TABLE OF CONTENTS

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

EDITORIAL

Working on the 2011 June edition of the *Journal* has given me occasion to reflect on the passage of years and the history of our Society. I became involved with the Society over forty years ago, and so much of my life has been moulded by its activities. At this time of the year, I feel deeply the loss of the late Mr Morris Forbes, OAM, who contributed so much to our Society and who was so involved with the *Journal* until the very end of his life. Since his retirement, Rabbi Dr Raymond Apple, AO, a past president, has become much more actively involved in the *Journal*. Although living in Israel, he is constantly busy with researching and writing Australian Jewish history, so that two of his articles appear in this issue. Louise Rosenberg, OAM, who is our honorary historian and Society stalwart, is still going strong as seen in her latest publication, *True Blue Jews*. Helen Bersten, OAM, is retiring as the Society's honorary archivist, a position she has held since 1978. Helen has given outstanding service to the Society and her presence in the office will be greatly missed. However, she will continue to serve on the editorial committee for the Sydney edition of the *Journal*, and her expertise will continue to be greatly valued to ensure the ongoing high quality of our publication.

We again have two papers this year that deal with the colonial period. Rabbi Apple explores the legal implications of the first formal Jewish marriage to take place in Australia of emancipists Mary Connolly and John Moses. When Rabbi Aaron Levy came to Sydney in 1830 to organise a *gett*, he also converted Mary Connolly, giving her the name Rebecca, and prepared the *ketubah*, although it is not signed by him. The conversion of a Christian to Judaism could raise complications in British law, dating back to the period of Oliver Cromwell in the seventeenth century, when Jews returned to England. This agreement and its implications for the Australian colonies raises many questions which are explored in this article, which was first presented at the annual conference of the Australian Association of Jewish Studies in Canberra this year.

The second article dealing with the colonial period by Graeme Skinner further explores the theme of Jews and colonial music. This article adds further depth to the contribution by Graham Pont in last year's June *Journal* on Isaac Nathan. Although Nathan was, without doubt, a leading figure in the development of early colonial music, he was not the only early musician. In addition to shedding additional light on Nathan, Graeme Skinner also writes about James Henri Anderson, Joseph Reichenberg, Herman Hoelzel and the young German Jewish musician, Joshua Frey Josephson, adding further to the tapestry of the early history of musical development in Australia, including synagogue music.

As discussed in my editorial for the 2010 *Journal*, Jewish scholarship in Australia until World War II was very much on the margins. Yet, two articles show that British Jewry did produce some leading Jewish educators, and some of these had Australian links, either through family who came to Australia or from their own migration. Jennifer McNaughton has revised and edited the manuscript written by her aunt, Mary Lazarus, on Moses Angel (originally Angel Moses), who became headmaster and later principal of the leading British Jewish institution: The Jews' Free School, which since 1817 has been providing a combined secular and Jewish education for Jewish children in London. Angel was the educational leader of this key educational institution for over a half a century from 1842 to 1897. During this period he oversaw a rapid expansion of the school, which was to play a key role in the education and acculturation of the Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe who settled in the East End of London after 1880.

Given the vital role which Angel played in the history of this august institution, it is interesting to learn that Angel's father, Emanuel Moses, aged 61, was transported to Van Diemen's Land in 1841, convicted of being involved in the great gold dust robbery. His daughter, Alice Abrahams was convicted in the same case, and Emanuel travelled out to Australia with his wife, Sarah, and three daughters, Mary, Rachel and Rebecca.[1] Mary married Philip Levy in Hobart in 1842,[2] and founded a new branch of the Moses family, with descendants Mary Lazarus and Jennifer McNaughton (née Lazarus).

The interwar period saw the development of the first serious Jewish learning group, the Chevra Midrash, as well as the arrival of British Jew, Abraham Rothfield, who served with the British forces in World War I, with an outstanding war record. 'Rothy', as he was affectionately known, was a seminal person in the development of Jewish education in Sydney through the New South Wales Jewish Board of Education over his long life. His contributions and impact on thousands of Jewish children mirrored that of Moses Angel at the Jews' Free School.

