turn. Indeed, for many Jews especially in Israel, the diplomatic normalization served as testimony and proof of the genuineness of the transformation in theological attitudes and teaching that had taken place over the previous thirty years.¹¹⁴

Indeed the Agreement itself begins with an affirmation by the Holy See of its respect for other religions and their followers as stated in the *Nostra Aetate* declaration, as well as a specific condemnation of antisemitism.¹¹⁵

Unfortunately, since the breakdown of the Oslo peace process after Camp David II in 2000, the situation has also deteriorated dramatically at the personal level. There is an increasing perception by many of those who describe themselves as 'progressives' within the Church that the Palestinians are the 'underdogs' oppressed by a ruthless Israel. It is a tribute to the skill of the anti-Israel public relations machine that the conflict between Israel and an Arab-Islamic world determined to destroy it has been replaced in the minds of many Christians with an image of an oppressive Israel denying a Palestinian 'right of self-determination'. Jeremy Jones sees the issue in terms of Catholic 'liberation theology':

One of the issues within Catholicism that concerns the Jewish community is what's called the liberation theology. It is very strong within South America and liberation theology sees oppressors and victims. Most people I know who were exponents of liberation theology whom I've met a number of times

at international conferences on social justice – they are rabidly anti-Israel and as far as they are concerned it is legitimate for them to use anti-Semitism to defeat the tyrant Israel.

Now they are important within international Catholicism, they're not that important in Australia, although they have people who would pay a lot of attention to their works, so this stuff is part of a debate even within the Catholic Church. Whether you see Jews as the people who went through the Shoah, and therefore victims, or you see Jews as part of the oppressive militarily alliance between America, Israel, colonialism, whatever...we ignore that at our peril and it's very difficult to deal with.¹¹⁶

Marianne Dacy has identified anti-Israel sentiment in more serious terms. Although anti-Israel bias is not specifically a Catholic phenomenon, she sees it as a problem which specifically affects Jewish-Christian relationships. As she described the situation:

People will not come to our events...they will not come to the Holocaust events that we run because of their political views about Israel...It has nothing to do with the Holocaust and yet they will equate it with it, and that really I find disturbing.¹¹⁷

In her opinion anti-Israeli sentiment is 'the new kind of anti-semitism.'¹¹⁸ As she puts it, 'people need to blame somebody and you'll find it's all out of proportion and there's still that undercurrent there.'¹¹⁹ She considers it to be a 'significant problem, certainly in Australia.'¹²⁰

THE RECONCILIATION PROCESS IN PRACTICE

Guidelines envisages two distinct ways of implementing the reconciliation process. Firstly there is the change in the teachings of the Catholic Church as a consequence of the ideological re-assessment which has been developed and refined following *Nostra Aetate*, and which is reflected in the theological content of *Guidelines*. This in turn has required a fundamental change in the content of Catholic education and 'preaching' about Jews and Judaism, and this is, of course, the central element in the implementation of Christian reconciliation in the actual practice of the Church. Obviously the scope and extent of such a re-orientation of Church teaching actually taking place in the school system and in the churches can be determined only by extensive research that is beyond the scope of this article. The one Australian Catholic syllabus in Religious Education

which the writer has been able to find¹²¹ barely mentions the issue of Jews and Judaism in Christian teaching. For Year Six there is a reference to the Jewish Scriptures, as follows:

Distinguish different styles of writing in the Scriptures and connect the scriptural message with every day life.

Key Concepts

1. The Jewish and Christian Scriptures contain different types of writing.
2. The Christian Scriptures teach us about Jesus and the early Christian communities.
3. The Jewish Scriptures tell the story of the people of Israel's covenant relationship with God.
4. The Gospel of God's saving love challenges us to live Christian lives.
5. The four Gospels are central to the Church's prayer and teaching.

There is no other reference to Judaism whatsoever in the syllabus, except by implication under 'Religion and society' in Year Twelve:

Understanding and respecting the role of diverse religious traditions, particularly in the Australian context:

Stage Outcome

By the end of Year Twelve students should be able to:
Express an understanding and appreciation of belief systems and spirituality and how religious experience, traditions and communities serve to engage and support people and their search for meaning.

Key Concepts

1. The human search for meaning and fulfilment is inspired by the Holy Spirit.
2. The mystery of God is manifest in world religions.
3. Aboriginal spirituality, beliefs and practices are important in understanding the spirituality of Australians as a whole.
4. The relationship between Church and state raises a number of issues including religious pluralism and tolerance; ethical codes of different world religions and social justice issues.

If the Canberra-Goulburn syllabus is typical, then it might be

regarded an advance in that it makes no negative references, or it might be considered a disappointment in asking children to read the Gospels literally. Certainly, it does not ask teachers to wrestle with *Nostra Aetate* or *Guidelines*. Indeed, Marianne Dacy notes that *Guidelines* has not been publicised much at all within the Australian Church. In her opinion:

mostly any activities that come about in parishes have not been because of this document; it's been because of official statements, you might say, coming from the Vatican. I think that that has had a greater influence than this document which I'd say many people are not aware of.¹²²

The second element of the implementation process envisaged by *Guidelines* is an engagement in 'dialogue' between Catholic and Jewish representatives. As noted above, such an engagement is traditionally viewed with the utmost suspicion by Jewish protagonists. Nevertheless, with ground rules based on an implied renunciation of any mission to the Jews as acknowledged by Cardinal Cassidy in our discussion,¹²³ the problematical ambiguity arising from the reference to 'witness' in *Guidelines* has been overcome without difficulty in practice.

Jeremy Jones explained that the Jewish community has just completed its seventh annual 'Conversation' with the Catholic Bishops Committee. At these Conversations participants discuss a particular theme. As he explains:

We meet alternatively in a Catholic venue or a Jewish venue. We have a serious topic. For instance we've discussed the impact of globalisation, medical ethics with concentration on stem cell research, racism and immigration. This year we decided we wanted to talk about two topics, Zionism and evangelism.¹²⁴

According to Jones 'it was a very serious conversation, and our team consisted of, I Think, it was four Rabbis plus three lay people. Their group consisted of six priests and one lay person.'¹²⁵ Jeremy described the 'Conversations' as follows:

A paper was given by one of the delegates, which discussed the attitude of the Catholic Church to conversion of Jews to Catholicism, and what the different views are. It was a very honest paper. It didn't say there was one view, it said where the debate is, what is the weight of the various voices within the

Catholic Church. It was a fantastic way to learn about where the Catholic Church is on this issue. At other times though we also have a part of the Conversation, what we might call a practical session, so this year the practical session was on Mel Gibson's film *The Passion*.¹²⁸

In addition to these Conversations, Jones stated that 'it wouldn't be rare for us every month or two, either one of the members of that group or one of the members of our group to pick up the phone and speak to somebody else, to follow it up on a more practical level'.

According to Rabbi Apple, the ECAJ and the Australian Catholic Bishops have had an ongoing relationship since the *Guidelines* were issued and this has led 'once or twice a year'¹²⁷ to a meeting between ECAJ representatives and representatives of the Catholic Bishops. Rabbi Apple described these meetings as ones 'at which good old friends reacquaint themselves with each other. We know each other so well by now that we're almost members of the same family.'¹²⁸

Rabbi Apple also stated that it is very rare that there are any major issues that affect the harmony between the Jewish and Catholic communities in Australia. If problems do arise then 'we'd be able to handle them behind the scenes on a happy personal level without anyone perhaps even knowing that there was a fire, so it's as if the fire is put out before it began to burn'.¹²⁹ This is what Rabbi Apple referred to as 'behind the scenes diplomacy'. As he explained:

I entirely disagree with those who feel that every problem has to be ventilated and shouted about. For my part, if for example there ever arose a serious problem between the Jewish and the Catholic communities in Australia, I would be one of those who would be able to get on the phone without any fuss, phone direct to one of the Catholic Bishops, maybe even speak on first name terms and say look I've got something on my mind, do you think we can have a cup of coffee together and have a chat.¹³⁰

Rabbi Apple gave the following example:

Over the course of recent decades there have been a number of times when Jews including myself, felt that the Pope, the Vatican and the Catholic community could have been much more open and unequivocal when comments were made on matters involving Jews. For example, there was a problem some years ago about the convent at Auschwitz and the feeling which I shared was that while Auschwitz cannot, God forbid, be called holy ground – it's not, it's cursed ground - I felt

that the best thing to do on the site of Auschwitz is to leave it desolate and as wasteland and I feel it was a major error of judgement on the part of some in the Catholic Church to feel it was an appropriate place to create a Christian institution. Well this is an example of a time when perhaps there could have been internationally a clearer statement. However our experience in Australia has been that on the rare occasions when there was a problem such as this, the Catholic leader with whom we discussed such things shared our disappointment with the Vatican, so they did not automatically feel that whatever the Vatican said or did was necessarily the right approach, and I had no qualms about being critical. So this is in itself one of the great by-products of the guidelines and of the new climate.¹³¹

On the other hand, Rabbi Apple does not regard dialogue as anything but 'an end in itself.' According to Rabbi Apple:

if there is an aim, the aim is that because we share this planet we should know each other. For me as a Jew the aim is not, let's have a nice conversation because we need somebody's vote in the United Nations when Israel is on the agenda - it's not about this. If the result of the dialogue is that somewhere along the line, people have a more positive attitude to Israel or anything else that particularly concerns Jewish people, well and good, but I still say that the discussion is worthwhile in and for itself.¹³²

For Cardinal Cassidy the purpose of dialogue with the Jewish people for Catholics is to 'overcome the strange...enmity and the persecution, the oppression that had happened between Christians and Jews. In other words, to get rid of all those myths and prejudices that were there for nearly 2000 years.' He pointed out that such enmity arose not always but very often out of 'official teaching'. He stressed that there arose a responsibility on the part of the church particularly after the Holocaust 'to look at this question and to try in our dialogue to come to a greater understanding of the Jewish religion and a greater, we would hope a greater understanding also by the Jewish people of our religion because very often both were quite wrong' in the way in which they thought the other one acted or believed'.¹³³

Cardinal Cassidy's view is that what should then arise is the building up of 'a relationship, not a unity, not like Christian unity where you're looking for the Churches to come together but coming

together on the basis of partnership.¹³⁴ He pointed out that our moral values, commandments, our way of looking at life are so similar, and that we can work together in promoting these values. As he stated:

I believe that little by little we've been able to achieve something of that but still it's a slow process because you've got to get rid of all the suspicion that's naturally there – what are you up to, what are you trying to do...are you trying to find a back door in, you couldn't get in the front door... trust, you've got to build a trust and then if you can build trust I believe we can do a lot together.¹³⁵

Jeremy Jones sees the purpose of dialogue for the Jewish community in quite a different light. As he explained:

First of all the Catholic Bishops Committee publicised [the conversations] and we publicise it in the *Jewish News*. In the *Jewish News*, Jews see that it's taking place and that indicates that there is an engagement taking place, and I think that's important, particularly for a community that feels it doesn't have anybody listening to what it has to say on any subject which I think is a real concern in the Jewish world...¹³⁶

In 2000, Josie Lacey was one of the five representatives from ECAJ to attend the Jubilee Catholic Bishops Conference. At the conference representatives of a number of religious traditions were invited to join in the Catholic celebration of the Christian Jubilee year. For her this represented another side of the 'dialogue' process, with Catholic-Jewish engagement as part of a general progress in inter-religious communication in a multi-cultural society. Following a remark made by a Muslim participant at the Bishops Conference, Josie took the initiative of approaching Sister Trish Madigan, whom she knew through her involvement with the World Conference for Religions for Peace and who was at that time liaison officer for the Archdiocesan Commission of Ecumenism. She proposed that the women at the conference should form the nucleus of a new group, which became the Women's Interfaith Network, known as 'WIN'. WIN created a new form of dialogue, in which women from nine different religious traditions meet regularly and share their personal experiences of living within their own traditions. Sometimes the participants listen to particular personal experiences, and sometimes topics such as the 'death and dying' or 'the description of God'

are discussed in a comparison of different traditions. The result is a non-judgmental sharing, which has resulted in an increase of knowledge and understanding, and the development of bonds of personal friendship. WIN is hoping to broaden the availability of the experience by creating a network of such Networks.¹³⁷

It will be seen that dialogue has different meanings and purposes for the various participants, and that all of the various perceptions have their value in promoting inter-religious harmony. Traditional Jewish reservations have been respected; the Catholic Church has seen an opportunity to 'overcome a strange enmity'; Jewish leaders see an opportunity for a diplomatic contact with the Church which can assist in resolving problems which are expected to arise; others see the publicity attached to contact as a positive force in promoting harmony, and all see the process as a valuable human enterprise for its own sake.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

When Constantine made the fateful decision to strengthen the centralised power of the Roman Empire by granting imperial legitimacy to a universal Christian Church, one by-product was the importation of a deadly psychological disease into the very civilisation which Rome had established in the West.¹³⁸ Dr Leo Pinsker, arguably the true founder of modern political Zionism, made the diagnosis in his booklet *Auto-emancipation*, written in Odessa in 1881, some time before the pagan racist antisemitism of Nazi Germany appeared on the scene:

Judeophobia is a psychic aberration. As a psychic aberration it is hereditary, and as a disease transmitted for two thousand years, it is incurable.¹³⁹

Dr Pinsker was describing a condition which was the almost inevitable consequence of the creation of a crusading faith which proclaimed a 'Truth' which was both based upon, and claimed to supersede, the national religion of the Jews. The Jewish people, largely dispersed as cultural outsiders in a Christian Europe, were confronted with a hatred based on particular interpretations of the scriptural text of the New Testament, expressed in waves of persecution in almost every generation.

The culmination of that persecution in the Nazi inferno prompted a fundamental re-assessment of the character of human civilisation in general and Christian civilisation in particular. It took the accession to the papal throne of one man of vision in John XXIII to

throughout two millennia as a longing for the homeland, holy Zion. Appreciation of this link is not to give assent to any particular religious interpretation of this bond. Nor is this affirmation meant to deny the legitimate rights of other parties in the region, or to adopt any political stance in the controversies over the Middle East, which lie beyond the purview of this statement.¹⁴³

It is a statement which indirectly highlights the asymmetry between a powerful religious entity, with multi-millions of followers joined by teaching and belief, and the small ethno-religious group which was the source of its basic doctrines, stubbornly surviving in a hostile world. It can only be hoped that an improvement in mutual understanding will permeate the continuing process of dialogue, and that the period since *Nostra Aetate* will usher in a new era of friendship and mutual respect between the Jewish people and the Christian world.

NOTES

1. Australian Catholic Bishops Conference, Committee for Ecumenical and Interfaith Relations, *The Faithfulness of the Lords endures for ever*, 30 November 1992.
2. Bishop Bede Heather, Transcript of speech at St Mary's Cathedral Crypt Sydney, 2 November 1992, p. 4.
3. Ibid., p.5.
4. Ibid., p.7.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p.6.
7. Leslie Caplan AM, Transcript of speech at St Mary's Cathedral Crypt Sydney, 2 November 1992, p.3.
8. Ibid., p.4.
9. Statements were issued by the Uniting Church in Australia and by the Lutheran Church of Australia. The Anglican Church prepared a draft modelled on the Catholic Guidelines, which has not yet been issued.
10. See H.H Ben-Sasson, ed. *A History of the Jewish People*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson 1976; Robert M. Seltzer, *Jewish people, Jewish thought: the Jewish experience in History*, New York: Macmillan; London: Collier Macmillan, 1980 and Robert S. Wistrich, *Anti-Semitism: the Longest Hatred*, New York: Schocken Books, 1994.
11. The First Vatican Council was convened in 1869-1870 by Pius IX, who is remembered by Jewish communities for his adamant refusal to return a kidnapped and converted Jewish child to his parents. The First Council ended with a declaration establishing Papal infallibility.
12. Texts from Encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com Accessed on 2 November 2004.

13. Robert A. Graham, in Abbott, W.M. (ed) *The Documents of Vatican II*, Guild Press, NY, 1966 p. 656.
14. *Nostra Aetate*, n.4.
15. Graham, op. cit. p.665.
16. *Nostra Aetate* n.4.
17. Graham, op. cit. p. 666.
18. *Nostra Aetate*, n.4.
19. Cardinal E.I. Cassidy *Ecumensim and Interreligious Dialogue*, New Jersey, Paulist Press, 2005 p. 161.
20. Ibid.
21. See 'Key US and International Events in Catholic-Jewish Relations' under www.americancatholic.org for a detailed timeline. Accessed 23 September 2004.
22. Papal Statement of 6 March 1982 cited in *Guidelines for Catholic-Jewish Relations* 1985. Revision issued by the US National Conference of Catholic Bishops.
23. See remarks of Leslie Caplan at the launch of *Guidelines*, noted above.
24. Associate director for the American Bishops' Secretariat of Ecumenical and Inter-religious Affairs.
25. Rabbi Raymond Apple. Interview by Rebecca Lacey-Ehrlich, The Great Synagogue, tape recording, 1 September 2004.
26. Ibid. Dr Joachim Schneeweiss was ECAJ president from 1976-1978 & 1980-1982.
27. <http://www.sion.org>. Accessed 2 November 2004.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. Sister Lenore Sharry, 'Visit to Sydney (21st May – 2nd June 1979)' pasted in Scrapbook entitled 'Sion – Jewish Christian Relations – Sydney 1979'.
32. Ibid.
33. Maximilian Kolbe was the priest hero of a Nazi death camp. It was alleged that he was associated with an antisemitic publication. A website describes him as the patron saint of journalists.
34. Sister Lenore Sharry, 'Review of Jewish-Christian Relations, Sydney – 1982' pasted in Scrapbook, op. cit.
35. Jeremy Jones, interview by Rebecca Lacey-Ehrlich, ECAJ Office Darlinghurst, tape recording, 10 August 2004.
36. See Minutes of Meetings of The Jewish Catholic Relations Committee 1987-91.
37. See Israel Porush, 'The New South Wales Council of Christians and Jews, 1943-1948', *AJHS Journal*, vol 6, part 4, 1968, pp.181-195.
38. Jeremy Jones interview, op. cit.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Bede Heather's speech. See his introductory remarks, op. cit.
42. Ibid.
43. R.Dixon, 'The Place of the Jews and Judaism in Catholic Religious

Education Curricula', 8 November 1990

44. Letter of Bishop Bede Heather to the writer dated 31 July 2004, op. cit.
45. Jeremy Jones interview, op. cit.
46. Ibid.
47. Rabbi Apple interview, op. cit.
48. Josie Lacey, interview by Rebecca Lacey-Ehrlich, Bellevue Hill NSW, 10 September 2004.
49. *Notes* was greeted ambivalently by Jewish commentators at the time. Sister Lenore records articles in the *Jerusalem Post* and by the Australian leader, Isi Leibler.
50. *Guidelines*, op. cit., p.5.
51. Keeler, W.H., *Catholic-Jewish Dialogue: A Developing Agenda*, an address delivered at a Jewish-Catholic dialogue in Salvador, Brazil, 7 June 2004. Cardinal Keeler is the Moderator for Catholic-Jewish Relations of the US Conference of Catholic Bishops.
52. Melito of Sardis, *Peri Pascha* 566-575, 714-716.
53. Mark Chancey, 'An Unacknowledged Passion' (www.bibleinterp.com), accessed 5 November 2004.
54. Ibid.
55. Chancey, op. cit.
56. *Guidelines*, op. cit., p.5.
57. Michael Haddad in *An Nahar*, 16 July 1992
58. Translation by Ethnic Affairs Commission interpreter service.
59. Josie Lacey interview, op. cit.
60. *Luke*, 10:25-37
61. www.discipleship.net/parable. Accessed 1 November 2004.
62. Ibid.
63. *Matthew*, 23:29-34
64. *John*, 2:13-22
65. Josie Lacey interview, op. cit.
66. Sister Marianne Dacy. Interview by Rebecca Lacey-Ehrlich, 31 August 2004, University of Sydney, tape recording.
67. See, for example, 'The Pontifical Biblical Commission', *The Jewish People and their Sacred Scriptures in the Christian Bible* Vatican Press, 2002 at Chapter III, B and C.
68. There has been no authoritative Christian response to the various Jewish analyses demonstrating that the Trial described in the Gospels would be impossible under Jewish law.
69. See, for example, Roman 7-9.
70. *Nostra Aetate*, n.4.
71. Cited in *Notes*, I.3.
72. *Notes*, 1.5.
73. *Notes*, 1.8.
74. *Notes*, 1.7.
75. Cardinal Edward Idris Cassidy, interview by Rebecca Lacey-Ehrlich, Warabrook NSW, tape recording, 29 July 2004.
76. See Hyam Maccoby, *Judaism on Trial: Jewish-Christian Disputations in the Middle Ages* Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1985.