Jews in Australia have always contributed above their small numbers. Observers, both Jewish and non-Jewish, have consistently remarked on the high proportion of Jews active in public life. For example, an article published in 1922, entitled 'One Hundred Years of Judaism in Australia', claimed: '"Every country has the sort of Jews it deserves." Berthold Auerbach made this epigram about his own race and if there is any truth in it, New South Wales has deserved exceedingly well. In every branch of our activities since the earliest times, members of the Jewish community have taken a large and distinguished part.[3] The Silbert family in Western Australia stands amongst those who contributed to the development of commercial and civic life in Fremantle and Perth over a long period of time. Hilary Silbert's article outlines this story of her family.

Finally, the World Union of Jewish Studies has given me permission to republish my article on the largely unknown story of the acquisition of arms, ammunition, aeroplanes and manpower from Australia during the 1948 Israeli War of Independence. When I was researching for my doctorate, I stumbled across this story when I found three pages relating to the arrest of Danny Agronsky in the ASIO (Australian Security Investigation Organisation) file of my late uncle, Max Melech Freilich. I later found further references to aeroplane deals in the ASIO file of Joseph Skolnick, who migrated from Palestine to Australia. This led me to follow a trail of investigation, which included interviews with my late cousin, Theodore Freilich and his wife Diana, to further research in the National Archives of Australia and also in the Archives of the IDF (Israel Defence Force). This document trail showed how the whole Jewish world united in the face of what they saw as the existential struggle for Israel's survival during the civil war which erupted immediately after the announcement of the passing of Resolution 181 by the United Nations in November 1947, and the subsequent war with the neighbouring Arab countries following the Declaration of the State of Israel on 14 May 1948. This research illustrates the crucial role played by Diaspora communities in Israel's victory – with even far off Australian Jewry, at the edge of the Diaspora, making a contribution, due to the dedication of its Zionist leaders, including Max Freilich, Horace B. Newman, Sam Wynn and Joseph Skolnick.

Helen Bersten has reviewed Louis Rosenberg's *True Blue Jews* and the Sydney edition of the *Journal* includes our president's annual report. It gives me great pleasure to present to you in this journal Sophie Caplan's annual report for 2010.

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 – her assistance over all the years has been invaluable, and she is literally my 'right-hand woman'. Philip Moses has joined the *Journal* sub-committee and his assistance has proved invaluable. Judy Shapira has retired from the editorial committee – her contributions and help over many years is acknowledged and deeply appreciated. I am very grateful to Philip for stepping into this breach and being such an active member of this committee, assisting with many technical and computer issues.

As always, I would like to acknowledge the financial assistance we ourselves receive from the 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

ENDNOTES

1. John S. Levi, *These are the Names: Jewish Lives in Australia, 1788-1850* (Melbourne: The Miegunya Press, 2006, p.557.
2. Ibid., p.566.
3. *Sunday Times*, 24 Decmber 1922.

MARY CONNOLLY REVISITED

Raymond Apple

T here is abundant literature on the Australian convict period, but we still know very little about the social history of the time. Some of the best writing on the subject is on its Jewish dimension, thanks to Rabbi Dr John Levi and Dr George Bergman. Their *Australian Genesis*, first published in 1974 and now in its second edition, is elegant and scholarly.[1] Nancy Keesing called it the pioneering study of the convict age. In recent years Rabbi Levi has made a further massive contribution to the subject by updating his smallish biographical dictionary, *The Forefathers*,[2] into a huge tome titled *These Are the Names*.[3] Now we can more or less identify most of the early Jews and pinpoint their characters and careers, though many questions remain.

One of those questions is addressed and reviewed in the present paper. It considers Mary Connolly, who entered Judaism in Sydney in 1831, and was married in Australia's first Jewish marriage ceremony. Her husband John Moses, a fruit seller born in London in 1800, had been found guilty of stealing a man's watch, and was sentenced to seven years' transportation. Arriving in New South Wales in December 1820, he was sent to Van Diemen's Land the following November as a cook and confectioner to Government House. On 5 December 1826, in a church ceremony in Hobart, he married 16-year-old Mary Connolly, another convict. He had various jobs, mostly as a pastrycook, and in 1830 in Sydney even baked Australia's first *matzot* (unleavened bread for Passover). That year Rabbi Aaron Levy, a member of Chief Rabbi Solomon Hirschell's Beth Din (ecclesiastical court)[4] came to New South Wales to organise a *gett* (religious divorce), and whilst there converted Mary Connolly to Judaism and gave her the Hebrew name Rebecca. We have to presume that he saw in her enough commitment to Jewish beliefs and practices to warrant her conversion. He was not very fluent in English but must have been capable of conversing with Mary and her husband.

There being no formal *mikveh* (ritual bath) in Sydney, her

immersion may have been at a quiet spot beside the harbour, with the rabbi forming an *ad-hoc* Beth Din with two local Jewish inhabitants - presumably Phillip Joseph Cohen and either or both of Philip Solomon and Moses Brown. However, we wonder how Levy could dare to carry out a conversion in a British colony when it was thought that Menasseh ben Israel, in the course of negotiating with Oliver Cromwell to allow the Jews to return to England, had agreed not to make proselytes amongst Christians: indeed the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue long threatened sanctions against 'any one who may bathe a foreign woman' (immerse her for the purpose of conversion) 'because it is not meet that they be admitted into our congregation'.[5]

Applicants for conversion were, after being instructed in Jewish beliefs and practices, usually sent across to the Continent, often to Holland, to be converted.[6] On their return to England they were sometimes immersed in a *mikveh* to confirm their new status.[7] That is the official story, but in spite of it conversions still occurred in England itself. The most famous example is Lord George Gordon, who seems to have been accepted into Judaism in Birmingham in 1787 after being rebuffed in London by Chief Rabbi David Tevele Schiff. There were lesser known but, nonetheless, documented conversions in England when a Jew had or expected a child by a Christian woman. Sometimes a Jewish pedlar married a farmer's daughter and had her converted to Judaism.[8]

Benjamin Artom, *Haham* (Chief Rabbi) of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, boldly claimed in 1876: 'No Christian has ever been converted to Judaism here',[9] but up to 1837 as many as 41 converts (17 women and four men) are named in the marriage records of his own congregation, and we cannot be certain that they all underwent conversion outside England.[10] Moses Cassuto says in his diary that in London in 1735 he saw (or heard of) two Protestant men and two women become proselytes.[11] The story of the 'ban' is told in my paper, 'The Ban That Never Was', a more extended version of which was delivered to the Jewish Historical Society of England, Israel Branch, in 2005.[12]

The London Beth Din minutes for 19 Shevat 1834, clearly state, *Ein reshut bamedinah hazot legayyer shum adam*, 'It is not permitted in this country to convert any person'. However, after Hermann Adler, son and the subsequent successor of the Ashkenazi chief rabbi, discovered no evidence of any formal undertaking made to Cromwell in the seventeenth century, the British rabbinate as from 1875 openly allowed conversions on British soil.[13] Yet, that was nearly half a century after Mary Connolly, and if the policy until the 1870s was not to allow proselytes, surely Mary Connolly should not have been accepted.

A second issue in relation to conversions was the Blasphemy Act of 1698 (the official title is 'An Act for the more effectual suppressing of Blasphemy and Profaneness'), which imposes severe penalties if a Christian repudiates Christianity or if someone induces such repudiation. The denial of Christianity was considered blasphemous by the law, and since a convert to Judaism openly or constructively does that, a conversion to Judaism might have constituted or entailed an illegality. In this sense we have to ask whether Mary Connolly possibly acted unlawfully in becoming a Jew and whether Rabbi Aaron Levy might also have been guilty of breaking the law in administering the conversion.