77. *Guidelines, op. cit.* p.7.
78. *Ibid.*
79. *Ibid.*
80. President of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry. See page 1: 'We are not engaged in any process of unification.'
81. Sister Marianne Dacy interview, *op. cit.*
82. Josie Lacey interview, *op. cit.*
83. Edward Idris Cardinal Cassidy interview, *op. cit.*
84. *Reflections On Covenant and Mission*, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, Washington, 12 August, 2002.
85. This Statement was made at the 17th meeting of the international Catholic Jewish Liaison Committee in May 2001 and repeated in Jerusalem a year later.
86. *Reflections, op. cit.*
87. *Ibid.*
88. Cardinal Cassidy interview, *op. cit.*
89. Rabbi Apple interview, *op. cit.*
90. *Ibid.*
91. Jeremy Jones interview, *op. cit.*
92. *Ibid.*
93. *Guidelines* 'Introduction', para. 3. The phrase implies, of course, that there is such 'impatience'.
94. See, for example, Father Jozsef Tiso, Prime Minister of the Nazi State of Slovakia, enacted the Jewish Codex in 1941 and collaborated in the Auschwitz deportations. Former priest Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic allegedly killed scores of prisoners at Jasenovac camp in Croatia with his own hands. Cardinal Stepinac allegedly participated in the government of the Nazi state of Croatia.
95. *We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah*, issued by the Vatican on 19 March 1998.
96. Rolf Hochhuth, *The Deputy*, New York: Grove Press 1964.
97. The Concordat between the Vatican under Pius XII and Adolf Hitler in 1933.
98. Mark Aarons, *Ratlines: How the Vatican's Nazi networks betrayed western intelligence to the Soviets*, London: Heinemann, 1991.
99. See for example Rabbi Raymond Apple, 'Mea culpa is a good start' *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 April 1998; Pamela, Bone, 'A guilty bystander at world's massacres' *The Age*, 28 March 1998; and Chris McGillion, 'It's time to settle some differences', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 March 1998.
100. Quoted in article by P. Pullella "Vatican Holocaust Paper Leaves Jews Bitter.", *Excite News*, Reuters, 17 March 1998.
101. Cardinal Cassidy interview, *op. cit.*
102. Lenore Sharry, 'Comment by Sr Lenore Sharry of the Order of the Sisters of our Lady of Sion' attached to an article by Josie Lacey 'Medieval Roots of Modern Anti-Semitism' *Background Magazine*, February 1990.
103. Marianne Dacy interview, *op. cit.*
104. Jeremy Jones interview, *op. cit.*
105. Marianne Dacy interview, *op. cit.*

106. Dates calculated by Rev. S. Thelwall (www.ccel.org/fathers2). Accessed 25 September 2004.
107. Tertullian, *An Answer to the Jews*, para 259.
108. Origen, *Contra Celsum* II. 8.
109. Augustine, *The City of God* (www.ccel.org/fathers) Accessed 25 September 2005.
110. *Guidelines*, op. cit., p.4.
111. *Ibid.*, p.6.
112. A bilateral permanent working commission was established on 29 July 1992.
113. Rabbi David Rosen, 'Israel-Vatican Relations Since the Signing of the Fundamental Agreement'. Available at <http://www.ajc.org>. Accessed 12 May 2004.
114. *Ibid.*, p.1.
115. Fundamental Agreement between the Holy See and the State of Israel, dated December 30 1993. Articles 1.2 and 2.2.
116. Jeremy Jones interview, op. cit.
117. Marianne Dacy interview, op. cit.
118. *Ibid.*
119. Marianne Dacy interview, op. cit.
120. *Ibid.*
121. Archdiocese of Canberra-Goulburn: Syllabus in Religious Education (www.cangoul.catholic.edu.au) Accessed 10 November 2004.
122. Marianne Dacy interview, op. cit.
123. Cardinal Cassidy interview, op. cit.
124. Jeremy Jones interview, op. cit.
125. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
126. *Ibid.*
127. Rabbi Apple interview, op. cit.
128. *Ibid.*
129. *Ibid.*
130. *Ibid.*
131. *Ibid.*
132. *Ibid.*
133. Cardinal Cassidy interview, op. cit.
134. *Ibid.*
135. *Ibid.*
136. Jeremy Jones interview, op. cit.
137. Josie Lacey interview, op. cit.
138. <http://campus.northpark.edu/history/WebChron/EastEurope/ConstantineConverts.html> one of many sites outlining the basic history. Accessed 2 November 2004.
139. Cited in Arthur Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, New York: Atheneum, 1969.
140. Josie Lacey interview, op. cit.
141. Jeremy Jones interview, op. cit.
142. Bede Heather's letter to this writer ends with the revealing sentence 'Meanwhile I hope we can join in prayer and active commitment to peace among the peoples of Palestine.'
143. 1975 USA Statement on Catholic Jewish Relations NCCB, op. cit.

APPENDIX - INTERVIEWEES

Cardinal Edward Idris Cassidy, the former President of the Vatican's Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews. Cardinal Cassidy held that office at the time of the *Guidelines*, and retired in 2001.

Dr Sister Marianne Dacy, of the Order of the Sisters of Our Lady of Sion, which is an Order dedicated to the promotion of Catholic-Jewish relations. Marianne worked with Sister Lenore Sharry, now deceased, who has been described by Bishop Heather as 'the main architect of our *Guidelines*'. Sister Marianne has been the Archivist of the Archive of Australian Judaica at The University of Sydney since 1983.

Jeremy Jones, past president of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ), which is the elected representative roof body of the Jewish community in Australia. At the time of the promulgation of *Guidelines*, Jeremy was actively involved as the Executive Director of the ECAJ.

Rabbi Raymond Apple, Chief Rabbi of the Great Synagogue in Sydney from December 1972 to December 2005. Rabbi Apple who formed the interfaith Luncheon club in 1974 was the foundation President of the reformed Council of Christians and Jews in NSW in 1988. He was actively engaged in inter-faith work in 1992, and is still so engaged.

Josie Lacey, the foundation Convenor of the Women's Interfaith Network ('WIN') in Sydney in 2000. She is interfaith advisor to the Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia, an executive member of the World Conference of Religions for Peace (NSW) and currently the Hon. Secretary of the ECAJ.

DEMOGRAPHY OF THE SYDNEY JEWISH COMMUNITY: 2001

*Dr. Gary Eckstein**

BACKGROUND

This is the fifth of a series of reports for the Jewish Communal Appeal on the demography of the Sydney Jewish community. All of these reports have extracted data collected in the national census of Population and Housing. Since 1961 the census has been conducted at five yearly intervals by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Communal statistics, where available, have been used to support or modify census findings. Earlier reports by this author studied community demography following the 1981, 1986 and 1996 censuses. Encel & Moss¹ reported findings from the 1991 census.

The Australian Jewish population is concentrated in Victoria (46%) and New South Wales (41%). More than 96% of the Jewish community of NSW lives in Sydney compared to 63% of the general population. This report begins with a general overview of the State Jewish population but detailed statistics on demographic trends, education and the aged relate only to the Jews of Sydney. Since communal statistics are confined to Sydney, it would be inappropriate to compare communal data with census information pertaining to all of NSW, except for the section on intermarriage. Some data about Jews living in rural parts of NSW outside the Sydney metropolitan district has also been extracted and a short summary appears near the end of this report. Finally, some information on Jews living elsewhere in Australia is provided mainly to examine flows between Sydney and other parts of Australia. Population estimates are used only as a comparative indicator.

The Sydney Statistical Division is itself divided by the ABS into 14 statistical subdistricts. Because of the geographic concentration

*. This study was commissioned by the Jewish Communal Appeal (JCA) whose important contribution to this research is acknowledged.

of the Jewish community, it is not useful to report details by each of these subdistricts. Most Jews live in the Eastern Suburbs subdistrict (the Local Government Areas of Randwick, Waverley and Woollahra) followed by a smaller but still well serviced community in the Central Northern Sydney subdistrict (nearly all in the municipality of Kuringai). Both these districts offer Jewish residents a variety of synagogues together with educational, welfare, social and sporting organisations. Other Jewish pockets of population are found in the Lower Northern Sydney, Inner Sydney and St. George Sutherland subdistricts but communal services in these areas consist of a single small synagogue (excepting the Great Synagogue in the centre of the city) and activities directly associated with that synagogue. The other nine subdistricts comprising about 75% of the Sydney population contain only 7% of the Jewish community. Table 1 shows the Jewish population of Sydney as reported in the census by statistical subdistrict.

Table 1: Raw Census Count of Jewish Population by Subdistrict

	Jewish Population	Total Population	% Jewish
Eastern Suburbs	19719	233069	8.4
Central Northern Sydney	4459	386718	1.2
Lower Northern Sydney	3127	280983	1.1
Inner Sydney	2676	311233	0.9
St George Sutherland	687	412594	0.2
Northern Beaches	625	219231	0.3
Gosford Wyong	369	285508	0.1
Inner Western Sydney	357	157505	0.2
Outer Western Sydney	251	307787	0.0
Central Western Sydney	186	286629	0.0
Canterbury Bankstown	169	296552	0.0
Blacktown	130	256364	0.0
Outer South Western	113	226928	0.0
Fairfield Liverpool	73	336223	0.0
TOTAL SYDNEY	32941	3997324	0.8

For the purposes of this report, 18 local areas were delineated based on postcode boundaries first defined in the 1996 report. Previous reports used Local Government Areas (LGA) or combinations of postcode and LGA. The current approach groups into more divisions and is believed to be more sensitive to spatial variation in the community than previous boundaries. The appendix shows geographic information by these areas. For simpler reporting in the main text of this document, these 18 areas have been aggregated into 6 major divisions: North Eastern, South Eastern, Lower North Shore, Upper North Shore, Waterloo and the rest of Sydney. The Waterloo division is the only non-aggregated local area because the characteristics of the Jewish community living there are so differ-

ent from anywhere else. The appendix shows the boundaries of the major divisions and the local areas.

General Demography

Underenumeration

The definition of Jewish for these reports is based on self-identification. This approach is consistent with that used by the Australian Statistician and most other central statistical agencies throughout the world. Rabbinical authorities would define Jewish according to *halacha* and a larger population would be the probable result. Some social researchers prefer a definition based on Jewish origins and the numbers under that definition would be very much larger. These reports are written to assist in the planning of Jewish services through the JCA. It is considered prudent to restrict the potential client base to people who regard themselves as Jewish.

An estimate of 20% was used as a constant underenumeration factor in previous reports. Its derivation from communal statistics of funerals and Barmitzva's is fully discussed in the 1986 and 1991 census findings. For the 1996 census, statistics were also gathered from schools and the Board of Jewish Education. It was then found that underenumeration was considerably higher for younger age children (classes K-2) than those with longer experience at school. This finding is consistent with the unusual age distribution observable on a population pyramid of Jewish children. It appears that some younger parents, who continued to remain outside Judaism while their children were of preschool age, are prepared to renominate in later years. This seems to be especially true of those who decide to enroll their children at a Jewish day school.

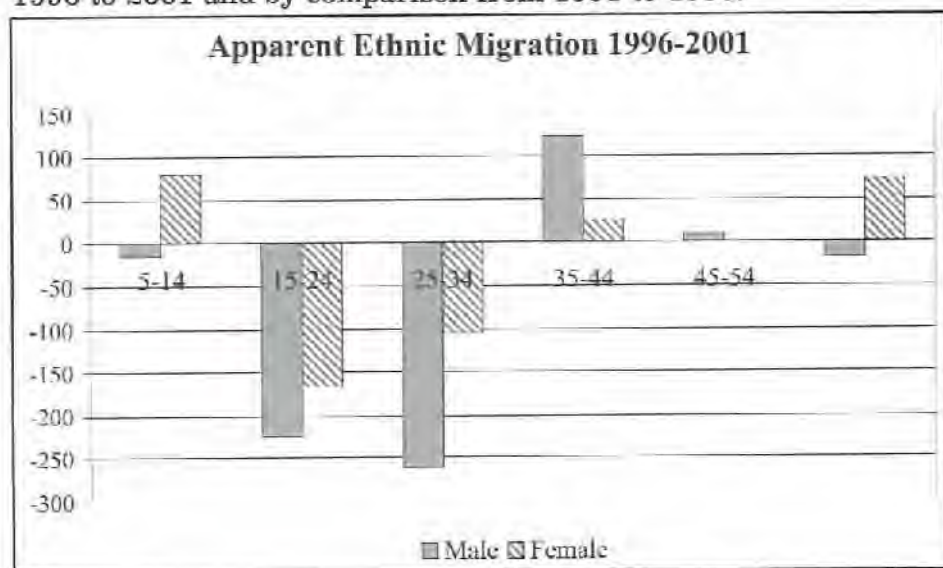
This new evidence convinced us to increase the underenumeration to 30% for persons aged less than 10 and again between the ages of 20 and 34. The 2001 census statistics were again compared to school enrolments including careful evaluation of Jewish students at certain private schools known to have significant numbers of Jewish students. Accurate statistics were obtained for students at Jewish day schools and government run schools through the Board of Jewish education. A new private school with large numbers of Jewish students kindly supplied full details of their Jewish students on our request.

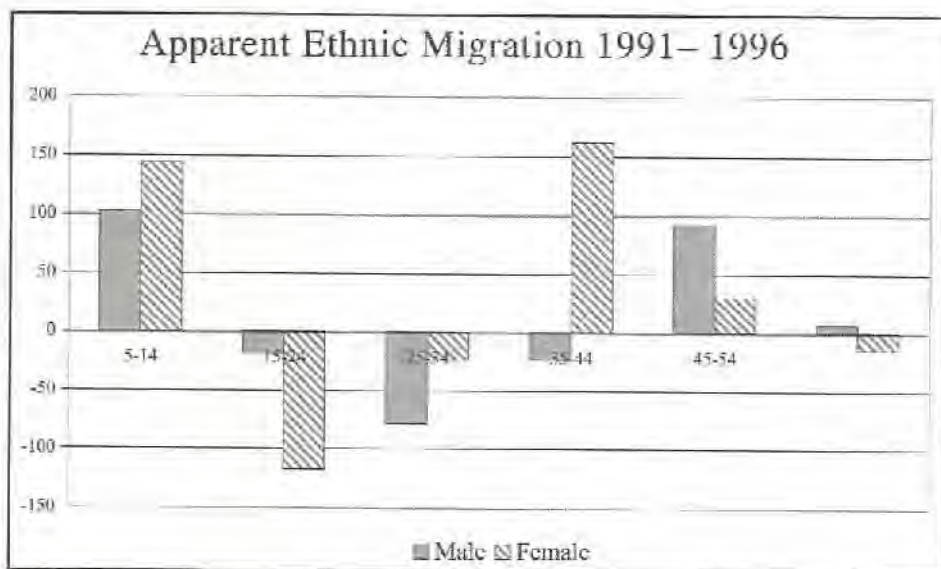
We again found an under-enumeration factor of about 30% in primary schools but the apparent secondary underenumeration had fallen to just over 10%. It has also become apparent that older people are less likely to omit reference to their Jewish heritage as time passes since the events of the Holocaust. We have therefore returned

to the view that average underenumeration is 20%. However, we have also retained the higher (30%) underenumeration for younger adults and their young children requiring a reduction to 16% for the remainder of the population.

Some Jews consistently decide to omit reference to Judaism on their census return. There may be a number of reasons for reluctance to disclose their Jewish religious denomination. These may include fear of antisemitism, distrust of government agencies, unwillingness to divulge personal details and knowledge that religion is an optional question in any event. Furthermore, there are members of the community who regard themselves as Jewish without any adherence to Judaism as a religion. These people may take the census question ('What is your religious affiliation') to imply observance of Jewish religious practices.

Other Jews may have altered their response from one census to the next. Demographers refer to this trend as 'ethnic migration' and reasons for such action have been widely explored in the case of the Aboriginal community. Again the rabbinical approach would hold that a person is Jewish or not Jewish; you cannot change your mind about it. One could speculate that circumstances and beliefs alter over time and people feel that they have left or returned to the fold. The 2001 census was compared to the 1996 census according to the age and sex of the respondent in 1996. Migrants who came to Australia during this period were omitted and allowances were made for death, emigration and movement between the States. Figures 2a and 2b show the apparent ethnic migration pattern from 1996 to 2001 and by comparison from 1991 to 1996.





The two charts indicate a major change has occurred during the last five years. We continue to observe a significant shift away from Judaism among young adults although the numbers are increasing. Of greater importance is that the return to Judaism, so clearly apparent among women of around 40, is no longer discernible. There are small gains for men aged 35-44 and women aged 55-64. In total, the community has been reduced by about 600 people (1.5%) who reported as Jewish in 1996 but not in 2001.

It is possible, indeed likely, that certain sections of the community underenumerate to a greater degree than other sections. However, it is difficult to determine the identity of these groups. Prevailing wisdom inferred that older people, and especially Holocaust survivors, were more likely to underenumerate. The evidence suggests the opposite. Communities immigrating from South Africa may also have higher levels of underenumeration if census results are compared to communal information sources. However, firm statistics would be needed before we could support the use of different underenumeration factors for subgroups within the community. We have, therefore, refrained from imposing variations in underenumeration for characteristics other than age.

Growth from 1981 to 2001

Growth of the Sydney Jewish community since World War II can be divided into three phases. Immediately following that war, there was large scale immigration by survivors of the Holocaust. There followed a period of consolidation with a considerable level of fami-

ly formation continuing until about 1960. Between 1960 and 1980, there was little growth as migration fell away and most of the family formation had been completed. Since that time a more complex pattern has emerged. Ageing of the original migrants has led to a decrease in natural growth (births less deaths) but new migrant streams have emerged especially from South Africa and for a period from the former USSR.

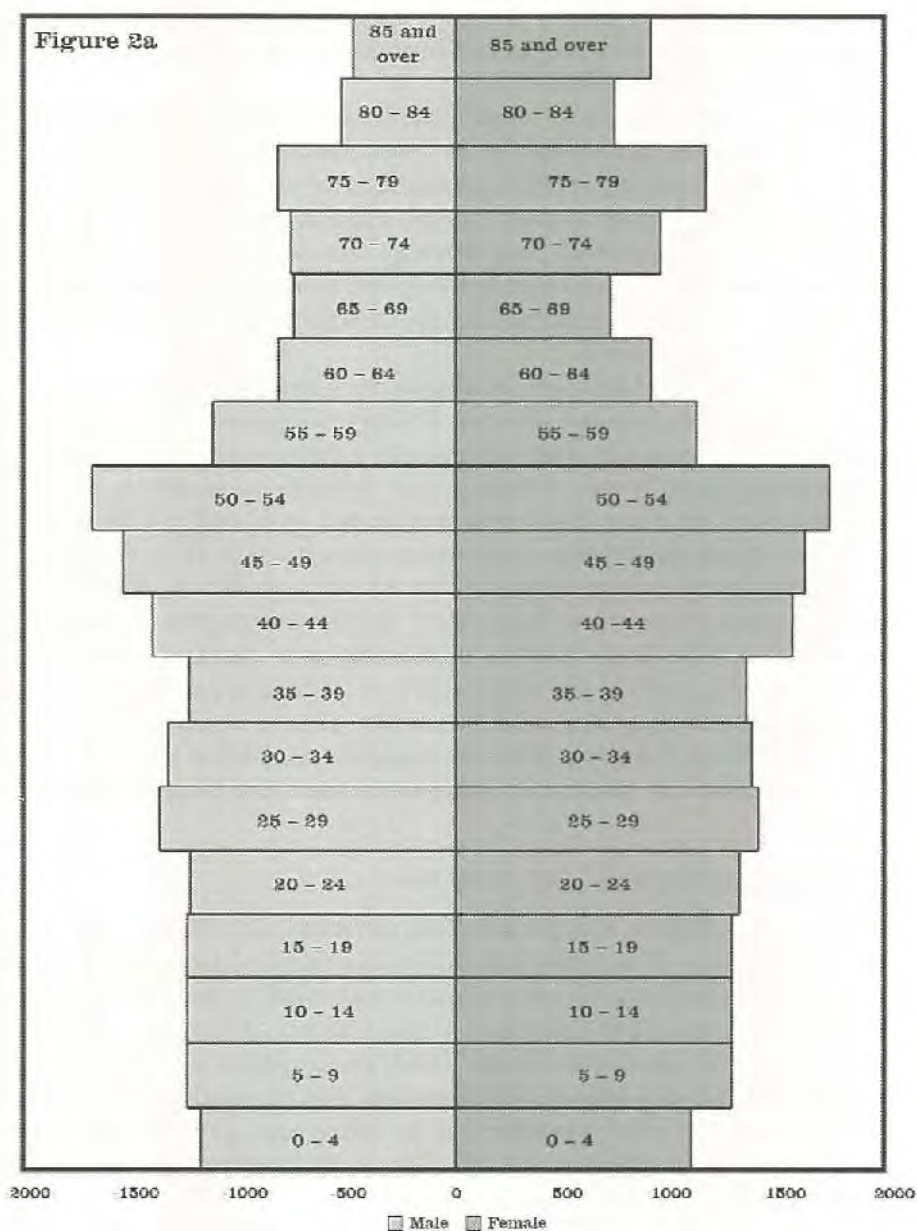
In June 1981 the Jewish population of NSW was estimated at 30755. It rose strongly to 34171 in 1986 followed by a more modest increase to 35932 in June 1991. Another strong rise fuelled entirely by immigration lifted the estimated population to 39,301 in June 1996³. The overall growth rate during the 15 years from 1981 to 1996 was 1.65% pa, considerably higher than that of the general population. Immigration especially from South Africa accounted for nearly all of this growth.