That the legislation could have this effect is acknowledged by a number of legal historians, including Henry S.Q. Henriques in his *The Jews and the English Law*.[14] He quotes Mr Justice Best in a judgment of the Full Court of King's Bench in 1819,[15] explaining that the Act had political rather than theological motives. The judge said: 'The Legislature, in passing this Act, had not the punishment of blasphemy so much in view as the protecting the government of the country, by preventing infidels from getting into places of trust'.[16] We can take it for granted that Mary Connolly was unlikely to have had any ambition of holding public office, which would in any case have been unthinkable for a woman, especially a Jewish woman. We can likewise assume that Rabbi Levy harboured no ambitions of this kind. However, Henriques considered that despite everything the Act 'is still nominally in force'[17] even though the matter was never tested in the courts.

Both issues – the legality of converting Christians to Judaism, and the status of the Blasphemy Act – were clearly relevant in England itself. They could be only discounted in New South Wales if English law did not apply in the Colony. Yet, the early governors and administrators believed firmly that they were planting the British flag and system on antipodean soil including British practices and British law. They could exercise some discretion but their own appointment and the policies, they were bound to implement were subject to the mother country. These are sweeping statements that are too obvious to require detailed documentation. Eventually the apron strings loosened, but we are talking about 1831.

As a penal colony, New South Wales was governed from London. As of July 1828, English law was 'received' by the Colony if specifically expressed to apply or deemed suitable to the circumstances of the Colony. Local conditions were, however, recognised in 1823 when legislation known as The New South Wales Act established a Legislative Council, which passed its first Act in 1824. The movement towards responsible government was furthered

by the first New South Wales Constitution Act passed by the British parliament in 1842.

Did this mean that in New South Wales in 1831, Jews were legally bound by an old 'undertaking' to Cromwell not to convert gentiles to Judaism? There is no documentary evidence of any such undertaking, but the Whitehall Conference of 1655 had urged one and there was a perception that it existed. Levy must have been aware of this as a member of Solomon Hirschell's Beth Din and as its scribe may well have written the minute quoted earlier to the effect that conversions were not lawful in England. If pressed, he might have argued that since English gentiles could undergo conversion on the Continent without technically breaching the presumed undertaking, the Antipodes were certainly far enough away from London to allow a conversion there (presumably more than one, since Mary Connolly's children must also have been received into Judaism by Levy). However, whilst the Continent was not a British colony and New South Wales was, the conversion/s probably received no publicity and no-one was likely to report it/them to the authorities.

The problem of the Blasphemy Act may well be rather different. Despite the official status of the Church of England in Britain itself, it is not certain that New South Wales had an established Church in the same sense. The Colony had a spectrum of sects with a high proportion of Catholics, Presbyterians and other faiths including Jews. There were debates, analysed by Israel Getzler in *Neither Toleration Nor Favour: The Australian Chapter of Jewish Emancipation,*[18] as to whether this was a Christian country, with the concomitant question of whether state aid could be extended to Jews. Since the Blasphemy Act defended not just Christianity but its Anglican version, it seemed out of keeping with the new, more tolerant society that seemed in process of developing in the Antipodes. It is thus unlikely that legislation protecting the Church of England could be used in New South Wales to prevent Mary Connolly from becoming Jewish or Rabbi Levy from converting her. The question does not appear to have been litigated, so there are no court decisions that might help us.

Still, in 1827 an Act was passed in New South Wales for 'restraining the Abuses arising from the publication of Blasphemous and Seditious Libels'. It did not completely define blasphemy but spoke of any action 'tending to excite His Majesty's subjects to attempt any alteration of any matter in the Church or State as by law established otherwise than by lawful means'. It seems – though there is no court explication – that what it opposed was not so much an individual's private views but any insulting or inflammatory public attack on Christianity, on God, and/or the authority of the Scriptures.