Between 1996 and 2001, community growth slowed as immigration from the former Soviet Union disappeared and deaths exceeded births by a substantial margin⁴. This was offset by higher immigration from South Africa. The Jewish population of New South Wales at 30 June 2001 was estimated at 41560 while Sydney was 40025. It is equivalent to a State growth rate of 1.1% pa, the same growth rate experienced by the whole population. The contribution of natural increase was -847⁴ while migration contributed 3586 persons. The large excess of deaths over births is caused by the loss of many from the first wave of immigrants who arrived immediately following the war. The main source country for immigrants was South Africa (2574). Smaller numbers arrived from Israel, a number of European countries and the United States of America.

Population Distribution - Age and Sex

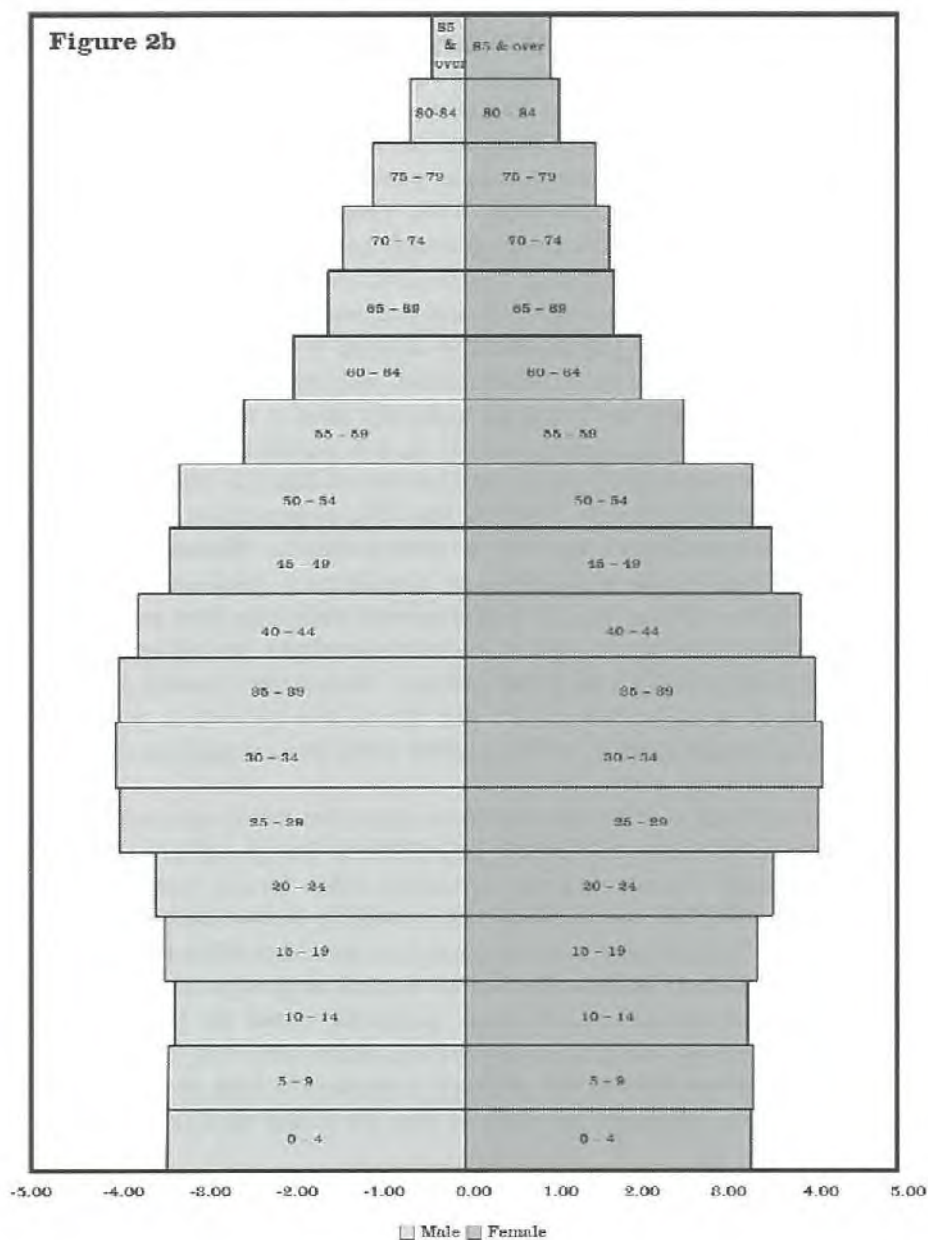
Figure 2A depicts the population pyramid for the Jewish community of Sydney. It is typical of migrant communities with periods of substantial numbers of new arrivals followed by periods of lesser movement. Compared to the general population of Sydney, shown as Figure 2B, Jews are under-represented in younger age groups but especially among pre school children and young adults. Conversely, the community is over-represented in older age groups especially among those over the age of 70. There is another smaller peak among persons aged between 50 and 54.

The sex distribution is unusual in that females greatly outnumber males in the 30-44 age groups. This is not a result of sex differentials by birth or immigration. The most plausible explanation is that males are more disposed to repudiate their Jewish iden-

Jewish Population of Sydney 2001

General Population of Sydney 2001 (%)

Figure 2b



tity (at least for the census). Further discussion on this aspect of Jewish demography can be found in the section dealing with assimilation.

Population Distribution - Geographic Dispersion

It has been mentioned that the Sydney Jewish community is concentrated within the Eastern and, to a lesser extent, the Northern suburbs of Sydney. In 2001, 63% of the population lived in the Eastern suburbs (also 63% in 1996) and 20% (22%) in the Northern suburbs. The comparable percentage distribution in the general population is 6% and 14% respectively. Elsewhere the Jewish community varies from a small percentage to almost complete absence. For example in Fairfield-Liverpool, the census found 73 Jews, or about one quarter of one percent of the Jewish community, in an area whose population is almost 10% that of Sydney and where many other ethnic communities⁵ are strongly represented.

We have divided the Eastern suburbs into a northern tier with 51% of Sydney's Jewish population and a southern tier with 12%. There has been a shift of 2% from the North East to the South East. The suburbs of Randwick, Coogee and Maroubra have all increased their Jewish population by 200 to 300 persons. Meanwhile, Bondi and Potts Point have experienced significant decline. The major suburban gain within the North Eastern suburbs has occurred in Vacluse/Dover Heights, which should overtake Bondi as the leading Jewish suburb by the 2006 census. Vacluse already holds the largest number of children. In the Northern suburbs, population numbers are little changed from 1996 with the exception of St. Ives that has grown by 300.

The northern tier of the Eastern Suburbs holds an even higher proportion of the elderly Jewish population. For people over the age of 75 excluding nursing home residents, 58% live in these suburbs. A little over half of the almost 700 nursing home and hostel residents live in Ryde, the great majority in the Montefiore Home. The number of children is distributed in a similar proportion to that of the whole population other than suburbs close to the centre of Sydney (Waterloo, Darlinghurst) where there are very few children.

The appendix shows the Jewish population and proportions of the elderly and children in each of the 18 areas of Sydney used in this report.

Movement between Suburbs

The changes occurring to population by suburban precinct primarily reflects immigration trends but we also consider movement

of the existing population. In previous reports, this movement was inferred but on this occasion, data on place of residence in 2001 was directly compared with the same respondent's place of residence in 1996.

During the period between 1996 and 2001, there was a pronounced shift of population from the Northern to the Eastern Suburbs amounting to approximately 2% of population. Within the Eastern suburbs, the South Eastern tier gained slightly from the North Eastern although this inter-Eastern suburbs movement was considerably less important than immigration. The balance of Sydney suburbs also gained from both Northern and Eastern precincts reversing the movement between 1991 and 1996. This appears to be associated with younger people moving to less expensive housing although there is also movement of older people from family homes to retirement and nursing home accommodation especially from the Northern suburbs.

Country of Origin

The Jewish community remains an immigrant society. The proportion of population born in Australia is still a minority although 50 years have passed since the mass post war migrations. More than 27% of the population arrived in this country since 1981 and almost 10% during the five years between 1996 and 2001. Meanwhile the number of persons who arrived in the 1940s and 1950s is quickly reducing. The familiar profile of the Jewish family with parents born in Europe while children and grandchildren were born in Australia is coming to an end. Persons born in South Africa now account for a larger share of the overseas born than for all of Europe excluding the USSR. A steady stream of about 500 arrivals per annum from South Africa has given new vitality to the community and this migration continues unabated. Migration from Russia seems to have halted but the Sydney community has welcomed more than 2000 migrants from that source over the last 15 years. Mention should also be made of the smaller but steady migration from Israel estimated at about 60 persons per annum. However, unlike Russia and South Africa, migration movement with Israel also moves in significant numbers in the reverse direction.

There are some concentrations of different places of origin in geographic location. Table 3 indicates the country of birth by major geographic division. Persons born in Australia are over represented in the suburbs outside the main concentrations and there is a larger than expected number of European origin on the Lower North Shore. For other more recent immigrant groups, the concentration originally strongly focussed on one location, is experiencing

change. The percentage of South African migrants (RSA) on the Upper North Shore is now 32% compared to 39% in 1996. We found that 21% of immigrants from the former Soviet Union (FSU) live in Waterloo compared to 3% for Jews as a whole. The Israeli born have the highest proportion living in the North Eastern tier.

Table 3: Country of Birth by Geographic Location in Sydney

Location	Aust	Europe	FSU	Israel	RSA	Other,NS	Total
North Eastern	8918	3775	1115	911	3335	2334	20388
South Eastern	2026	640	677	210	61	582	4751
Lower N Shore	1288	708	47	74	438	318	2873
Upper N Shore	1750	511	58	137	2302	342	5099
Waterloo	212	62	582	32	40	173	1102
Balance Sydney	2736	1241	252	252	451	881	5813
Total	16930	6937	2730	1616	7182	4630	40025

Births and Deaths

As the Jewish community holds no register of vital statistics, the number of births and deaths must be inferred from the census. This causes some loss in demographic precision since specific ages at death or ages of mothers at birth are not known. However, estimation techniques allow for some reasonable measures of estimation.

The number of children born in Australia during the period 1996-2001 is taken as the number of Australian born persons aged 0-4 at the 2001 census plus an adjustment of 30% for underenumeration. It was further assumed that 90% of persons aged 0-4 whose country of birth was not stated, were also born in Australia. The number of deaths before the age of 5 (about 0.7%) has also been included but it has a negligible influence in comparison with the broad measure of underenumeration.

By this approach, we find that 2,068 children were born corresponding to a crude birth rate of 5.1 births per 1000 population. This compares to a rate of 13.3 births per thousand in NSW as a whole. Because there are less women in reproductive ages within the Jewish community, we prefer to use the more refined measure of children aged 0-4 compared to women aged 15-44 sometimes called the child-woman ratio. This ratio is 0.27 for Jews and 0.31 for the whole State. Consequently, while the birth rate for Jews is lower than for the general population, the main reason for the very low number of births is simply due to the relatively few women in reproductive ages.

By contrasts, deaths in the Jewish community are higher than for the overall State. We have estimated that the community was reduced by 600 persons between 1996 and 2001 through ethnic migration. The remaining reduction in population for those living

in Australia in 1996 and for those of the same age cohort reporting in 2001 has been taken as due to mortality. At younger ages, emigration from Australia to other countries also impacts upon the statistics.

The number of deaths between 1996 and 2001 can then be estimated at 3,702 equivalent to a crude death rate of 8.9 per thousand population as compared to 7.2 per thousand in the general population. Standardisation for age shows that mortality within the Jewish community is actually lower than State averages and corresponds closely with mortality among other Australians living in the low mortality suburbs of Eastern and Northern Sydney.

Education

Education has always been a subject of great concern to the community. There has been a remarkable growth in Jewish community schools over the last 20 years with the majority of children now attending a Jewish day school. At the same time, the Board of Jewish Education has increased its services to children attending Government schools.

The census elicits responses on whether children attend government or non-government schools and the level of education currently being undertaken (pre-school, primary, secondary or tertiary). Within the non-government sector, children might be attending a Jewish Day School (schools run by the Jewish community primarily for Jewish students) or a private school administered by a non-Jewish organization. While most private schools with Jewish students have loose affiliation to a Christian religious ethos, some popular schools (e.g. Sydney Grammar and now Reddam College) are non denominational.

There has been a general drift away from government schools to the private sector especially over the last decade. In 1996, the census indicated that the non government sector educated 64.0% of Sydney Jewish students at primary level and 59.9% at secondary. The respective percentages in 2001 were 65.1% and 73.2%. It will be observed that most of the increased percentage has been at the secondary level. This movement is not restricted to Jewish students and is noticeable across all sectors of the community. Some retention at government schools was formerly attributed to the existence of selective secondary schools. These schools have restricted entry usually determined by academic merit. In all other respects, selective schools are no different to other government run schools. Sydney Boys and Sydney Girls High Schools are selective schools where the traditional high numbers of Jewish students has substantially decreased in the last decade. Government comprehensive schools educate more than 75% of children in the State. These are

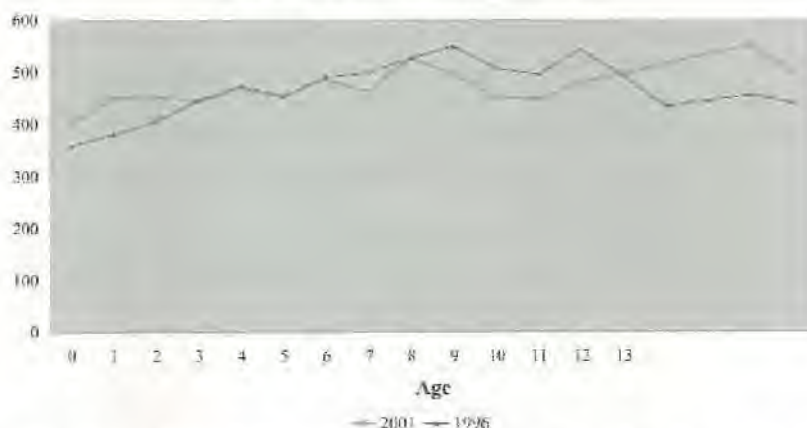
local high schools with unrestricted entry to children living in the school catchment area but reasonable opportunities for other students to attend. Vaucluse and Killara High Schools continue to attract moderate numbers from the Jewish community and now offer Hebrew as a school subject.

The reasons for parents to educate their children at the various types of school discussed above will vary from home to home. Finance and access are likely to be important considerations but personal experiences, educational philosophy and family history will also play a role. It is probable that even if the community could afford to educate every child at a Jewish day school free of charge, a significant proportion of parents would still choose another category of school. At present, the JCA considers it unlikely that Jewish day schools could expect an enrolment of more than 80% of all potential students.

The Population of Jewish Children

The number of children aged 0-17 in the Jewish community at 30 June 2001 is estimated at 8616 compared to 8396 in 1996. The age distribution of these children is shown as Figure 4.

Jewish Children 1996 and 2001



It will be observed that the age distribution of children is somewhat smoother than in 1996 especially at younger ages. The relatively larger cohort, who were in upper primary years in 1996 are now coming to the end of their school years. During the next 5 years the number of new entrants to school will be substantially below the number of school leavers although thereafter we can expect steady patterns assuming migration trends remain similar.

Two effects are responsible for the age pattern disclosed by the chart. The first has been declining fertility in the Jewish communi-

ty as indeed is occurring in Australian society as a whole. Fertility in the Jewish community is slightly lower than for the general population of Sydney and demographers anticipate further reduction in fertility with smaller families, postponement of births and greater numbers choosing to remain childless. The second reason for an increasing number of children with increasing age is the effect of immigration. The actual age at migration by religious denomination is not available from the official statistics. However, the effect of immigration measured at the 2001 census increased the child population by 156 in the 0-4 age group, by 358 in the 5-9 age range and by 246 in the 10-14 group. South Africa was the main source of child migrants contributing more children than all other sources put together. This selective migration around the age when school commences tends to offset the reduction in numbers driven by lower fertility.

Type of School from Census Returns

The census disclosed 5108 Jewish children attended a Sydney school in 2001. After taking account of underenumeration, we estimate a total of 6289 school age children in that year⁵. This represents an increase of about 300 children compared to 1996. There were 1957 (31.2%) in the government sector and 4333 (68.8%) in the non government sector as shown in Table 5. The overall movement from government to non-government education is 6.6% of school children.

Table 5: Type of School and Geographic Division of Children

<i>Primary Schools</i>	<i>Government</i>		<i>Non Government</i>		<i>% Non Government</i>
Place	Females	Males	Females	Males	
North Eastern	179	146	671	716	81.02
South Eastern	74	73	150	161	67.90
Upper North Shore	152	165	188	179	53.70
Lower North Shore	42	44	25	30	38.89
Waterloo	4	12	0	4	20.00
Other	144	142	46	30	20.86
Total	595	581	1078	1121	65.15
<i>Secondary Schools</i>	<i>Government</i>		<i>Non Government</i>		
Place	Females	Males	Females	Males	
North Eastern	73	90	699	641	89.20
South Eastern	51	44	108	96	68.22
Upper North Shore	135	118	206	225	63.05
Lower North Shore	24	24	36	38	60.38
Waterloo	3	7		0	25.00
Other	116	96	41	36	26.51
Total	401	380	1094	1037	73.16
Grand Total	996	961	2175	2158	68.86

It will be observed that non-government schools were the overwhelming choice of parents in the North Eastern suburbs, the home of most Jewish children. The South Eastern suburbs also show a high non-government percentage for all schools, a substantial increase in the non-government sector compared to 1996. On the Upper North Shore there has been a noticeable increased percentage at government schools especially in the primary years while the Lower North Shore shows a large variation between primary and secondary education. Elsewhere in Sydney, the great majority of children attend government schools.

Type of School from Communal Statistics

The Jewish community holds accurate statistics on children attending Jewish day schools and fair data on Jewish children in government schools through BJE scripture classes. Information on Jewish children in private schools requires rough estimation from anecdotal sources.

Data were obtained from the five primary schools and four high schools affiliated with various sectors of the Jewish community. These showed a total of 3457 children were being educated at the Jewish day schools leaving 876 (20%) in other private schools. The respective percentages at primary and secondary level were 14% and 27%. The percentage in non-Jewish secondary schools has increased since 1996 largely due to a new private school that has attracted a high proportion of Jewish students.

In the government sector, the Board of Jewish Education (BJE) holds lists that include nearly all students of primary age. However, the secondary numbers are much smaller and less than half secondary age students are included in the BJE statistics.

Influence of Income, Country of Birth and Type of Family

There are important differences in preferred type of school by sub-groups within the community. Immigrants from South Africa are more likely to choose a non government school while immigrants from the former Soviet Union are more likely to choose a government school. This, to some extent, reflects income gradients, social norms in their country of origin and expectations among different immigrant groups. Income does play a significant role in determining the type of school although not as great as some might expect. Private schooling is common even among very low income groups. Clearly many children require subsidies in order to attend a Jewish day school. Single parent families are less common in the Jewish community than elsewhere. The number of school children in sin-

gle parent families was 770 or 13% of all children. They were more likely to attend government schools consistent with the lower income of these families. Table 6 shows the type of school according to country of birth, income and family type characteristics.

People whose income was 'not stated', a larger group in the Jewish community than elsewhere, appear to have a high income based on their suburb of residence and strong attachment to private schooling. This issue is discussed further in the section on wealth and poverty. It was deemed prudent to incorporate 'not stated' income with the highest income category throughout this report.

Pre School and Other Education

Table 6: Country of Birth and Family Type Characteristics of Non Government School Children as a Percentage of all Children

Characteristic	% Non Government
Born in Australia	67
Born in former USSR	53
Born in South Africa	77
Born Elsewhere	60
Income less than \$15600	43
Income \$15600-\$36400	53
Income \$36400-\$62400	52
Income \$62400-\$104000	62
Income more than \$104000	73
Income Not Stated	75
Single Parent Family	54

There were 840 children attending pre-school centres, all of whom were aged between 3 and 5. Within the same age groups, 294 children had started school and 235 did not participate in formal education.

At the upper end of the school education years (15-17) nearly all Jewish children are at school. There were 55 students at other educational centres (presumably TAFE) and a few had commenced university studies. Remarkably, only 22 persons were no longer participating in education.

The Elderly

It has been mentioned that older people form a larger segment of the Jewish community than in the general population. After adjustment for underenumeration, the census indicates that there were 8928 people over the age of 60 representing about 22% of the Sydney Jewish community compared to 17% in the population of

Sydney as a whole. There has been a reduction among the elderly, who comprised 9174 people and 25% of the population in 1996, due to a higher loss through death than through ageing of persons aged 55-59 in 1996. A high proportion (mainly women) lived on their own but relatively few with their children. Table 7 indicates the distribution of elderly people by age and living arrangements. Note that while at some ages, there are more males than females living with partners, the total male/female proportion progressively lessens.

The original migrants who came from Europe immediately before and after the Second World War still dominate the elderly population although their numbers are diminishing. While the overall percentage of the population born in Europe is only 15%, the percentage in the elderly is considerably higher. For those aged 60-64, it is estimated at 20% and this rises continuously reaching 52% in the population aged 85 and over. There are clear implications for language support among those providing aged care services that are even more important as recent migrants from the former Soviet Union move into older age groups. The peak age for these migrants is now 60-64 where they form 13% of the Jewish population. South African migrants are younger with only 11% currently aged 60 or more. A discussion on income levels among the elderly is included in the section on Wealth and Poverty.

Table 7: Living Arrangements by Age/Sex Groups

	Alone	Partner	Children	Care ⁷	Other ⁸	Total
Males 60-64	77	708	3	3	14	720
Females 60-64	124	629	7	2	10	767
Males 65-69	89	594	0	4	2	726
Females 65-69	173	519	25	7	4	894
Males 70-74	88	589	14	10	10	923
Females 70-74	309	505	35	9	11	1228
Males 75-79	111	603	10	16	9	663
Females 75-79	454	542	34	65	7	826
Males 80-84	128	367	11	40	7	518
Females 80-84	339	204	24	75	14	762
Males 85+	77	224	14	82	8	387
Females 85+	362	121	66	324	13	759
Total	2330	5603	244	640	111	9174

The demand for places in nursing homes and hostels will increase substantially over the next few years as the large cohort aged between 75 and 84 reach ages requiring greater levels of care. The two Montefiore Homes satisfy about half the current demand and there is a considerable waiting list for the 400 available places. The introduction of geriatric assessment has led to a more rapid

turnover of residents but less than 100 places become vacant each year. Former Eastern Suburbs residents are under-represented at Montefiore perhaps due to the perceived distance between the main centre at Hunters Hill and the circle of friends and relatives at home. Most other hostels and nursing homes with substantial numbers of Jewish residents are located in the Eastern Suburbs.

Elderly Jews, and especially the very old, are even more concentrated in the North Eastern Suburbs than is the community as a whole. Table 8 shows the numbers of elderly Jews excluding those in residential care by location of residence for the age groups of 60-74 and 75+. While the proportion of the total population living in the north eastern tier is 51% the proportion aged 60-74 is 52% and the proportion aged more than 75 rises to 59%.

Table 8: Location of Community Residence for Elderly Jews

	Aged 60-74	75 and over
North Eastern	2318	2211
South Eastern	498	368
Lower North Shore	415	321
Upper North Shore	421	261
Waterloo	293	184
Other	593	404
Sydney Total	4538	3749

Intermarriage

Intermarriage has long been a concern in most countries where Jewish residents freely mix with people of other religions. It is probably the major cause of ethnic out-migration, the discontinuance of Jewish identification. In some countries like the United States, intermarriage is reportedly more common than marriage to a Jewish partner.

Census results indicate that there is an apparent increase in the proportion of marriages where one partner is Jewish but the other responds with another religion or does not answer the question. It is difficult to make assumptions about underenumeration in circumstances of mixed marriage. Since it is likely that the partners complete the form jointly, one could argue that a mixed response indicates genuine differences in religion. However, it is also possible that both partners are Jewish but one feels more strongly about their religious affiliation than does the other. We have chosen to report data on intermarriage without making adjustments for underenumeration and we also include country locations in this section of the report.

Intermarriage rates may be calculated in two ways; by the number of couples and by the number of individuals involved. The pro-

portion intermarried will be different depending on which approach we are using. For instance, the number of mixed marriages in the 25-29 age group was reported at close to 50%. Half the marriages involving a Jewish respondent were to non Jewish partners. However, since both parties in the all Jewish marriage are counted within the Jewish community, the number of people with a non Jewish partner is not one half but one third. The discussion below is primarily reported in terms of marriages.

There were 7774 couples aged from 20-59 (the data includes people living in *de facto* relationships) with at least one partner being Jewish. Of these, 4737 (61%) reported both partners as Jewish compared to 64% in 1996. The remaining couples included 1499 (19%) reported only the female partner as Jewish and 1538 (20%) only the male partner as Jewish. In the younger age groups the proportion of marriages with both partners Jewish were 50% aged 20-24 and 54% aged 25-29. In the age groups from 40 and over, more than 65% of married couples consisted of both partners Jewish.

The proportion of mixed marriages increases with increasing distance from the main centres of the community. In the North Eastern tier suburbs, only 20% of couples have mixed marriages while in the South Eastern tier and the Northern Suburbs, the proportion is 35%. In the remainder of Sydney and in country areas, more than 70% of married couples included a non Jewish partner.

The incidence of *de facto* relationships is lower in the Jewish community than in the general population. Only 12% of couples were living in a *de facto* relationship. However, most of these (76%) were of mixed religion and the couple lived outside of the main community centres. There were also 709 marriages reported where neither husband nor wife was Jewish but one or both parties reported their ancestry as Jewish. While some of these individuals may be Jewish under the laws of *halacha*, we have not regarded them as mixed marriages for the purposes of this report.

The number of dependent children were higher among the couples with both partners Jewish, probably reflecting the more complete childbearing stage of the life cycle. The dependent children of mixed marriages is estimated at 2981 compared to 6240 where both parents are Jewish indicating that 68% of dependent children were being raised in families with both partners Jewish compared to 71% in 1996.

For the children of mixed marriages, it was found that 1095 (37%) were regarded as Jewish. There were 843 children with a Jewish mother and 252 with a Jewish father. This indicates that 57% of Jewish mothers with a non Jewish partner regarded their

children as Jewish while 17% of Jewish fathers with a non Jewish partner regarded their children as Jewish.

Table 9 shows the frequency of dependent children by broad geographic location. There is a clear inverse relationship between the proportions of dependent children from mixed marriages with the major centres of the core community. One explanation for that effect is that couples in mixed marriages loosen their ties to communal activity and move away. Another reason might be that Jewish children living outside the main communal centres mix mainly with non-Jews.

Table 9: Dependent Children by Type of Marriage and Geographic Location

	Mixed Marriage	Jewish Marriage	All Marriages	% Mixed
North Eastern	633	3398	4031	15.7
South Eastern	312	787	1099	28.4
North Shore	598	1562	2160	27.7
Other Sydney	1150	450	1600	71.9
Country	288	43	331	87.0
NSW Total	6240	2981	10020	32.3

Wealth and Poverty

The relative affluence of the Jewish community in comparison with the general population of Sydney cannot be disputed. However, average statistics are able to mask significant pockets of disadvantage. The census shows that some of Sydney's Jews not only fail to share in the high living standard enjoyed by the majority but also are living in circumstances that can only be described as deprived.

Income is collected at the level of the individual and also for the whole household. Other census data tells us about the nature of occupancy (whether the family home is owned, rented or falls under some other arrangement) and the stage of the life cycle in which the occupants can be placed. An elderly woman living alone, a newly married couple and a family with young children have different needs and their social circumstances will reflect their ability to meet those needs. For example, a family with children at a prestigious private school must meet not just high tuition fees but the social pressures placed on their children by school peers.

Reporting for this section uses the household income as a measure of affluence. Income is by no means a perfect criterion but information about assets or family support cannot be derived from a census. The Jewish community has an unusually large proportion (13%) of people who do not indicate their income on the census form. It is noticeable that these 'not stated' respondents are concentrated in the suburbs of Vacluse, St. Ives and Bellevue Hill, the

most affluent suburbs of those that did respond. Furthermore, the 'not stated' income group has the highest proportion of children at private schools. It is probable that most members of this group are wealthy and we have placed them with the higher income groups for reporting.

Our previous report indicated that the two main pockets of disadvantage are encountered with families and with the elderly. We have concentrated on these two groups in the preparation of this section of the report.

Table 10: Proportion of Income Levels for Families by Geographic Location

	<\$62,000	\$62-\$104	\$104,000+	Not Stated
North Eastern	19.19	22.99	39.43	18.39
South Eastern	31.35	27.42	28.01	13.21
Lower North Shore	14.86	24.42	48.20	12.53
Upper North Shore	13.01	23.44	43.76	20.80
Waterloo	62.73	17.27	11.82	8.18
Other Sydney	36.18	27.74	27.93	8.15
Grand Total	21.79	23.99	37.60	16.62

The most immediate observation from this table is the major geographic distinction between the Jewish community in Waterloo and that found in all other parts of Sydney. Recent migrants from the former USSR comprise the largest component of the Jewish population in that area. About 40% of families in Waterloo are in the lowest income group with a take home pay for the entire household of less than \$500 a week before tax. It is extremely difficult to house, clothe, feed and educate children with so little discretionary income. Elsewhere the proportion of very low income households is below 20%. The Upper and Lower North Shore together with the North Eastern tier contain about 40% of families on the highest income level (\$2,000 a week) and we can be fairly confident that the real figure is above 50% after inclusion of most of the 'not stated' category.

The largest demographic group in financial difficulties is the elderly. Many appear to be wholly dependent on the pension although some may be receiving informal support. Altogether there are an estimated 4,230 elderly Jews with income below \$400 per week close to the official poverty line. The poor elderly are scattered throughout Sydney but the largest numbers are found in Bondi. In Waterloo, over half the elderly population lives below the poverty line.

About 19% of the older Jewish population lives in rented accommodation and, not unnaturally, renters have lower incomes than owner/occupiers. In Waterloo, 75% of the elderly pay rent and there are also above average proportions in Coogee and Maroubra.

However, the percentage of elderly renters is less than 10% in the affluent precincts of Vaucluse, Rose Bay, Lindfield and St. George.

The Jewish Community of Country New South Wales

The preceding analysis other than for intermarriage was concerned with the Jewish community of Sydney. The census disclosed that another 1279 people⁸ living elsewhere in the State reported their religion as Jewish. This is an increase of just over 100 compared to the 1996 census. Jews are found throughout New South Wales with small concentrations in Newcastle, Wollongong and a number of other urban communities. Most Jews who reside outside the Sydney Statistical Division live along the coastal fringe especially between Port Macquarie and the Queensland border. This is a popular area for retirees.

These communities share certain characteristics with the Jews of Sydney in terms of the older age distribution and higher average income. In other ways, country Jews are very different. The proportion of mixed marriages at 84% is higher than for any locality within Sydney. Children do not have access to Jewish schools and are mainly educated in the government sector at primary level. In secondary school, there is a substantial drift to non government schools almost certainly non Jewish. Similarly, care for elderly Jews is presumably delivered by general service providers rather than Jewish Care.

We have no way of testing whether the underenumeration factor applicable to metropolitan Jews should also be applied to persons living in rural settings. Because there is such a high proportion of mixed marriages, underenumeration may well be greater than in the city. However, as there are no community statistics to test against, it would be prudent to apply the same underenumeration assumption as for the metropolitan area. The State estimate of 41,560 Jews is calculated on that assumption.

Flows Within The Jewish Community of Australia

This series of reports for the Jewish Communal Appeal have until now been limited to the Jews of New South Wales and specifically Sydney. We have been asked to estimate the number of Jews in Australia if the underenumeration assumptions used for Sydney were valid for the rest of the country. There has also been interest in movement between the States.

If an average 20% underenumeration existed across the country, there would be just over 101,000 Jews resident in Australia compared to the census count of 83,991. The population of the

States and Territories would be as shown in Table 11. It will be noticed the NSW and Victoria together account for 87% of the Australian Jewish population.

Table 11: Raw and Estimated Jewish Populations of States and Territories

States	Enumerated Population	Adjusted Population
Victoria	38374	46049
NSW	34345	41560
Western Australia	5072	6086
Queensland	4271	5125
South Australia	1072	1286
ACT	528	634
Tasmania	180	216
NT	149	179
AUSTRALIA	83991	101135

We can also examine movement between the States using the same underenumeration factor. Because the population is so dominated by Sydney and Melbourne, the movement can be simply described for those two cities and the rest of the country. Persons under 5 years of age and immigrants since 1996 are omitted from the 2001 populations.

Table 12: Movement of Jewish Population 1996 to 2001

Residence 1996	Sydney 2001	Melbourne 2001	Other Australia 2001
Sydney	32736	369	602
Melbourne	233	39463	400
Other Australia	665	770	10711

It will be observed that movement has been fairly small compared to the overall population. The flow from Sydney to Melbourne is a little larger than from Melbourne to Sydney but only by 136 people. The flow between Sydney and the rest of Australia is reasonably balanced, however Melbourne attracts more people from other parts of the country than those who flow out from that city. As a result, Melbourne has gained both from Sydney and the rest of the country although the numbers are quite small. In total, Melbourne gained 500 people from interstate flow, equivalent to 1% of its population.

NOTES

1. Encel S & Moss N (1995) *Sydney Jewish Community Demographic Profile* NSW Jewish Communal Appeal
2. After adjusting for our revised view of underenumeration
3. Ethnic migration might also contribute to the recorded growth.
4. Natural increase is births less deaths. Between 1996 and 2001 there were more deaths than births.

5. The Vietnamese and Yugoslav communities are among those concentrated in this part of Sydney
6. The main difference between this number and the total population aged 0-17 (8396) are pre schoolers as most Jewish children complete secondary school.
7. Residential Care including hostels and nursing homes
8. Includes retirement villages, hospitals and other non private dwellings
9. This increases to 1535 if we use the same underenumeration factor as for the Sydney population
10. In this table children refer to the population aged 0-14 [Appendix]
11. The population over 60 including residents of the Montefiore Home [Appendix]

Appendix Populations and Geographic Boundaries

Major Division	Local Division	Postcodes	Children ¹⁰	Elderly	Total
North Eastern (Population 20500)	Dondi	2026	1007	1170	5312
	Bellevue Hill	2023	503	543	2501
	Waverley	2022, 2024	376	577	2125
	Edgecliffe	2025, 2027, 2028	212	872	2233
	Rose Bay	2029	582	559	2753
	Vaucluse	2030	1005	782	4606
	Paddington	2000, 2011, 2021	82	188	858
South Eastern (Population 4050)	Handwick	2031	326	253	1498
	Kingsford	2018, 2032, 2033, 2034	363	304	1703
	Maroubra	2035, 2036	324	310	1550
Waterloo	Waterloo	2010, 2016, 2017	44	485	1102
Lower Nth Shore	Lower Nth Shore	2060-2068, 2088-2096	354	751	2873
Upper Nth Shore	Lindfield	2069, 2070	152	204	870
(Population 5000)	St Ives	2075	701	210	2543
	Gordon	2071-2074, 2076-2077	337	282	1686
	Ryde ¹¹	2110-2122	131	551	1188
(Population 5900)	St George	2205-2224	109	246	936
	Balance Sydney	All other Sydney postcodes	487	608	3659
Country NSW	Country NSW	All other NSW postcodes	210	306	1535
TOTAL			7302	9224	41560

Note: All populations in this table are adjusted for underenumeration

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MANDELBAUM HOUSE AS THE JEWISH RESIDENTIAL COLLEGE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY (1996-2000)

A perspective of the CEO during the first five years

*By Gidon Druery**

In January 1996 the building of Mandelbaum College was completed ready for its first intake of students in February 1996. From its opening the residential college has provided modern, purpose-built accommodation for students studying at the University of Sydney. A full social life and pastoral support have been implemented for our resident students. In addition, a separate service to the University was developed by providing suite accommodation for visiting academics. The college has also been successful in marketing its conference facilities to parties within and outside the university. Mandelbaum House is now established as a close, caring community attracting diverse residents and visitors.

How and why Mandelbaum started

Rachel Lipton (nee Mandelbaum) died on 8 March 1978, aged 81. She had been a remarkable woman for her time; a highly articulate, individualistic, forceful non-conformist who valued education and Judaic scholarship. In 1918, at the age of 22, she graduated with a BA from the University of Sydney, where she read Latin, English, History, Philosophy and Chemistry. After graduating, she taught Latin and English at several schools and subsequently obtained her MA in Latin from the University of Sydney in 1934.

On 9 March 1978, it became known that she had bequeathed her estate for the construction of a college at the University of Sydney

*. Additional information has been added from the records. As well, an appendix written by Rabbi Raymond Apple, AO, RFD, Trustee and Joint Master of Mandelbaum House, outlining the major aspects of Rachel Lipman's life produced for the tenth anniversary has been added.

to be named Mandelbaum House. As early as 1974, a discussion was held with Rachel Lipton in the home of Professor Alan Crown, in the presence of the University Vice-Chancellor, Sir Bruce Williams.

The college was established in memory of her parents, Zallel and Freda Mandelbaum, who had provided spiritual leadership to a number of Australian congregations over many decades. Her second husband, Harry Lipton, subsequently bequeathed his estate to the Mandelbaum Trust as well. In her will Rachel Lipton stated that 'the residue of my estate thereafter remaining for the establishment of a Residential College for Jewish students on the campus of the Sydney University...as a Memorial to my parents the Reverend Bezalel Mandelbaum and his wife Freda to be known as Mandelbaum House'.

The will was quite prescriptive stating that the college would be co-residential, contain an area for worship, a library, house a visiting scholar to assist students of the college in their academic work, work in conjunction with the Department of Semitic Studies and be run on orthodox lines. The college would accommodate a resident master who would be dedicated to the task of leading the students back to the age-old ideals of Judaism.

This was the vision that Rachel Lipton had of the facility which would be established at Sydney University. Rachel Lipton had envisaged a 200 bed college with a major financial contribution from the Federal Government; however the Government withdrew its funding arrangements in the 1970s. Initially it was to be built in Arundel Street on the northern side of Parramatta Road after a competition was to be held to select a design. After a battle with the local council in the Land and Environment Court and a Builder's Labourer's Union ban, the plans for Arundel Street were shelved and the funds invested. Eventually, a new site was allocated in Abercrombie Street on the Darlington side of the University of Sydney Campus.

Much of the will has been enacted through the efforts of the Trustees to the will. Other aspects could only be achieved through the administrative and pastoral role for myself in the position of Chief Executive Officer, while certain goals still need to be achieved.

My involvement with Mandelbaum House in being the foundation CEO was encouraged by the inspiration of many of my wife's family. Many had provided superb examples of how to contribute to establishing Jewish institutions and developing Jewish communal life. These included Alf Borman who established the Parramatta Synagogue and did significant work for the UIA and JNF. It also included the Simons family, who have made their mark within the Sydney community, making significant contributions to various institutions including Newtown Synagogue, Moriah College and the Yeshiva Girls High.

I have always viewed the Sydney community in the main as an immigrant community with many survivors of the Holocaust and displaced people. Although I am a fourth generation Australian converted to Judaism, it was my aim to help re-establish communal life for a decimated and displaced European community. For these reasons I took on the difficult task of establishing the day-to-day running of Mandelbaum House and to ensure that the College provided firm Jewish representation to the University at large.



Rachel Lipton

The Building

The building was due to be completed in time for the academic year of 1996. However, due to delays, I moved into our flat, together with my wife Tamara and my two sons, prior to the completion of the building. Many rooms still required painting and fittings. There was no office or kitchen area. Most furnishings were not in place. I faced the problem that all other colleges had completed their enrolments by this time. Our financial viability depended on filling the college since student fees were our only source of income. Mandelbaum House had no intention of asking for support from the Jewish Communal Appeal or other benefactors. The College was to stand on its own. A verbal agreement had been forced onto the Council by the Jewish Communal Appeal and Shalom College, so that Mandelbaum would not compete with Shalom for funding.



Professor Nerida Newbiggin and Rabbi Raymond Apple inspecting the progress of construction

Other colleges had the support of strong foundations and Alumni organisations. I was faced with the need to fill the college and have it operative within four weeks.

Without an office and phones, I sought innovative ways to hold interviews and allow students to know of our existence. I made personal contact with the International Student Service Unit, the Accommodation Service of the University, advertised in the Jewish Press, sent information to all Jewish organisations within Australia, contacted all Hillel Houses world wide. Many days I sat on the doorstep with a mobile phone as reception inside the building on the Optus network was very poor. I began interviewing students in my lounge room. After each interview I would conduct a tour through the parts of the building which were completed.

Of major priority at this stage was stocking the kitchen with equipment and making arrangements with a catering company to begin catering for residents as they began to live in house. We needed to ensure that the company was aware of our requirements regarding Kashrut. The equipment and all related was part of the architect's design brief; however the Trustees with Lia Friedler as secretary visited showrooms and selected and ordered furniture.

It was obvious before I started interviewing students that creating a community required more than running the college as a hotel.

It would not be sufficient simply to accept students on a first come first served basis. I developed an extensive application form to glean as much information about students as possible. To live with a group of students in close proximity for a year at a time or in many cases longer requires selecting those who wish to contribute to maintaining community harmony, as well as those who would befriend and support others in their scholarship and social life. The interview process was very important.