There is no evidence that either Rabbi Levy or Mary Connolly publicly attacked or undermined any version of Christianity since, as we have said, the conversion (as Mary's children would have been too young to be deemed 'legal persons', it is only Mary whose acts we need to consider in this regard) was probably unknown and unreported to the general population. Henriques, writing about the situation in England, seems to recognise this point when he says that the Act:

> ... might be made use of to prevent conversions from Christianity to Judaism, if these should ever take place upon a large scale, or any active missionary organisation were established among the Jews for this purpose... Hitherto there has been no occasion to attempt to use the statute in this way; should, however, one arise, the bitterness of religious controversy would probably prompt such an attempt.[19]

In other words, if the number of conversions to Judaism were kept low and no public attention were aroused, it is unlikely that anyone would think of invoking the Blasphemy Act.

It would still appear that in the vastly different religious situation in New South Wales, the Blasphemy Act would not have been regarded as having any applicability and its eventual disappearance from the statute book could be predicted. However, it took a long time for this to happen. Long afterwards, in the 1990s, there was renewed discussion as to whether New South Wales needed any anti-blasphemy legislation, even with a broader scope than before and aimed at protecting all religious groups from attack or libel. I was then senior rabbi of the Great Synagogue, Sydney, and was invited to be amongst those who made submissions. I opposed the whole principle of blasphemy legislation, arguing that no citizen should be compelled to submit to any faith or to religious faith in general, that all religions should be able to present their insights and even face robust debate in the market place of ideas, and that religious discrimination was already covered by other existing laws. The Law Reform Commission eventually recommended the abolition of the offence of blasphemy.

The second major issue that needs attention is the Jewish marriage ceremony of John Moses and Mary Connolly. The *ketubah* (marriage document) is extant and for some years was held by the Australian Jewish Historical Society in Sydney. It was studied and analysed in detail by Rabbi Dr Israel Porush.[20] He came to the conclusion that although Rabbi Levy, an expert *sofer* (scribe), wrote the document, the marriage took place after the rabbi left Sydney, and another hand filled in the date of the ceremony in Hebrew. There

is also some confusion as to when Phillip Joseph Cohen affixed his signature, but this is a question for another forum. The main issue is whether it was Cohen who officiated, and why mention of the marriage is totally absent from the early register of the Sydney Synagogue, which is now the property of the Great Synagogue. Since there are three signatures, namely Phillip Joseph Cohen, Philip Solomon and Moses Brown, whilst Jewish law requires only two, we may have to conclude that Cohen was the officiant whilst the others were witnesses.

Cohen was a 25-year-old free settler who arrived in May 1828, bearing the authority of the chief rabbi of England to conduct Jewish weddings. In *These Are the Names*, Rabbi Levi says that Cohen was also authorised to conduct divorces, but this is not likely since *halakhic* (Jewish legal) divorce procedures require great expertise, and in any case until 1857 the dissolution of a valid marriage needed an Act of Parliament.[21] The reference to divorces seems to have come from Hyman A. Simons' book on Solomon Hirschell,[22] but Simons may have read too much into whatever document the chief rabbi gave Cohen. There are claims that the actual document is in the safe of the Great Synagogue, but my searches failed to find it. (In an obituary tribute to Victor Cohen, P.J. Cohen's son, it is claimed that: 'Letters of authorisation from Chief Rabbi Solomon Hirschell entrusted to Mr P.J. Cohen were deposited by him with the Colonial Secretary',[23] but the Colonial Secretary's records in Sydney do not bear out this contention). Cohen must have had some competence in Hebrew (Simons says he had 'an elementary knowledge of the laws and customs of Judaism', which is no great compliment) and amongst other promising young men had received some Hebrew instruction from Hirschell. Simons, followed by Rabbi Levi, claims that Cohen 'spent a few months at the Beth Din'. Rabbi Levi inserts 'at the office of the Beth Din', but no formal office existed at that time.