In time I developed an interview process to enable me to classify potential residents using Myer-Briggs personality typing which is based on the work of Jung. Although this was not used to select residents for admission it does assist in providing for their needs in college.

Initially the number of Jewish students applying for residency was small. As the years have gone on we have a great pool of applicants and have begun to increase the percentage of Jewish students in the college.

The Building Defects

After a delay of many years, a change of location and architect, the building was eventually designed by Wilkinson, McCloskey Architects and constructed by St Hilliers. It is a stylish building which won a design award. However, it became apparent that there were a number of defects within the building including electrical faults, slabs and cabling. The most dominant defect was the ingress of water into various locations within the building due to a variety of poor construction habits, a plague suffered by most modern buildings. The building was thoroughly and systematically repaired after major storms by Premier Waterproofing and in later years by other firms until all major defects were eliminated. This led to legal action being taken by the Trustees against the builder, St Hilliers, which has only been resolved recently. Another early problem was disagreement between the architects and the supervisor appointed by the Trustees.

Facilities for Students

The initial days of interviewing students and accepting them for residence in college led to a full house at the beginning of Semester I 1996. The basics of providing 'a bed, shelter and food' had been achieved. Nevertheless the creation of a college, an atmosphere of scholarship, support and friendship required some attention. I had to decide how to influence this process.

Mandelbaum contains a library, lounge room, a games room, common rooms and dining area. In time it became apparent that

many students met in the games room and lounge room areas when they were not studying in their bedrooms. These rooms only contained furniture and televisions / VCRs. It became apparent that the addition of a piano in the lounge room and a pool table in the games room would be valued by the students. Since their arrival both have been used by students almost continually. It was even necessary to restrict the hours which the piano could be played or pool played so as not to disturb students trying to sleep after 11pm.

However, the greatest source of sleep disturbance came from the doors - very heavy fire doors for each room which slammed shut by a spring hinge and echoed throughout the building. Students returning in the early hours of the morning were capable of awakening the whole college using these doors. After many requests it became universally recognised as benefiting everyone if all residents made the effort to close the doors quietly by standing at a door a few seconds for its closure.

The piano and pool table were not enough to establish a community atmosphere. The residents did not meet together as a whole at any point. For these reasons I established the semi-formal dinners which were obligatory for all students to attend. These dinners were to be held several times a semester. We also established the Residents Society to enable students to create a social and sporting life for the students at Mandelbaum.

The semi-formal dinners required a program of guest speakers and we were often able to draw on members of the council of Mandelbaum to give a speech on their research interests. We also invited academics who were resident to speak to the students on their area of interest.

From the beginning Mandelbaum had several flats available for visiting academics. So, at any point in time, we had 30 students and four academics, which led to many interesting table conversations. Academics enjoyed the company of the students and the quality of the accommodation while students received the benefits of conversation with academics living in house.

For these events we also had outside speakers for semi-formal dinners. They included Eddie Jakub, a survivor, who spoke of his experiences; Michael Garbett, a writer and broadcaster who spoke about his book on Jewish identity; Rabbi Jacqui Ninio the second female Australian who was ordained; and Ben Zion-Weiss who presented a talk on Kabbalah and taught us dances and songs.

Creating a Community

Creating a harmonious community of international students within an ethos of Jewish values has been interesting and challenging.

Community depends largely upon creating circumstances which enhance communication and the building of relationships. In a college context this requires some formality. It also involves creating events for socialising, learning and extending the ability and experience of the students.

During Orientation Week we have always devised a program of events which has normally included an introduction to the college, a formal dinner, a Resident Society games evening, table tennis competition, pool competition, tour of City and Manly, bushwalk and other Resident Society activities.

Pastoral Care within a community also means providing support for students at a time of special need due to unusual circumstances. Whether this occurred through illness or misadventure, counselling was available to assist in the circumstances, which had arisen.

Marketing on the Internet

In 1996 most inquiries to Mandelbaum House came through the accommodation service. However, it was soon recognised that since most Jewish students came from the United States or Israel, it would be important to facilitate international communication.

I went about constructing a Website by using Claris Homepage which was able to create a very basic site with most of the information in text form. At the beginning this site was successful in allowing overseas students ease of access to information about Mandelbaum.

To facilitate this further required creating good graphics that depicted the facilities, community life, and architectural style of Mandelbaum. We enlisted the help of a professional photographer to capture the range of images required. Mandelbaum employed three computer science staff to upgrade the website: Sarah Kummerfeld, Simon Goldrei, and Bradley Baetz. Bob Kummerfeld acted as an advisor.

Further to this we wished to streamline the process of students applying from overseas. We made the application form available as a download. We also created a form, which could be filled out on-line and would be received by us in the form of an email. These improvements have allowed many more overseas students to apply directly to us and allow us to increase the percentage of Jewish numbers within the College.

The Visiting Scholars Program

From the very beginning of the House it was envisaged by the Trustees as prescribed in the will of Rachel Lipton that the college would develop a program of visiting scholars who would provide the

backbone of the Jewish education offered by Mandelbaum.

The program initially took the form of one main scholar-in-residence per year with a number of scholars coming for shorter periods, interspersed throughout the year, though this has changed as time went by.

The scholars-in-residence in the first five years were:

Year	Scholar	Area
1996	Lord Immanuel Jakobovits	Medical Ethics
1997	Prof. Nahum Rakover	Jewish Law 1998
	Dr Phyllis Silverman	Bereavement Counselling
1999	Prof. Emanuel Tov	Dead Sea Scrolls
2000	Prof. Ilan Troen	Contemporary Israeli History

For each scholar-in-residence a lecture series was organised in the evening during the mid week. Over and above this, the scholar in residence had media contact with both written and broadcasting media to bring awareness of the public to the scholar in residence program and to generate publicity for Mandelbaum.

Representing the Jewish Community to the University at large

One of my roles as the CEO of Mandelbaum was to build and maintain contact with the other residential colleges of the university. I became involved in the Association of Heads of University Colleges and met regularly with the other Heads to discuss matters of common interest. The majority of colleges at Sydney University are church affiliated. Mandelbaum provides the first Jewish institutional presence on campus. It became evident that my role also engaged me openly in direct Jewish - Christian dialogue because I was often asked to clarify a Jewish perspective on an issue. As a convert to Judaism from a strong fundamental Baptist background I felt very equal to the task, having a clear understanding of the similarities and points of departure of the two faiths. Later I became the secretary of the Sydney University chapter of the Association of the Heads of Colleges. Each year I attended the national conference which gave insights into the creation of a college culture with its student support structure and pastoral care.

I was even invited to join the Bogong Society which was a group of various Heads from the different campuses throughout Sydney who met to discuss theology, poetry and educational issues. At one time I presented a paper to this group entitled 'A sense of the Sacred' exploring the common ground of religious experience.

It was particularly interesting to be approached by the Muslim Association on campus, who sought advice on how they might develop a Muslim College on campus. However, when I described the years of effort by the Trustees and the difficulties they encountered, the Muslim Association became quite disheartened. They were expecting to hear that the University had assisted us to a greater degree than they had. In an indirect way it became in my mind a clear testimony of the achievement that Mandelbaum is for the Jewish community of Sydney.

The Difficulties

Some of the difficulties which presented themselves became evident within the first few weeks of occupying Mandelbaum. The House is small with 32 students and three suites for academics. The Conference facilities are also small with a lecture room which can hold 80 people comfortably. Despite having a kosher kitchen we had no space to cater for functions such as weddings and Bar Mitzvahs as there are very few small Jewish *simchas*. It was clear that the majority of our revenue came from the student fees and our means of generating revenue over and above this was very limited.

Often providing for functions was frustrating and we rarely had non-Jewish conferences held at Mandelbaum. For the Jewish events there was always the attitude that since we were a Jewish communal organisation we should not be charging excessive prices on the hire of facilities and the provision of kosher catering. In effect this meant little revenue could be made in this manner. In comparison, other colleges, due to their size, were able to offer conference accommodation / facilities / catering packages which provided a reasonable amount of revenue to the college. Students were asked to leave during non-Semester time to facilitate their conferences. At Mandelbaum size simply prohibited this.

The size of the college also had implications for the staffing of services at Mandelbaum. With the larger colleges, my role could be split amongst several staff: the Head, Deputy Head, Dean of Students and Business Manager. This reflects the different aspects of the college life from financial, cultural, educational and religious. All of these aspects were my responsibility. I often felt I had no-one to call on for assistance or support. I had no back-up for out-of-hours events or for time out.

Because of the all-encompassing nature of the job, there were many sacrifices of privacy and family life which occurred on a daily basis. The office of Mandelbaum was one door away from the accommodation provided for myself and my family. Privacy was almost impossible as I was accessible 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. This

constant drain had its effects on my family life as we always felt it was necessary to keep the noise level down to a minimum. Play within the college was always restricted for our two younger sons and there was no play space in the surrounds of the college as there are no grounds or lawns to speak of.

Our elder son enjoyed college life and acted as one of the resident students. He joined them in the games room to watch television or visited them in their rooms to play computer games or to socialise. He rarely visited us and all resemblance of normal family life disappeared. The only time we met together as a family was on Friday night for our Shabbat meal.

Family Contribution

It is simply the case that much of what was achieved at Mandelbaum could only have occurred through the support of my wife. Tamara contributed significantly to the atmosphere of the college. Her outgoing and vivacious personality and warm and friendly nature created a wonderful atmosphere in the college. The students felt her and our children's presence keenly and often remarked on it. It was especially wonderful for the three years that Tamara was at home in the college after the birth of our youngest son. She had a large pastoral care role with the students and sitting with them at meals was a very important part of our role.

The Funny Events

There are several other events, which seem funny looking back on them now but were not at the time. One event involved our son Joshua who at the time was aged three and a half. One Saturday morning we woke up a little late and remarked to each other how considerate it was of him not to have woken us up (as he usually did). On going downstairs we discovered to our horror that he was not in our residence. We searched the street and all through the college when finally one of the students, hearing the commotion, poked her head out of her room to tell us that Joshua had come to her room and was sitting playing on her computer. He became a regular visitor to this young lady, a habit which terminated when exam time came around.

Another incident involved water. During our first few weeks at the college there were many inconveniences involving water as the building was still being completed. At times we only had cold water and so we would walk around to the University Sports Centre to pay for a shower; and on occasions there would be no water at all. This particular incident involved a little too much water. The flooding of the first floor with hot water occurred when there were only a few

students who had arrived in college. Water was dripping through the light in our laundry and we couldn't find the mains. Tamara ran across the road and started knocking on doors until by luck she found an architecture student who was able to assist us to find the mains. The whole of the first floor had flooded and the carpet needed replacing but otherwise there was no significant damage.

One particular event that may be considered in a humorous light was the bomb threat which occurred. One morning we were expecting the arrival of Professor Rakover together with the Consul General of Israel. They were on the way from the airport. It was noticed that a large unmarked parcel had appeared on our front door step without explanation. University Security was called and the eminent visit of the Consul General was explained. Security decided to contact the bomb squad, who promptly arrived and cordoned off the street. The squad redirected school children who were on the way to Darlington Primary School. Eventually Tamara arrived back from dropping the boys to school and reminded me that we had changed bread suppliers. It was possible that the package was simply a delivery of bread. When it was checked, it turned out to be just this!

Another incident involving faulty building installations was the frequent regularity of the fire alarms going off in the first year at the college. A great many of these fire alarms occurred in the middle of winter. It took quite a while, but finally we worked it out. A smoke detector had been placed in a very unusual position - right above a shower cubicle. One resident had the habit of having a shower at 6am and when this resident did, the steam would set off the smoke detectors!

Another funny incident which Tamara remembers fondly involved a phone call from one of our students at 11pm. Usually a phone call from a student at this time of night would mean a trip to the hospital for someone with a stomach bug or a serious incident requiring immediate attention. This time, however, it was a little different. The female student had rung Tamara for assistance with a delicate matter. She had her dress stuck halfway over her head and as she wasn't modestly attired she was too embarrassed to ask anyone else for assistance to help her remove the dress. This particular student remained at the college for a number of years and often giggled with Tamara about this event.

Wonderful times: the many conversations with students about life and love

College life provided us with many wonderful memories. Tamara remembers coming home from the hospital with our third son and

being greeted with the announcement of his birth and weight on the college noticeboard. The birth of our son at the college was a moving occasion, with both non-Jewish and Jewish students attending. Another special event was the marriage of our initial resident with another lovely student and subsequent visit back on their honeymoon.

The many and varied conversations with both students and academics, and those rare and precious moments when you feel you have made contact with another human being, made living in the College a very important time of our lives. All in all, despite all the hardships and difficulties of living in college; we will always look back on the five years at Mandelbaum as a time in our lives that was absolutely fantastic.

Gidon Druery died unexpectedly in 2005. He wrote this article a few years ago and it has been published now for the 10th anniversary of the establishment of Mandelbaum House.-Ed.

APPENDIX

THE MANDELBAUM FAMILY

Rabbi Raymond Apple, AO RFD, Joint Master, Mandelbaum House

In the 1930s my father lived in Ballarat. He attended synagogue regularly. Reduced in numbers and revenue, the historic congregation warmly welcomed the young businessman. He was called to the Torah often and donated half a crown each time. Whether this helped to balance the books I do not know, but it was the time of the Depression and every penny was needed to maintain the building and pay the minister. That minister was Rev. Zallel Mandelbaum: he had the Talmudic knowledge to be a rabbi, but "Rev." is how Anglo-Jewish ministers were styled and he was no exception.

The Mandelbaums probably invited my father home; after all, they had daughters and he was a bachelor. But Rachel Mandelbaum was no longer living at home, so I cannot claim that had events turned out differently I might have been part of the family. In the end my father married a Melbourne girl, my mother, and they named me in Hebrew Betzalel, not because of Rev. Mandelbaum but because my grandfather was Betzalel Leib.

There were many stopping places on the Mandelbaums' route to Ballarat. After leaving Jerusalem they lived in Port Said where Zallel was a minister and innkeeper. Rachel was born there in 1896. Back in Jerusalem, Rachel attended Miss Landau's Evelina de Rothschild School. Then Zallel went to Perth where his wife and children joined him; Mrs. Mandelbaum took in sewing and mending

there because her husband was paid so little. His next congregation was Broken Hill; next came a return to Perth when Rabbi Freedman was away as a chaplain, and finally a ministry in Ballarat. He conducted services, taught the children and functioned as *shohet* and *mohel*. Along the line he learned English, though it is not certain how adequate he was as a preacher in English.

All this time, the Mandelbaums were a significant Jerusalem family; they claimed descent from King David. Zallel's scholarly brother Simcha and his businesswoman wife Esther Lieba, hoping to establish a Jewish suburb outside the Old City, built the original Mandelbaum House in 1929. At the end of the British Mandate it was a *Haganah* outpost; when British troops were spotted, the young men would put on kippot and be found studying Talmud whilst Esther Lieba would lie on the bed where the weapons were stored and the troops would be told, "Grandma is ill". In the War of Independence the house was blown up by the Jordanians. The border of divided Jerusalem was known as the Mandelbaum Gate because of its location beside *Bet Mandelbaum*.

The family were never sure why Zallel emigrated, nor was there much contact over the years he was in Australia. They presumed he held a major rabbinic position and thought he might have produced rabbinic writings; he probably had the capacity, but who in Australia would have been interested? Rachel Mandelbaum-Jerdan-Lipton certainly had the family intellect, and despite some of the less conventional things she did, her feeling for her family name and for education led her to perpetuate her parents' memory in the form of this College. I believe she and they would have been pleased with the result.

14 May 2006.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE DECKSTON LEGACY: FROM INSTITUTE TO TRUST – THE DECKSTON CONTRIBUTION TO THE WELLINGTON HEBREW CONGREGATION

by Mike Regan, Bob Pope and Susan Isaacs, NZ Jewish Chronicle Publications, 2005.

This small booklet has been produced in recognition of Annie and Max Deckston whose vision in rescuing orphans from Nazi Europe resulted in a capital fund, which was able to respond to the changing needs of the Wellington Jewish congregation. The careful handling of that fund by its directors has seen it grow in value over 60 years. The book's publication coincides with the retirement of Bob Pope whose involvement with the Trust has spanned those years, 30 of which were spent as Secretary/Treasurer.

Annie and Max established an orphanage to receive Jewish children from Europe before and during World War II. They had begun by rescuing many of their own relatives, having themselves come from Poland and Ukraine via England. Annie's maiden name was Beder and Max's original name Darevsky. They arrived in Wellington in 1896. In 1924, Annie returned to Poland to visit her family and persuaded her brother and his family to migrate. Max went to Tashkent and persuaded his sister and her family to migrate. More relatives arrived in 1926, 1929 and 1934 forming the nucleus of the Wellington Jewish community.

In 1932 they brought their first Jewish orphan to New Zealand from England and bought a property in Rintoul Street, which was to become the Deckston Orphanage. Three years later the first group of seven arrived and a group of twelve in 1937. It continued to operate until the late 1940s caring for both orphaned and destitute children. Annie established a Deed of Trust in 1936, by using freehold properties she owned, thus ensuring continued funds to run the Orphanage. It also ensured that the children attended state schools and university if appropriate. The children were to learn Hebrew, be taught scripture and live in a kosher environment.

Annie was to die two years later and Max a year after her. After some considerable legal difficulties following their deaths, four trustees

were appointed to run what was known as the Deckston Hebrew Institute. There were a number of difficulties in providing the finance and maintenance, but the Orphanage continued to function from 1940 to 1945 with the Trustees and the Ladies Committee acting *in loco parentis*. A strong Matron on the staff from 1940 until its closure in 1949 ensured a stable influence on staff and students alike. Money was not always readily available because of difficulties with some Deckston properties, the base of the institution's financial support.

At the end of the 1940s, the orphans had grown to adulthood and financial assistance was no longer necessary, so the Trust's powers were widened to provide a charitable base while fostering capital growth. The Deckston Hebrew Trust Act was passed by parliament in 1949, incorporating the Deckston Hebrew Trust Board and clearly designating power and authority. The Board began to accumulate funds through property sale and mortgage investment. Money was occasionally granted to former orphans and by 1953 progress was being made to establish a home for Jewish aged and infirm as a stand-alone unit within an established Methodist property at Naenae. In 1955 the Wellington Jewish Care of the Aged Society was established to run the home. Grants of money were still being made to former orphans where necessary and charitable donations given to local Wellington Jewish organisations. In 1965 the Deckston Home was opened at Naenae to accommodate 26 residents with financial assistance also coming from the government, Wesley Church and businesses. The Board later provided funding towards a hospital at the Naenae complex.

In 1975 the Board provided aid to Russian immigrants and others requiring financial assistance. During the 1980s and 1990s the capital of the Trust was increased and the work of the Board was publicised in the Jewish press. In 1989 amendments were made to the Deed of Trust allowing the Board to give more assistance directly rather than channelling it through other organisations. The Board continues to increase its financial base through retaining 20% of annual income before distributing grants, and invests its capital with advice from fund managers.

While the booklet is basically a financial history of the Board through its minute books, it provides insights into the Wellington Jewish community from the late nineteenth century to the present. The names of families involved in the Trust both as orphan recipients and administrators are mentioned frequently; Annie and Max's family members are named and an 'Annex' lists the names of orphans and administrators by year. There are interesting illustrations of the early community throughout the booklet.

Helen Bersten

WHEN WAR CAME: THE STORY OF ONE MAN'S
ESCAPE FROM NAZI-OCCUPIED POLAND, HIS
REMARKABLE SURVIVAL IN THE SOVIET UNION
AND UZBEKISTAN, AND JOURNEY TO AUSTRALIA

by Mendel Matthew Factor, Sydney: LhR Press, Sydney 2005,
pp.189, \$25.

There are many stories of survival in war torn Europe during the Second World War. In these days of fascination with family history, people are encouraged and even taught how to write down their experiences. Many of these efforts are praiseworthy, but sometimes turgid. Having come across this publication by Mendel Factor, I approached it with interest, but a little warily. In fact, it is a most readable story — exciting, and even enthralling. The book unfolds with dramatic appeal, starting with a prologue describing an incident which led Mendel and his wife, Frances to revisit Samarkand. Several almost throwaway comments are revisited throughout the book and tied in neatly at the end. The author places events in their historical context and includes appendices, endnotes and maps as well as illustrations with a separate list. This is a haunting and difficult story, but finally one of survival in the Soviet Union during the war years against incredible odds.

Mendel is related to the famous Max Factor, an uncle, but it is also Davis Factor, one of Max's sons, to whom he owes an undying debt of gratitude for much needed financial help during the darkest days of his life. Mendel's father, Izhak Leib, had apprenticed young Max to a barber in the 1880s after his mother had died and Max had eventually opened his own shop. At the end of the nineteenth century he left Poland for America. Mendel believes that these beginnings, where barbers also sold creams and unguents, probably led to Max Factor entering the cosmetic business.

Mendel was born in Lodz, Poland in 1921, the child of Izhak and his second wife, Tovah Ruth (Goldberg). His first wife, Tovah's sister, had died leaving three children and Mendel was the youngest of the five children from the second marriage. Unfortunately, because of the large age gap between him and his older siblings, Mendel does not know the name of his mother's sister. In fact, he did not even meet his brother, Charles until he reached Australia, because Charles had migrated before Mendel was born.

His father ran a successful curtain manufacturing business until World War I when a German bomb destroyed the block of flats

he owned and he never worked again. Izhak was a very religious, Hasidic Jew and his children were also pressured to remain within the Hasidic fold. As circumstances impoverished the family, they came to rely on the financial help provided by their uncle, Max Factor, in Hollywood. Mendel's brother Saul supported the family for some years as a weaver before he emigrated to Australia. Eventually the siblings learned the workings of the furrier trade and earned money to support their mother. Another uncle, John, from Los Angeles, visited the family and gave generous amounts of money while Max's son, Davis, was their 'guardian angel' during the dark days of World War II.

In his spare time, young Mendel haunted the Socialist Party library and became well read and a supporter of socialism. After his mother died, he and his brother Sam with wife Adzia, left for the USSR, anxious to build a new life in the socialist state. He picked up languages with amazing ease and was soon able to communicate in Russian and Ukrainian. He went to Magnitogorsk and found employment in the steel works, where everyone welcomed him as a liberated Western Ukrainian. After some months, he left to join his brother Sam in Stavropol where again they enjoyed a special welcome as 'Western Ukrainians'. However, life was hard and the famine bit deeply, but Davis Factor again came to their rescue.

In 1941 Mendel, now a Soviet citizen, moved on to the Ukrainian town, Berdychiv, nearer to the Polish border, where there was a Jewish population. An industrial accident was the reason for his returning to Stavropol and thus escaping the massacre that followed the German occupation of Berdychiv. After several weeks of travelling in an attempt to join the Polish army, Mendel, Sam and Adzia arrived in Samarkand in 1942, the hardest year of Mendel's life. He developed infected ulcers on his legs, was weakened and unable to work for any length of time. A lengthy stay in hospital provided some respite and much needed food for a bare-footed, ragged, sick and hungry man. On a collective farm, he was able to get *lepioska* (Uzbek bread), which was stale, but it had an amazing effect. Later in the year his condition worsened and he spent time in another hospital until his health improved and he was discharged.

1943 found him working in Serabolak and living with Sam and Adzia when he heard of the destruction of the Warsaw ghetto where his sisters had been living. In October 1944 he was gaoled for a year in Kattakurgan because of a mistaken belief that he had stolen sugar. In gaol, he was able to indulge his passion for reading until he was sent to work at a cotton factory. An incident of defiance almost cost him another five years' gaol, until a new inmate from Serabolak informed him that he had in fact been freed some months

ago as a result of Sam's hiring a lawyer to argue his case. Finally in 1945, back in Serabolak, he was able to earn some money selling vodka.

With war's end, Mendel and Sam were able to return to Lodz in 1946, only to find that most of their family who had remained in Poland had perished in the camps, with only two nephews having survived. The poor Jewish suburb where his mother had lived was nothing but rubble as the Poles had destroyed it, looking for Jewish 'treasure'. The brothers decided to go to Israel and began the process of moving through various DP camps. At one, Mendel secured a job in the kitchen and, in an amusing line, he says he now tells his wife he can only cook for 2000 people!

From Austria, he contacted his brothers, Charles and Saul in Australia who told him that migration papers were being arranged. He finally sailed from Marseilles on the *Johann de Witt* in 1947. Almost all 700 passengers were Holocaust survivors and Mendel enjoyed the company and good food on his six-week journey, arriving in Sydney on 17 March 1947 to be welcomed by his brother Saul and Dr Alfred Cymerman of the Jewish Welfare Society. Davis Factor had financed the journey and another brother, Sidney, happened to be in town, so Mendel was delighted to meet him. Moving to Melbourne, Mendel secured a job as a furrier, but inspired by the Sidney Myer story, he applied for a peddler's licence and obtained dress fabrics and knitwear through friends of his brother Saul. After thirteen months of hawking his wares, he was able to buy a car.

He met his wife, Frances Smith, and they were married at the Great Synagogue on 31 May 1949. The coal strike that year put an end to his hawking, and as Frances was a milliner and he a furrier by trade, they decided to go into the millinery business, opening a shop on Bondi Road. They started manufacturing and soon branched out beyond New South Wales. Participating in charity parades became a very successful way of advertising their hats and led to television appearances and new customers.

The epilogue brings us back to the prologue and his visit to Samarkand with Frances in the mid 1980s. Mendel arranged to revisit the collective farm where he worked and some workers brought out fresh *Iepioska* bread, but it was different to the bread Mendel ate during the war — bread that was stale and mouldy, but had cured his terrible ulcers. The title, *When War Came*, refers to his disdain for his mother's chicken soup and her admonition: 'Mendela, wait until the war comes and you will eat everything.' She was right and he did just that.

The book ends with an appendix on political connections in Australia and an examination of his brother Saul's membership of

the Communist Party. Another appendix traces his mother's family and a third his father's. The end pages contain lovely family snapshots before you reach the very informative and detailed endnotes. Mendel thanks his daughter, Brenda, for her help in some research and also Sarah Napthali who is acknowledged on the title page verso for interviews, transcription and manuscript preparation, although the story is his alone. He also thanks Gerry Factor for the use of the family tree, but alas, it does not appear in the book.

One of the interesting facts for me in reading this story was how news travelled in the remote areas where Mendel lived and how he was able to hear news of his brother and sister-in-law, his sisters back in Poland and communicate with his brothers in Australia as well as Davis Factor in America. Was it a Jewish network in the Soviet Union or the efficiency of socialism?

I have known Mendel and his family for many years since he married my father's cousin, but did not know his story. It is fascinating to discover the details of his life that have made him the man he is today.

Helen Bersten

A TIME TO KEEP, THE STORY OF TEMPLE BETH ISRAEL:1930 to 2005

*by Werner Graff, Malcolm J. Turnbull and Eliot J. Baskin,
Melbourne: The Australian Jewish Historical Society -Victoria
Inc. and The Progressive Jewish Cultural Fund, 2005, pp.294.*

As well as having three authors, this history of Temple Beth Israel in Melbourne had two editors, Hilary L. Rubinstein, the well-known historian of Jews in Victoria and Australia until 1945, and Howard A. Freeman, for ten years so far the president of the Australian Jewish Historical Society in Victoria. It also has a foreword by Rabbi Fred Morgan, the current chief rabbi of Temple Beth Israel and it was published on the seventy-fifth anniversary of Temple Beth Israel. As well the history is preceded by messages from the daughter of the late first author Werner Graff, the current president, the editors, as well as various acknowledgements.

One could have feared that too many cooks might have spoilt the broth, but this is not the case. The book starts with a concise his-

tory of early Reform Judaism in Germany and in the United States, a very brief coverage of Jews in Melbourne with emphasis on those who wanted changes in rituals and in liturgy and it recalls Ada Phillips, nee Crawcour (from Krakower), who actually started the congregation. She was greatly influenced and helped by Lily Montagu of London who even arranged the first short-lived rabbinical engagement.

The early years, with several short-lived rabbinical appointments, are well covered. This culminated in the long and successful appointment of a gifted English-speaking good-looking German-born rabbi, Dr Herman Max Saenger, later Sanger, who arrived in August 1936 and spent the rest of his career until 1974 at the Temple. His exceptional oratorical skills, deep learning and human qualities contributed greatly to the growth of Temple Beth Israel, and its suburban offshoots.

Melbourne was the first city in Australia to have a Reform congregation. Its immediate success inspired the growth of liberal congregations, first in Sydney, and then in all the major cities in Australia and in New Zealand, as well as in Canberra and on the Gold Coast.

As with other congregations, financial considerations hindered growth in the appointment of extra rabbinical personnel and in the building of sufficiently large temples. However, Melbourne, unlike Sydney, had the advantage of nurturing its own young Reform ministers, from Rabbi John Simon Levi to Rabbi Daniel Schiff and to give his first permanent job to the young New Zealander, Rabbi Brian Fox, who later served as chief senior rabbi of Temple Emanuel, Sydney, and now of Manchester, United Kingdom.

As in Sydney, a number of outstanding cantors and musical directors played a part in the attractions of the Temple services: Claude Schwarz, Hermann Schildberger, Frank Durra, Stanley Berkoff, ...and many others. There were also faithful *shamashim* and others who nurtured the spirit of the congregation. Temple Beth Israel also appointed the first women rabbi in Australia, first Rabbi Karen Soria, then Rabbi Betsy Torop, and others.

Perhaps the outstanding achievement of Temple Beth Israel congregation was the establishment of the first Australian Reform Jewish day school and probably one of the first such schools anywhere in the world. Its founding was probably due in some part to the ubiquity of private schools in Victoria, but also to the popularity and dominance of Mount Scopus College and the presence of the other Orthodox Jewish day-schools in the Melbourne Jewish community spectrum, worrying liberal Jews about the loss of their young people to Orthodoxy. Interestingly Dr Sanger feared the school would ruin the Temple's

finances and was therefore against it, but Rabbi John Levi was all for it. Norman Rothfield was the first headmaster. It has been a success.

As well as its rabbis and cantors, the book describes some of its many congregants, such as Walter Jona, Pamela and Alfred Ruskin, the Wittner family of Lady Zelman Cowen, Marlis Cohen, Isidore Magid and many others.

The book also discusses the, at times, fraught relations with the Orthodox community and rabbinate. This tension is not helped by referring to various Orthodox rituals as 'oriental' and by claiming to be more contemporary than the Orthodox community.

Two curious quasi omissions are the lack of openness about Rabbi Sanger's marriage and the very brief mention of Rabbi Harold Vallins, former rabbi of a suburban temple and his departure from Judaism when readers are referred to old issues of Jewish weeklies.

There are adequate notes, a good index, several pages of photographs of rabbis and their spouses and of leading congregants and buildings, as well as appendices listing inaugural members, presidents of the Temple, chairpersons of the Victorian Union for Progressive Judaism, rabbis and ministers, musical leaders, leaders of the Women's Guild, benefactors and supporters.

In conclusion, I believe that this is a solid, well researched and soberly written history of a key institution in Melbourne Jewry, which will endure.

Sophie Caplan.

DEAR DR JANZOW: AUSTRALIA'S LUTHERAN CHURCHES AND REFUGEES FROM HITLER'S GERMANY

*by Peter Monteath, Australian Humanities Press, Adelaide,
2005, pp116.*

This monograph deserves a place among the growing number of books on pre-World War II refugees and would-be refugees to Australia, although it concerns an unusual group of supporters of Jewish refugees — the Lutherans. They migrated to Australia in the mid-nineteenth century to seek religious tolerance for their particular kind of Lutheranism and were proud of the 'renaissance of Germany' under the Nazi regime, because they were proud of their German heritage. However, they were not Nazis. They had themselves escaped religious persecution under the

Prussian monarchs and some were also political refugees from absolutism.

During the First World War, Australian xenophobia and paranoia led to the internment of many unnaturalized Germans, the closure of German language schools and changes of many town and village names in the Barossa Valley of South Australia where many Lutherans had settled. There were even the burning of some Lutheran churches there and in Toowoomba, Queensland. In Melbourne at least one kosher butcher shop whose owner bore a German surname had to close.

In the 1930s, Dr Janzow, born in Minnesota, USA, and trained at the Concordia Seminary in St Louis, Missouri, was appointed the General President of the Lutheran Church in Australia. He had lived in Australia since 1907. When the November 1938 pogrom took place in Germany, Australian newspapers gave prominence to the plight of Jews in Germany and in Austria. Although there was fear of immigrants taking up scarce jobs, many believed that more Jews should be allowed to immigrate to Australia. The most prominent advocate for increased Jewish immigration was Sir Stanley Bruce, Australian High Commissioner in London and a former Australian Prime Minister. Other politicians feared 'a serious influx of Jews', and the official Australian Jewish leadership was at best only lukewarm, fearing their own position would be affected.

At that time Dr Janzow published a letter in *The Times* of London on 18 November 1938 offering to bring Jewish refugees to Australia. He also condemned the November pogrom and stated that the Lutheran Church was already raising money and seeking employment for the refugees. The letter somehow caught the attention of numerous Jews as well as 'non-Aryan Christians', Jews converted to Christianity, or whose parents had brought them up as Christians who were also in danger of persecution. Many of these refugees wrote to Dr Janzow seeking the help he said he would bring them. A total of seventy-three letters that reached him have been preserved in the Lutheran Archives in Adelaide and these form the basis of this book.

The efforts which the Lutheran Church then put into bringing Jews and non-Aryan Christians to Australia show the difficulties which faced anyone wanting to bring refugees to Australia. The Lutheran Church had scant success in this endeavour. Indeed many of the Lutheran activists themselves became suspect to the Australian government and some spent time in internment in Australia during the Second World War.

The author, a lecturer in Social Sciences at Flinders University, has had a number of the appeal letters translated, although some

were written in passable English, and has included them in the book. The ones he has chosen are those of people whose subsequent fate he was able to ascertain. Some people survived by emigrating to England or elsewhere. One even survived in Germany. Most of the writers of the appeal letters perished. One of the few lucky ones was the family Elsasser, later Ellis, whose daughter, Gretel, married the young Don Dunstan. The letters show graphically the despair which German and Austrian Jews felt at that juncture and make the book a must for Shoah libraries. It is also interesting to see how compassionate the Australian Lutheran Church was towards German Jews.

Among the individuals the author acknowledges as having helped to inform him are our editor, Associate Professor Suzanne Rutland, our genealogical colleague Lionel Sharpe in Melbourne, and several people active in Jewish history and genealogy in Australia.

Sophie Caplan

BAD FAITH, A FORGOTTEN HISTORY OF FAMILY AND FATHERLAND

By Carmen Callil, London: Jonathan Cape, 2006, pp.614.

Carmen Callil was born in Melbourne and came to the United Kingdom in 1960. In the early 1960s she tried to commit suicide and was then placed under the care of Dr Anne Darquier, a psychiatrist in London whose mother was Australian, born in Tasmania, and whose father was French. After seven years of psychiatric care and friendship with her patient, Dr Darquier died suddenly, aged forty.

At the psychiatrist's funeral, Carmen Callil heard her name had been Anne Darquier de Pellepoix. By chance about a year later, Carmen Callil saw the French documentary by Max Ophuls *'Le Chagrin et La Pitié'* (*The Sorrow and the Pity*, the Story of a French town, Clermont-Ferrand, during the Nazi Occupation) and discovered who Dr Anne Darquier's father had really been. He had been the French equivalent of Adolf Eichmann, the Commissar for Jewish Affairs, who had collaborated with the Nazis and organised the deportation of the bulk of the 78,000 Jews who were deported from France between February 1942 and late August 1944. Puzzled

and surprised, this led the author to years of research in French archives and historical writings into the family of Dr Anne Darquier: both the family of her mother, Myrtle Marian Ambrosine Jones from Carrick, south of Launceston in northern Tasmania, and that of Louis Darquier from Cahors in the Lot in south-western France, who added the fictitious *particule* 'de Pellepoix' and the equally fictitious title of baron to his name. She found that he was one of the most appalling French right-wing antisemitic propagandists of the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s who rose to political prominence during the Occupation through his bad faith.

The resulting book is a broad study of the development of the numerous interlocking French extreme right-wing individuals and groups present in France from the end of the First World War to the end of the Second, whose growth was nurtured by the conditions of the depression in France. It is probably the only description in English of the various political groups, writers and activists of this ilk.

Louis Darquier was an opportunistic, lazy, exploitative, hypocritical, lying individual who hardly ever worked and who drew money for a life of alcoholism and personal luxury from various Nazi entities, as well as French extremist groups, to support his antisemitic propaganda in France, after previously exploiting his younger brother. Both Louis Darquier and his wife Myrtle totally neglected their only child who was brought up in extreme poverty by an English nanny whose meagre wages were reluctantly paid by Louis's younger brother and during the war by the French Red Cross.

In May 1942 Louis Darquier reached the peak of his career as the second and most lethal Commissioner for Jewish Affairs in the Vichy government, a quasi ministerial appointment, which allowed him to organise the deportation to death camps firstly of foreign Jews living in France, then of naturalized Jews deprived of their French nationality by decree, and finally of French-born Jews themselves. He also organised the despoliation of Jews in France, benefiting from their property and particularly from their confiscated art works. Unlike many other collaborators with the Nazis he escaped to Spain and lived out his life in comfort under the protection of Franco.

This is a shocking but fascinating book for anyone interested in French politics and history. It is of interest for the AJHS, because Louis Darquier had married an Australian. It is of interest to note that Carmen Callil, the Australian born author of this book is a publisher and founded Virago, the feminist publishing house.

Sophie Caplan

JEWISH COUNTRY GIRLS: A COLLECTION OF MEMORIES

Compiled and written by Diana Encel Sydney: Jewish Museum Community Stories, 2005, pp 1-175.

In 1936, Ruth Barnett's mother sailed from Golders Green to Wagga Wagga where the Greek café and Chinese restaurant represented the limits of the town's multiculturalism. As she was growing up, Ruth heard occasional antisemitic comments, and was acutely aware of being different, but most of the townsfolk accepted the Jewish family in their midst. In time, Ruth's father befriended the bishop, and when the local priest died, he was asked to be one of the pallbearers.

Ruth Barnett is one of the contributors to *Jewish Country Girls, A Collection of Memories*, edited and partly written by Diana Encel, and published by the Sydney Jewish Museum Community Stories.

Having spent her first ten years in Orange, Diana set out to discover how living in country towns, isolated from Jewish families, had affected other Jewish women.

The twenty-seven contributors to this volume are all women from New South Wales, and it's interesting to discover that Jewish families were scattered all over the state. They found their way not only to sizeable towns like Orange and Newcastle, but also to smaller centres like Narrabri, Boggabri and Eden.

Jewish Country Girls is divided into two sections. 'Women Speak' has been written by the women themselves. These first person accounts are the most engaging stories in the collection. The second part, 'Women Heard', was written by Diana Encel, based on her conversations and interviews with women who preferred her to write about their experiences.

Although the accounts vary in length and amount of detail, each of the women contributes some interesting insights about their experiences.

When Rina Huber describes her family arriving in Coffs Harbour with a container full of heavy continental furniture, paintings, books and skis, one can only imagine the culture shock that ensued on both sides. One rarely comes across accounts of Jews on the land, so it's fascinating to read Ruth Wilson's descriptions of farm life in Griffith. 'It was endlessly absorbing to stand in the sun-scorched tin shearing shed watching the greasy, grubby fleeces roll off the sheep's backs in one continuous bundle,' she writes.

Nancye Aaron's account of life in Narrabri sheds an interesting light on the difficulties of maintaining Jewish traditions in these

country areas. When her Aunt Ettie married, the minister who performed the ceremony had to bring the chuppah with him, Nancye's mother prepared a kosher meal for the top table, and two Jewish families arrived from Boggabri. Nancye's own life story, of her transformation from an over-indulged child to a responsible girl who learned to run the entire household at the age of ten, is the stuff of novels.

Growing up in country towns meant living in almost homogeneous Anglo-Celtic communities where most people had never met a Jew. Ruth Barnett recalls one primary school teacher telling her pupils that Jews had horns, while a neighbour said that Ruth couldn't be a real Jew as she hadn't been born in Jerusalem! Diana Encel's headmistress advised her, 'Next time you are asked your religion, don't say Jewish, say Hebrew. It sounds much nicer.' The girls sometimes suffered verbal, and occasionally even physical attacks. Ruth MacDonald recalls that a boy at school threw a stone at her which struck her eye, but after her father spoke to the culprit's father, she and the boy became friends.

From the few instances of overt antisemitism, it seems that the vast majority of inhabitants accepted the newcomers, or at least showed no outward sign of hostility. On the whole the country-dwellers discovered, like most of us in the cities, the innate kindness and egalitarianism of Australians.

The Jewish country girls, like migrant children everywhere, lived between two worlds and hated being different. Judith Jacks was ecstatic when her foreign-sounding name was changed to one her school friends could pronounce. She didn't want her parents to come to the school because she felt embarrassed about her father's long coat and her mother's poor English.

Living in country towns affected the women in different ways. While some women felt that being on the outer reinforced their sense of being Jewish, some later felt more comfortable among non-Jewish people, while others felt alienated from both groups. But how much these attitudes resulted from their country environment, and how much from their upbringing or personality, it's impossible to know.

Diana Encel was a sensitive and respectful interviewer and editor, but at times I wished that she had pushed some of the contributors a little harder to assess the impact of their experiences on their lives.

In compiling this collection of memories, she has made a valuable addition to the chronicles of Jewish life in Australia. Through these experiences, we not only learn about the struggles and triumphs of individuals and their families, but gain a deeper appreci-

ation of the richness and resilience of the Jewish spirit which managed to adapt and flourish, even in remote, isolated communities.

Diane Armstrong

GERMAN ANZACS AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR

by John F. Williams, Sydney: UNSW Press, 2003

The title *German Anzacs and the First World War* by John F. Williams, published by UNSW Press in 2003 might not seem to have much relevance for our Society until one remembers that Sir John Monash was the pre-eminent example of a German Anzac. There is a chapter named '1918: Monash's Charge' devoted to the period following March 1918 when Monash was appointed to command the Australian Corps, while there are a number of other references to him and the German and Jewish influences in his life.

The chapter devoted to Monash and 1918 deals at some length with the strong antisemitism that existed in a number of senior officers and people of influence, and that also affected the Australian War Historian, Charles Bean. In this Williams relies on John Serle's biography of John Monash.

Williams does not discriminate between those born in Australia who were of German origin and more recent migrants from Germany to Australia who enlisted to fight as Australians in the First World War. He includes within his examination persons of Germanic origin who may have been born within the Russian Empire. His subject is the response of Australians and especially the authorities to those whose names or origins were Germanic or seemingly Germanic, but who were loyal Australians and whose families included some who had not returned from the War.

Apart from Monash, the book names one other Australian German World War I soldier as having been Jewish. He is a soldier whose name does not appear in Harold Boas's *Australian Jewry Book of Honour* of WWI Australian Jewish servicemen. He was Jacob Freudenthal and described himself on his attestation paper as a 'Nat.Born British Subj.' The book then notes that the attesting officer contradictorily noted that he had 'examined his [Freudenthal's] naturalization papers and am of opinion that they are correct'.

The book indicates that Freudenthal appears, like Monash, to have been of German-Jewish origins, but that he confused the issue, like many others, by stating that his religion was Church of

England. He enlisted in Richmond, Melbourne, on 22 September 1915, describing himself as a 'driver', and gave his age as 30 years 10 months. His height was 5 feet 2 inches. By the time that he embarked for overseas service in January 1916, Freudenthal was attached to the 46th Battalion. His unit was involved in First Bullecourt in April 1917, and Freudenthal found himself a POW, one of 1142 Australian prisoners of that action. He was sent to Fort MacDonald in Lille, where he spent seven days in conditions he described as 'disgraceful'. 'We then worked at various places behind the lines under our own shell fire. I arrived at Schneidemuhl in Germany on December 2, 1917 and was sent out on working "commando" looking after sheep. The treatment was very fair'. Freudenthal arrived at Danzig on 13 December 1918 where he 'embarked on the *Mitan* and arrived at Leith on December 18, 1918' on his way back to Australia.

Thus, this book provides further information on Monash as well as adding the name of Freudenthal to the list of Jewish soldiers who served during World War I. Williams also sheds further light on the undercurrent of antisemitism in Australia in this period.

Russell W Stern

RUSSIAN ANZACS IN AUSTRALIAN HISTORY

By Elena Govor, UNSW Press in association with National Archives of Australia, Sydney, 2005.

Elena Govor has delved into the records held by the National Archives of Australia and the Australian War Memorial during the course of her four years' research into the background and treatment by Australian authorities of about 1,000 men who were born within the Russian Empire in the nineteenth century and who enlisted in the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) in World War I. She has the advantage of herself being Russian born and thus being able to understand the problems that the subjects of her research faced in their new country, many within months of the war.

The author has treated as 'Russian' anyone who was born in the Russian Empire, which at the time included part of Poland, Finland, and the Baltic States. She has divided her subjects by ethnicity into Eastern Slavs, Poles, Baltic peoples, Finns and Jews. It is because she has consciously distinguished between other 'Russians' and

those who had a Jewish background that this book is an important addition to an Australian Jewish Historical Library. The Appendices that she has provided allow us to consider afresh the situation that our Russian Jewish immigrants faced upon their arrival in Australia. These are based on her analysis of service records and other archival files.

One of the Tables sets out the ethnic breakdown of Russian Anzacs, and here she indicates that Jews, including those from Poland and the Baltic Provinces comprised 11.10% of the 946 enlisted men that she identified as clearly Russian, and 105 in number. The Tables include a listing of ethnic breakdown: Russian Anzacs vs the overall Russian community; enlistment, proportionally by state and ethnicity; age structure of Russian ethnic groups; occupations at enlistment, proportionately; and religious persuasion – distribution of professed denominations among Russian ethnic groups. All of these Tables treat Jews as a separate ethnicity. The table that is missing is one that sets out all the names of those Gover identified as Russian and their ethnicity. One has to read the book closely to identify her subjects and their fate.

Many of the Russian Jews mentioned in the text are recorded in Harold Boas' *Australian Jewry Book of Honour* published in 1923. However, almost a dozen ex-Russian Jews referred to in Gover's opus are not mentioned in Boas. Where that is the case, I have set out in the footnotes at the end of this review, the relevant words of Gover's text. That way, future researchers into Australian Jewish involvement in the 'Great War of 1914-1918' will be able to readily add to Harold Boas' listing.

One of the things that this book demonstrates is that the view of the Anzacs as handed down from Charles Bean and his war histories as being Anglo-Celtic must be revised. The Anzacs were multicultural and the Australian Army of 1914 also included Germans, French, Russians, Greeks, Italians as well as Indigenous Australians. Their numbers were not insignificant, contra Bean. This is not surprising given Bean's well known Anglo-centric views and antisemitism.

Gover's treatment is to concern herself with individual, perhaps representative, Russians of each ethnicity, and to ask why they came to Australia. Much of this information has been gleaned from her interviews with descendants, though she confesses that often the archival material provides more information than was passed on by the Anzacs.

Her section on 'Other Russian Subjects', which includes Jews, looks at the origins and patterns of arrival, the social and occupational background, the treatment meted out to Jews by the Russian

authorities, summed up in the question that her Jewish interviewees put back to her, sometimes aloud, sometimes silently, "Are you Jewish?". This section looks at the background of Jack Kanaef, Moisey Kotton, Louis Brodsky¹, Nathan Krausman, the families Lakovsky, Lebovich and Rappeport, Samuel Ettingove and Nahum Myer, Haim Platkin, Frank Bernard Hershorn Lesnie, Abraham Levene² and Sidney Ivor Luck³ and also mentions Morris Saffar (or Moishe Seifer)⁴.

Following this introduction, Gover analyses the enlistment process. She notes that at least a quarter of all male Russian immigrants to Australia joined the AIF. Many enlisted in preference to being hungry, some were enticed by the 6/- a day, while others were pressured by Russian officials in Australia. Filling in the enlistment form posed problems to Russians who spoke little English, and our author examines with humour the enlistment forms that she has studied.

Gover continues by looking at the campaigns fought during the War, and the involvement of Russians in these actions. The war effort of Eliezer Margolin is considered at some length, as he achieved the highest rank (Lieut. Colonel) in the AIF of all those who were foreign born. This section of the book also considers the treatment meted out by army authorities who suspected non-English speakers of disloyalty, notwithstanding admitted gallantry in action. Gover suggests that this attitude was not dissimilar to that of the Russian Red Army in the panic and confusion immediately following the German invasion of Russia in 1941.

The names George Ferber⁵, Yur Kinovitch⁶, Abraham Smoishen⁷ as well as that of Lion Harlap are mentioned in reference to the Light Horse campaign against the Turks in Sinai and Palestine. France, 1916 sees the names of Wolf Dorfman, taken prisoner and Gershon Harbart, killed, missing in action, while a letter from Frank Bernard Hershorn Lesnie, written after an action in July 1916 is cited. These three are mentioned in Boas, as is George Breitman, but not Louis Pasvalsky⁸ killed at Mouquet Farm on 3 September 1916. For 1917 mention is made of Second Bullecourt where Frank Goldstein and Ben Goffin were wounded. Unusually, Gover does not mention their Jewishness though she does when later referring to Gregory Kunin⁹, a good friend of Goffin, who was killed at Messines. Again, Gover notes the deaths in action in 1918 of David Minor and Morris Lebovitch, and the award of the Military Medal to Samuel Harold Krantz at Hamel in July. The last death of a Russian Jew that Kover records was that of Moisey Kotton in September 1918.

Other names mentioned in the text include David Waxman, and

Paul Ephraim Zundolovich, who Gover suggests was of Jewish background because of his name and birthplace in Lithuania, even though he was a Roman Catholic priest.

Gover does not just consider the wartime activities of her subjects. She also looks at their treatment as Russians amongst Australians, as well as their treatment following the Russian Revolution and the distrust of the Bolsheviks, the feeling that all Russians were Reds. The concluding sections of the book review the life of her Russian Anzacs in Australia after their repatriation. Here we meet Jack Kaneaf who had been discharged from the AIF because of insufficient English¹⁰ and Samuel Waxman¹¹.

Russian Anzacs is a fascinating book, and Elena Gover is to be commended upon the research she undertook, which has resulted in these stories of immigrants to Australia from Russia who enlisted in the AIF and again, in a number of cases, volunteered for service in World War II, as well as for describing their post-war life in Australia and elsewhere.

Russell W. Stern

1. Not mentioned in Boas, a photo, in uniform, with his family, appears on p.71. He was from a poor background in Odessa, and left home before he was a teenager. When the war started he was a family man in Australia; he ran a shop with a big 2/6 sign on the window for clothes cleaning and dyeing. He made many efforts to enlist but was repeatedly rejected because of his poor teeth. He campaigned against the army authorities so vigorously that the press publicised his case. He was authorised to establish a corps of men rejected only for poor teeth. On reaching Egypt he realised that the army was not the place for him and sought a discharge, which was refused so he took French leave and assumed the identity of a Russian refugee named David Lipshitz whose papers he purchased. In this guise he worked as a steward on various ships, eventually returning to Australia, where he gave himself up to the military authorities in 1918, but was not prosecuted.
2. Abraham Levene enlisted in the AIF as David Conroy, a Briton born in Glasgow. He died at Gallipoli. He had in fact been born in Russia.
3. Sidney Ivor Luck who had worked as a surveyor at Broken Hill, had left Poland as a child with his parents and was educated at the London School of Mines.
4. Morris Saffar was an engineer. When applying for Australian naturalisation he passed himself off as a Frenchman, identifying with where he had settled, rather than the country in which he had been born.
5. George Ferber was a draper, although his enlistment papers state that he was a stockman.
6. Yur Kinovitch was a tradesman
7. Abraham Smoishen was a tailor; suffered from malaria and gastritis

8. He is described as 'an 18-year old Jewish boy from Perth, a former metal polisher, whose family were from Opochna in Russia. He was a very bright little Russian according to his comrades and only 5 feet 2 inches tall, with dark curly hair'.
9. Gregory Kunin was from the Pale, enlisting as a carpenter and seaman.
10. After the war he worked as an electrician, was involved in the electrification of the Canberra-Queanbeyan area.
11. Samuel Waxman had worked at Myers before his enlistment. After the war he opened a clothing shop in Adelaide.

MAD FOR ZION A BIOGRAPHY OF COLONEL J.H. PATTERSON

by Patrick Streeter, *The Matching Press, Harlow U.K. 2004,*
191pp.

The reader of the *AJHS Journal* might ask why a review of a biography of Lieut. Colonel John Henry Patterson has been included. While he may have been "Mad for Zion", what was his Australian Jewish connection?

Patterson was a colourful, self-made adventurer, apparently born on the wrong side of the blanket in 1867 to an established Anglo-Irish family. He enlisted as a private in the British Army, rising to the rank of sergeant in India when he left the army in 1897 to work as an engineer building the Mombasa-Uganda railway. Work was hindered by man-eating lions attacking the Indian workmen. Patterson eventually shot the lions, and later recorded the story in *The Man-Eaters of Tsavo*. This became the background for the film *The Ghost and the Darkness* (1997) starring Michael Douglas and Val Kilmer.

The Boer War and the raising of the Imperial Yeomanry in 1900 saw Patterson gazetted a Second Lieutenant, campaigning in South Africa. By early 1902 he had risen to Lieutenant Colonelcy and been awarded a DSO.

By 1907 Patterson had been appointed as Chief Game Warden in British East Africa based in Nairobi. He led a safari accompanied by a brother-officer, Lieutenant Audley Blyth with his young wife, Effie. Patterson had an affair with Effie, and Blyth shot himself. The story inspired Ernest Hemingway's novella *The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber*, filmed as *The Macomber Affair* in 1947.

In 1915 Patterson, having rejoined the British Army, was in Egypt where a Boer War colleague was looking for a commander for

the Zion Mule Corps, the unit formed from Jewish volunteers who had been expelled by the Ottomans from Palestine. Patterson was appointed as commander with Joseph Trumpeldor as second in command. So began Patterson's romance with Zionism that was to continue for the rest of his life. The book sets out in detail the formation of the Corps and its role at Cape Helles during the Gallipoli campaign. One of the units that the Mule Corps supported at Cape Helles was the 2nd Australian Brigade, though this is not mentioned in the text.

By 1916 Patterson was back in London. At this time Vladimir Jabotinsky was lobbying for the formation of a Jewish Legion based on the success of the Zion Mule Corps. The book outlines the politicking that saw the establishment in 1917 of the 38th Battalion of the Royal Fusiliers, the first battalion of the Jewish Legion, under the command of Patterson with Jabotinsky holding an honorary commission. The chaplain of the 38th Battalion was Rev. Leib Aisack Falk, later assistant rabbi at the Great Synagogue, Sydney.

The 39th Battalion was commanded by Australia's Lieut. Colonel Eliezer Margolin. There are several mentions of Margolin in the text, but Patrick Streeter fails to give him his first name. There is also a mention of Margolin's brother, Mordecai, but no linkage of the two.

The Legion fought in Palestine in 1918, notwithstanding the opposition of senior British military figures who were hostile to Jewish interests. The book records that during their stay in the Jordan Valley, the Legion was camped next to the Australian Mounted Division.

In January 1920 Patterson returned to England and retired from the Army. He now devoted himself to the cause of militant Zionism and ultimately to Revisionism, assisting with the organisation of the Haganah and IZL. Patterson was held in such a high esteem in Revisionist circles that in 1946 he was asked to be godfather to the first son of Ben-zion and Cela Netanyahu, Jonathan, who was to die at Entebbe. Patterson died in 1947, and so did not live to see the realisation of his devotion to Zionism with the establishment of Israel in 1948.

The book concludes with an Appendix, the poem composed by Roshan Mistari on the death of the Tsavo Lions, and this is followed by a bibliography including works written by Patterson and a general listing of books. This section concludes with a list of picture credits and an Index.

An interesting and readable story about a fascinating life has been presented to us in *Mad for Zion*. Unfortunately Patrick Streeter has let himself down by poor editing and a failure to check details.

There are many misspellings, inconsistencies and errors of date. For example on page 94 the statement is made that 'By July 1916 death and sickness had halved the numbers of the Mule Corps'. By that date the Corps had already been disbanded. 1915 is meant. A similar error is made on page 97 where it is indicated that the withdrawal from Gallipoli had been decided upon 'in the winter of 1916'. The withdrawal was completed on 9 January 1916 in the case of Cape Helles, which Streeter calls Cape Hellas. It would have been more accurate to describe this time as the winter of 1915-1916.

Chronological order is not always followed and on many occasions Streeter leads us along by-ways such as the story of what happened to Effie, her relationship with her family and her subsequent history in New Zealand. This lends a gossip texture to the work and distracts the reader from the adventurous life of John Patterson.

Russell W. Stern

NO LOCKED DOORS. JEWISH LIFE IN SHEPPARTON

By Shirley Randles, Makor Jewish Community Library, South Caulfield, Victoria, 2004.

It has always bothered me that any mention of the small Jewish community in Shepparton, Victoria, whether in the secular press or in the historical context, has always paid great attention to the presence of the first Yeshiva in Australia and its founders, the Feiglin family, to whom all credit is due. But there was another founding family in the Shepparton district, which had many branches, and a whole community of over sixty Jewish families lived in the area between the 1930s and 1950s. The largest families were indeed the Feiglin and Hayat families, most of whom lived in the Orrvale area, about two miles from Shepparton. Whereas several records have been written about the Feiglins, (notably that by Uri Kaploun, whose mother was a Feiglin), here at last is the story of the other family of Shepparton, the Hayats, who lived a much more secular, but nonetheless Jewish life than the Feiglins.

Among these 'other' families were such well-known names as the Pratt, Blayer, Beresinsky, Gorr, Eisenberg, Weiss, Bloom, Leiba, Leon and Snyder families, to name a few, most of whom were orchardists or shopkeepers in Shepparton itself. At last some of them are being given recognition by Shirley Randles, herself one of the six daughters of Hilda and Joseph Hayat.

Bringing up a Jewish family in a country town in Australia is not easy, as illustrated by another recent work by Diana Encel about Jewish country girls in New South Wales. However, in her stories there was no support group of the extended family of cousins, uncles and aunts, and grandparents, not to mention the proximity of other Jewish families. Perhaps this is one of the tragedies of Jewish rural life in Australia that so few of the families who took up agriculture really endured, and even those who did, often had another trump card up their sleeve, such as Dr. Goldberg of Griffith, who was also a general practitioner.

Shirley Randles has done a lot of very valuable research on her family's background, with family trees of both her mother's family (from Belarus to Palestine) and her father's family (from Russia to Palestine and then to Cyprus). Also included are maps of the holdings in Shepparton and Orrvale, as well as appendices, so the reader can see how closely the families lived, and their proximity to the *shule* and the hostel, which was really like a communal hall. The Jewish life that these families lived was truly remarkable. Kosher meat was available (shipped up from Melbourne before their own *shochet* was employed); they had their own WIZO group; they held gatherings to celebrate *simchat* and *yomim tovim*; and were a real community. Regrettably, as their children grew up, most of the families established homes in Melbourne, for their children's sake, to meet other young people and for their further education.

Shirley Randles gives a very accurate account of the country life, educational problems and community life where there was apparently no antisemitism, but a shared interest in the orchard and fruit growing form of agriculture. Even the *Hachsharah* Farm, which in the early 1950s was located seven miles from Orrvale, gets a small mention. This was the part, which most interested me, as for a short time (some eight months in 1953), I lived opposite the Hayat family in Doyle's Lane, and Shirley's younger sisters used to visit my baby daughter.

When the *Dunera* boys were in Tatura, (some few miles from Shepparton, but still in the Goulburn Valley), some of them used to visit the Shepparton community. I particularly remember Charlie coming to our house, but I do not know anything more about him (as my recollection, his surname was Cohen).

Shirley's family and life in Melbourne are illustrated with some excellent family photographs, some of the best I have seen in a publication of this type. Her life was not exactly a copybook one, but she and her sisters have kept the close family ties, which were woven in the rural atmosphere of Shepparton, Victoria. She called the book *No Locked Doors*, because there was never any need to lock the

doors. Now in their nineties, Shirley's parents can be justly proud of their family and their children's and grandchildren's achievements.

Judy Shapira

JEWES AND AUSTRALIAN POLITICS

by Geoffrey Brahm Levey and Philip Mendes (eds.), Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2004, 262 pages

Religion and politics has become a major focus for public discussion in Australia. From an archbishop as governor general to evangelical Christian political parties, faith-based politics are spreading. As Jews are both members of a culture and of a religion, their presence in the political field is rather more complicated. Jews in politics may not be acting from a basis of faith, or they may be practising religion in a rather more secular way, or be guided by a very specific set of values and beliefs. Even so, Jews have had a fairly low profile in Australian political history. Some have broken from the pack to become Governors General – the King's and Queen's men – while others have inhabited the outer regions of anarchic cyberspace, advocating credos from Mao to Kropotkin. However, in this collection of articles by academics and politicians, the editors (broadly on the Left in relation to Australian Jewry) have taken the middle ground to view the landscape.

Historically Jewry, in Australia has been ethnically diverse, politically progressive, and socially engaged. Its waves have drawn every aspect of the Diaspora to the antipodes, especially after Asian Jews finally made it in after years of trying. In recent years new waves of immigrants, in part from South Africa and Russia, plus a resurgent Jewish educational system fed by right-of-centre governments, have tended to make it more conservative, less socially concerned, more inward focused, and far more Zionist.

In the late 1940s Australian Jewry was probably at its most turbulent period – Australian Jews of British ancestry were torn over Zionist struggles against the British in Palestine; surviving Eastern European Bundists crawled into Australia, holding about them the shreds of their pasts as barely-accepted survivors of the Holocaust; Zionists sought to rally supporters for their struggle, seeing in Australia's rejection of Holocaust survivors a driver to draw immigrants to Eretz Israel. Among the doctors and lawyers, the taxi dri-

vers and stallholders, the bakers and grocers, the years of post-war Australia's Jewish dawn took place.

Its political organisations reflected the diversity of their origins, from the right wing nationalism of the Betar troopers, to the kibbutznik-like socialist fervour of Habonim and other like-minded groups, to the communists in their various party structures. Stalin's castigation of Jews as rootless cosmopolitans found a bizarre reflection in those earlier years – people desperate to put down roots, people with strong nationalist sentiments, people wanting to be Australians of the Mosaic faith, and people with class allegiances.

The Levey/Mendes collection notes this history, distinguishing its variable trajectories in different Australian cities. The editors use this history to set contexts for the contemporary scene. As with much Australian history, the culture wars operate here as well. Many of the authors have well-rehearsed positions on their topics, as with conservative writers such as W.D. Rubinstein who argues the case that Jews, despite their public history, are essentially a community of the soft Right, driven jointly by their economic interests, their hatred of totalitarian regimes and their pro-Israeli position. Sol Encel, writing on the ALP, makes a not dissimilar point, finding in the ALP a safe haven for Jews who were both supporters of human rights, and pro-Israel, and suggesting that Jewish support for the ALP has waned as their economic interests have moved towards the wider middle-class and the ALP itself has become more pro-Palestinian.

The most important (re-)emergent theme, that of antisemitism, marks many of the chapters. The dominant narrative of the post-war Jewish story in Australia argued that Jews were politically assimilated while retaining their cultural distinctiveness, or even, that they were fully culturally assimilated and were marked only by their either present or past religious confession. In that sense the sharp antisemitism of the pre-war period was believed to have faded, and the antipathy to Jews (such the black-balling of Jewish aspirants to the Melbourne Club, or the blocking of Jewish refugees from China after the short window of opportunity was opened in 1946) had dissipated. Only a few minority extremists in the Australian Nazi Party kept the flame flickering, while the banning from Australia of Holocaust-denier David Irving in the 1990s showed that in general Australia was on the side of the Jews.

More recently a different tone has entered the discussion. A tenser orientation is evident, with writers from the Left such as Andrew Markus now positing a generally more antisemitic atmosphere in the country. Two critical events have focussed academic

attention – both part of the academic environment.

The first has been the organised attempt to boycott Israeli universities and academics in retaliation for the claimed oppression by Israel of Palestinian academics and students in Palestine. In Australia the boycott call gained quite widespread support on the academic Left, sufficient to disturb many Jewish academics who had seen themselves as politically progressive, but who suddenly found themselves alienated from their erstwhile colleagues. Mendes and Levey discuss this event. The second was the public uproar over attempts by an Australian Jewish lobby group (as it is described by Chanan Reich) to prevent the award of a peace prize to Palestinian activist Hanan Ashrawi.

The argument being made through the aggregation of chapters suggests that the non-Jewish Left has become increasingly alienated from Israel, as the Palestinian/Israeli struggle has taken on proxy status for the contemporary global antipathy to the American Empire project. In that process, political concerns with the behaviour of the Israeli government have become transformed into wider antipathy to Jews through the mobilisation of antisemitic stereotypes, and the labelling of all Jews who are not anti-Zionist as enemies of freedom and peace. The question of whether being critical of Israel means being antisemitic is omnipresent in wider debates within the global Jewish world, and is also apparent here, with no greater resolution.

Against this broad trend Barbara Bloch and Eva Cox point to the important role played by Jewish feminists both within the feminist movement through engaging with white feminist orthodoxies, and within the Jewish movement by arguing for compassionate engagement with Palestinians. Indeed, many elements of the Left are much more willing to explore and debate the issues involved with the Palestine conflict, especially as Arab activism has contributed to many more strains of thought about the issues, an interaction that Jews cannot avoid.

The collection then is a broad review of approaches, attitudes and research on what being Jewish and political might mean in Australia – though all the authors position themselves somewhere within the Jewish community. The level of writing is variable – from the anecdotal to the analytical, from the theorised to the descriptive, from the attempt to stand outside the space, to deep and emotional engagement. In this, its diversity reflects the complexities of doing politics in Jewish Australia. A chapter or two from outside the Jewish space about the issues might have been a valuable addition.

Andrew Jakubowicz

THE JEWS IN AUSTRALIA

by Suzanne D. Rutland, Cambridge; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp.203, \$39.95.

Suzanne Rutland's new book is, to a large extent, a condensed version of her earlier history, *Edge of the Diaspora* (1st edition 1988, revised edition 1997). The book was commissioned by the publishers as part of a series on ethnic groups.

The major theme of her previous books was the transformation of a small, conservative, isolated community as the result of European immigration since 1933. Jewish immigration was also a significant influence on the development of multiculturalism. One reviewer complimented her on bringing out this fact in all its ambiguity. The process of transformation remains the central theme of the present book.

Some of the new material in the book concerns the three major immigrant groups of the last 25 years—South Africans, Russians, and Israelis. There will be general agreement that South African Jews have made a significant impact on the local community, especially in Sydney, which accounts for 58 per cent of the immigrants. Although the level of migration has decreased since the peak years of the 1990s, new arrivals have continued to come because of the high level of crime and insecurity in South Africa. She also notes the different patterns of residence in Sydney and Melbourne, where 26 per cent of the immigrants have settled. In Sydney, most settled in the northern part of the city, especially in the affluent suburb of St Ives, and formed a distinct enclave with two new religious congregations. As the immigrants have become more integrated into the Sydney community, there has been a gradual shift to the eastern suburbs, where more than 60 per cent of the Jewish population lives. A similar shift has occurred in Melbourne, where there was a rapid growth of South African households in the Doncaster/Templestowe area on the north-eastern fringe of the Melbourne metropolis. In the past decade, more than half of these families have moved to the major area of Jewish communal activity in the south-eastern suburb of South Caulfield. The Central Synagogue, which opened in 2003, is familiarly called the 'Zulu Shul'.

Although the numbers are smaller, the impact of South African immigration has been most spectacular in Perth, where the small Jewish community of 3000 doubled in size as the result of the South African influx. Two new religious congregations were established as a result. The Carmel day school also acquired a large number of

South African students. More recently, the inflow has been greatly reduced as the result of restrictive Commonwealth Government policies. The Carmel school sends a team annually to South Africa to recruit new families.

Rutland presents South African immigration as a success story, making only a few references to its problematic aspects. She notes, briefly, that there has been some disaffection among the locals. This is a shorthand description of an outburst of correspondence in the *Australian Jewish News* in 2004, when feelings of disaffection were clearly on show. Regrettably, she does not refer to the adjustment difficulties of the South Africans themselves, which have been the subject of several studies.

Russian Jews (more precisely, Jews from the former Soviet Union) make up a smaller percentage off the local community. According to the Census of 2001, there were approximately 6000 Russian-Jewish immigrants, although the actual number is undoubtedly much larger. Their problems of adjustment have, of course, been considerably greater than those of the South Africans. As one of them has written, 'We arrived not from another country or another planet, but from a different constellation'. Unlike the South Africans, two-thirds of the Russian immigrants settled in Melbourne, and the Melbourne community has been particularly active in assisting the Russians to integrate. Rutland says much less about the Russians in Sydney, perhaps because there is less organised activity to report. She might, however, have mentioned the obvious Russian presence in the Bondi Beach area, dubbed 'Little Odessa' by the locals.

The present book devotes much more attention to the third immigrant group, the Israelis, than its predecessors. Although the majority of Israeli immigrants have only tenuous links with the organised Jewish community, more energetic efforts have been made in recent years to reconnect them. On the whole, the Israelis have little or no religious affiliation, and when they send their children to Jewish day schools they choose the non-Orthodox schools, King David in Melbourne and Emanuel in Sydney.

A completely new and disturbing topic in this book is that of the rise of antisemitic incidents, especially since the Palestinian intifada of 1987. Rutland refers particularly to the recurrent outbursts by the Islamic Mufti, Taj-el-din-el-Hilaly, who has accused Jews, among other things, of endeavouring to control the world through sexual perversion. She concludes that these activities represent no significant threat to the Jewish community, but she does not mention that the community now devotes substantial resources to the provision of security services.

If there is a general criticism to be made of the book, its relative brevity (162 pages of text, plus tables and bibliography) means that the author has little space for analysis. Although the publishers clearly felt the need for a compact version, the present book is no substitute for Rutland's earlier volumes. However, for those who wish to read a more concise and up-to-date version of Australian Jewish history, then this is the book for them.

Sol Encel

PRESIDENTIAL REPORT, DECEMBER 2005

Members and dear friends,

Firstly apologies to our guest speaker, Jeremy Jones, for unintentionally diminishing his Australian award. He is, of course, a Member of the Order of Australia that is an AM, not a medallist or OAM.

The Australian Jewish Historical Society is today concluding another busy year of activities, most of which largely escape communal sighting and discussion because our activities are just pursued quietly and assiduously, and do not provide talking points or create any sensational disputes with other communal bodies, or differences with the Beth Din, or anybody else.

This may be good but it wins us few brownie points.

We have an excellent committee, which works diligently at our differing tasks, as well as a small body of additional volunteers who undertake other tasks under the efficient direction of our dedicated archivist of the last 27 years, Helen Bersten. Everybody involved with this Society is a volunteer apart from one young lady who has done some paid work.

Apart from the paper read by Barbara Linz at the last Annual General Meeting on 'The Role of the Maccabean Hall in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s', published in the June journal, we have held five major public activities this year. On 27th February 2005, we held a *kumsitz* and afternoon tea in honour of the retirement of our Patron, Rabbi Raymond Apple, who has recently retired as Senior Minister of the Great Synagogue, and Mrs Marion Apple, ably organised by our senior vice-president, Judy Shapira. Two of our committee members, Sarah Vorchheimer and Helen Rasko, with one of her sons, provided the very enjoyable musical programme and the attendance was excellent. We presented Rabbi and Mrs Apple with a painting of the Great Synagogue by Nado Milat, which they both liked.

On 10 April ethnologist Dr Myer Samra gave an address entitled 'Who Are The Sephardi Jews?' and on 19 June Racheline Barda answered this partially with her talk on 'Jews From Egypt' drawn from her PhD thesis.

On 31 July Sarah Vorchheimer gave us a 'Brief History of Frum Jews in NSW', which unfortunately could not be completed that afternoon.

Finally on 25 August our annual reading of extracts of the 17

leading essays from the 2004 Dr Hans Kimmel Essay Competition in Contemporary Jewish History took place at the Drama Space of Moriah College. Among the leading essays were those by Gidon Jones, the son of Jeremy Jones, and Dovid Gluck on his great-grandfather Rabbi Leib Falk, as well as essays on the Shanghai experience, on growing up in northern Tasmania and many others.

Apart from today's Annual Meeting, the *kumsitz*, and the Hans Kimmel readings, we have held our other functions at the Centre on Ageing hall in Rowe Street, Woollahra, in the hope of attracting a larger audience. Unfortunately, apart from the *kumsitz* and the Hans Kimmel essay readings, we seem to attract only a core of the faithful and rarely succeed in reaching more than about forty members.

This year our hard-working archivist was awarded a medal of the Order of Australia (OAM), a well-deserved reward for nearly three decades of dedication to the Society. The Royal Historical Society awarded a Certificate of Achievement to Joe Ben Mayor, our dedicated computer and internet expert. At his urging we have joined broadband and we have also established a common website with our Melbourne equivalent, which is kept up to date by Harvey Cohen in Melbourne.

We support and are supported by the Jewish Communal Appeal and I represent us on the Jewish Communal Appeal Board of Governors and the various functions this entails. We are the organisation drawing the least funds from JCA, but I endeavour to make our voice heard.

With the retirement of Morris Ochert of Brisbane, our long time faithful friend, due to some loss of vision, we have appointed Mrs Vivien Solo (nee Temple) as our Queensland representative. At present we are arranging for a representative in Tasmania, following the deaths of Hedi Fixel a few years ago and that of her replacement Peter Elias and his wife Ann in the last two years.

Our English correspondent of many years' standing, Dr Anthony Joseph, has in the last months remarried to his companion Helene Howard and he is in frequent contact with me.

Our immediate past president, Associate Professor Suzanne Rutland, has been overseas since June and will return in late January 2006. She has been researching in the USA and in Israel for her project with Emeritus Professor Sol Encel on their project 'The Political Sociology of Australian Jewry', which is jointly funded by the Australian Research Council, the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, the Jewish Communal Appeal and Leibler Investments.

She has recently had a book on Australian Jewish History pub-

lished by Cambridge University Press. Dr Rutland continues to edit the Sydney edition of our Journal.

Our senior vice-president, Judith Shapira, edits and largely writes our regular newsletters. Judith has worked hard this year, even though she recently lost her husband, Miron, after a long illness. We wish her Long Life.

Altogether we have a dedicated and hard-working team and I am delighted that they are all staying on the committee for 2006. Many of them also work with dedication for other organisations.

We have presently a total of 380 members and if all of you could convince a few friends to join us it would make things easier. Thank you.

Sophie Caplan

ERRATA

- The article by Colin Choat on 'Lewis Lipman, Vol XVII, Part 4, June 2005, p. 474, para 4:

There is an ambiguity in the article relating to Sarah Phillips. Colin Choat wrote:

"Sarah's mother, who arrived in Sydney in 1833, had been born Catherine Phillips, the daughter of Phillip Phillips, whose brother was Solomon Phillips, part-time minister and reader of the synagogue services in the Bridge Street Synagogue which was set up in rented premises in 1837. Solomon Phillips was the grandfather of artist Emanuel Phillips Fox. When the Macquarie Street Synagogue was formed in 1859, Solomon Phillips returned from Melbourne where he had been living, and took up the position as its minister, working with Lewis Lipman and Samuel Cohen. There were obviously close family ties in the relatively small Jewish community at that time."

His sister has pointed out that it may seem that Solomon Phillips was the brother of Phillip Phillips. Solomon was, in fact, the brother of Catherine. The meaning would have been unambiguous had it read:

"Sarah's mother, who arrived in Sydney in 1833, had been born Catherine Phillips, the daughter of Phillip Phillips, and sister of Solomon Phillips, part-time minister.."

- The article by Barbara Linz on 'The Maccabean Hall: Soul of the Community; spirit of the Times, 1918-1992, Vol XVII, Part 4, June 2005

The endnotes from number 45 to 58 were accidentally omitted. These endnotes are:

45. Interview with Professor Konrad Kwiet, Sydney, 2003.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Interview with David Dinte, Sydney, 2003.
49. Ibid.

- 50. Ibid.
- 51. Design World Magazine, Number 28, 1994, p.28.
- 52. David Dinte, op. cit.
- 53. Berman, op. cit., p.1.
- 54. Kwiet Konrad, op. cit.
- 55. Ibid.
- 56. Ibid.
- 57. Bures, M.,Design World Magazine, op cit., p29
- 58. David Dinte, op. cit.

• **Russell Stern's book review of Paul Cullen Citizen and Soldier, Vol XVII, Part 4, June 2005, p.627.**

The caption for the envelope stating 'sent to "Paul A Cohen" in January 1940', should read "censored by Paul Cullen as Paul A Cohen". Further, it was not written on a transport to the Middle East, but in Palestine, as it then was, following arrival of his Brigade.

GENEALOGICAL ENQUIRIES

This list represents enquiries made to the AJHS until April 2006, 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, Darlingtown, NSW, 2008.

BENJAMIN, William, butcher from Wales, married to Anne Conway, Bundaberg, QLD, 1886

BENJAMIN, Evan, Maryborough, QLD, 1875 arrived from Wales on *Star Queen*

BLOK family from Indonesia/Holland, settled in South Australia 1950s

COHEN, Louis, from Sheffield, married to Janey HARRISON from Riga. Ancestors sought.

GOLUBZOW, Alexander, Born Jerusalem 1869, father David. Married Bertha Man, Sydney 1902. Died Egypt 1905. Seeking information.

LEVI, T. J. English passenger on *MV Rabaul* 1941, killed on ship.

LEVIEN, Cecil J, discoverer of gold in New Guinea. Son of Felix Jonas Levien, MP, Melbourne. More family info required.

LOBEI (LOBEY OR LOBIE), Wilhelm of Altona, Denmark (now Hamburg)

MARKS, David, married to Miriam Mandelson. He died in France. Marks ancestors sought.

MARKS FAMILY. Hyman, Maurice, George, Geoff, Ralph, Jack.

MARKS, Samuel. Brewer, died 1905. Seeking information on his life in Sydney, other than entries in Sands Directories.

MEYERS, Henry Solomon. Married to Matilda Lewis in New Zealand.

MOSES, Rebecca, nee Abrahams. Born 1818 London. Married to John, lived Melbourne. Looking for proof of blood relationship to painter Louis Abrahams.

MYERS, Mark. Died 1889, married to Deborah Solomon (2nd wife). Seeking information on Mark's siblings and Deborah's father, Rev. Emanuel Solomon.

PRESTON, William, arrived 1842 on *Royal George*. Seeking Jewish ancestry.

ROTHBAUM, Myer. Married to Leah Cypres in London. Migrated to Sydney. Leah died 1925. Seeking death details for Myer.

ROTHBAUM, Myer. Nephew of above. Married E.E.Green, WA,

1915. Seeking information on his life and death.

WADENFELD/WHITEFIELD, Joseph. Married to Annie. Died Sydney 1938. Seeking his birth and marriage dates in New Zealand.

NEW MEMBERS, 2006

The following became members during the year:

Susi Brieger

Jeannette Deitch

Gold Coast Hebrew Congregation

Dr. John Goldberg

Ron Grice

Susan Groenhaut

Keith Lazarus

Rabbi Jeremy Lawrence

David P. Lewis

Marjorie Luno

Jill Margo

Anna Rosenbaum

Dr. David Rosenwax

Susan Sackville

Lucille & Morris Sher

Vivien Solo

Naomi Tracton

CONTRIBUTORS

Raymond Apple, AO, RFD, LLB, MLitt, LLD, served as senior rabbi of the Great Synagogue, Sydney, for 30 years, lecturer in Jewish Studies at the University of Sydney and Jewish Law at the University of NSW. He is Master of Mandelbaum House at Sydney University. He is a past president of the Organisation of Rabbis of Australasia and of the Australian Jewish Historical Society. He holds office in the Council of Christians and Jews and many other public bodies. In freemasonry, he is past grand chaplain of the United Grand Lodge of NSW and ACT.

Diane Armstrong, BA, is an award-winning journalist and the author of the bestselling books *Mosaic: A Chronicle of Five Generations*, *The Voyage of their Life*, and *Winter Journey*. She is currently working on her novel, 'Nocturne', which is set in Warsaw during the war.

Helen Bersten, BA, Dip Lib, a member of the AJHS Committee and its honorary archivist since 1997.

Sophie Caplan, BA, Dip Ed, MEd (Hons), a child survivor, has worked in both Australian Jewish history and Holocaust history. She is an oral historian who interviews survivors and pre-war refugees and lectured on the Shoah at the University of NSW. In 1991 she founded the Australian Jewish Genealogical Society and in 2004 she was elected as president of the AJHS. Her work has been published in anthologies and journals in English, French and German.

Gidon Druery, BA, BSc, Dip Ed, JP, foundation Chief Executive Officer of Mandelbaum House during the years 1996-2000, member of the Board of Management of Mount Sinai College, member of Sydney Jewish Meditation Group. Died suddenly, 2005.

Gary Eckstein, PhD, has been involved in charting the demography of New South Wales Jewry for the Jewish Communal Appeal (JCA) for many years. He is a Senior Research Fellow (Medical Demography) and holds part-time positions with the Centre for Health Service Development at the University of Wollongong and the Health Services Research Group, University of Newcastle. He

participates as a senior researcher developing projects in health demography, and providing expert statistical advice in the areas of health financing and resource distribution.

Sol Encel, BA, PhD, is Professor Emeritus in Sociology at the University of New South Wales and an Honorary Research Associate at the University of Sydney. He has had a renowned career with numerous publications and is at present co-researcher with Associate Professor Suzanne Rutland for an ARC/Linkage Grant on 'The Political Sociology of Australian Jewry'.

Rebecca Lacey-Ehrlich, MA, recently gained her Masters degree with merit in Hebrew Biblical and Jewish Studies at Sydney University. She holds an Arts Law degree from the University of NSW and practiced environment and planning law.

Andrew Jakubowicz, PhD, is professor of sociology at the University of Technology Sydney. He researches multiculturalism and globalisation (<http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au>; <http://transforming.cultures.uts.edu.au/ShanghaiSite>).

Grace Karskens, PhD, is a Senior Lecturer in Australian History in the School of History at the University of New South Wales. Grace worked as a freelance consultant in history, historical archaeology and heritage before completing her PhD in history. Her thesis, published as *The Rocks: Life in Early Sydney*, won the 1998 Premier's Award for Local and Regional History and is a big favourite with family historians. She has also held two back-to-back ARC Research Fellowships, and between 1994 and 1999 got the chance to combine history and archaeology as Project Historian for the world-renowned Cumberland/ Gloucester Street Archaeological Project. The findings were published as *Inside the Rocks: The Archaeology of a Neighbourhood*. At the moment she is working on a new history of early Sydney to be entitled 'Naked Possession'.

Philip Moses, BEcon, developed an interest in Australian Jewish history in his retirement, following a family tradition as both his grandfather, Phillip Moses and his father, Braham Moses, were members of the Society. Since he joined in 2003, he has been tracing the descendants of Solomon Moses. In 2004, he became a committee member and has undertaken the task of putting the thousands of handwritten index cards of the archives on to a computer database.

Judith 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.

Russel Stern, BA. LLM, is honorary treasurer to the Australian Jewish Historical Society Inc.

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