Not entirely aware of the situation in New South Wales, Hirschell possibly thought that Sydney already had a synagogue and Cohen would become its minister, but the term 'minister' was not used. Hirschell himself was known as 'high priest of the Jews' and Aaron Levy was called 'Jewish priest' in the passenger list of the ship that brought him to Australia. Cohen's name indicates descent from the ancient priesthood, so why was he was not also called 'Jewish priest'? The answer tells us more about Hirschell than about Cohen. It is true that Cohen was not a professional minister and lacked rabbinic knowledge, but others who engaged in business and knew little Hebrew did bear the ministerial title. However, Hirschell was an empire-builder, and London control of Jewish marriages was a decisive mark of authority. Thus, when the Sydney register records

the marriage of Moses Joseph and Rosetta Nathan in 1832, it says that Cohen officiated, not by virtue of any personal 'priestly' or quasiministerial status, but by Hirschell's authority.

Control over marriages was not merely a *halakhic* precaution. Neither England nor New South Wales had a government procedure whereby marriages were centrally recorded by an official registrar. In England the law merely required that a marriage be celebrated in a church by an ordained clergyman, with the records being kept in the parish register. There were exceptions for Quakers and Jews, and as far as the Jews were concerned a marriage was recognised if conducted according to Jewish usage. This meant that any marriage of two Jews required to be conducted by Hirschell or his delegate. It was taken for granted that his writ extended to every British colony.

Compared with today's highly structured system, marriages were conducted in New South Wales in a rather haphazard way. The government was satisfied that if entered in the registers of a parish, a marriage was valid. Likewise, if a marriage between two Jews was conducted according to Jewish usages, it was a valid marriage. There was a 'Permission to Marry' book, but it applied only to convicts, who often represented themselves as single and did not admit that they had a spouse in England. A convict could not marry without the governor's approval: hence Moses Joseph needed permission to marry Rosetta Nathan, making theirs the first union listed in the Sydney Synagogue register. The authorities did not interfere with the marriage of free settlers, though there was an assumption that a valid marriage required an 'episcopally ordained' minister. The term 'episcopally ordained' seems to have been interpreted rather broadly to allow marriages by Catholic priests and Presbyterian ministers. Since Quakers and Jews could conduct their own marriages, the Jews could be married by P.J. Cohen or others without official permission

However, the Sydney Synagogue register is rather unreliable. The first decade or so seems to have been written up long after the event, presumably relying on notes kept by somebody over the years. Perhaps it was rewritten from an untidy original, but there are many errors. It lists the marriage of John Barnett and Sarah Francis in 1833 even though they had arrived in the Colony already married. It makes mistakes in some of the dates and the names of the parties. It omits at least one marriage of two Jews (Solomon Lyons and Phoebe Benjamin) solemnised in 1826 by Rev Samuel Marsden, although this omission is explained by it being a Christian ceremony.

More importantly, the list omits the marriage of John Moses and Mary Connolly, maybe because it was known that they had already had a (Christian) marriage ceremony in Hobart a few years earlier.

(Recent usage at the Great Synagogue is that when a religious ceremony follows an earlier civil marriage the details are still entered in the official register for the sake of the record). Animus may also have been involved, as Rabbi Levy could have declined to conduct other conversions during his Sydney stay. Most of the married members of the congregation, certainly Abraham Polack, who had made the application for the Jews to have their own place of worship in Sydney, had Christian wives, and there were controversies about whether their children could be regarded as Jews. The rabbi might have kept a diary, but I found no such document in the archives of the Chief Rabbi or the London Beth Din, which are today in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

Cohen for his part must have kept his own registers and trained others in the required procedures - notably Moses Brown, Michael Phillips, Isaac Friedman and Solomon Phillips, who was for a time the congregation's *ba'al tefillah* (prayer leader) and later became minister of the Macquarie Street Synagogue. All were deemed agents for the chief rabbi. This would certainly have been the case when Michael Phillips conducted Cohen's own marriage in 1833 to Annette Abigail Levien. By this stage Cohen had conducted only a few marriages because he was spending most of his time in Maitland. The first minister, Rev Michael E. Rose, arrived in 1835 as a free settler (the ship's list called him a dealer) with credentials from Hirschell enabling him to serve as reader, *shohet* (meat slaughterer) and *mohel* (circumciser). During the three years he was in Sydney, Rose conducted six weddings with the sanction of the congregational president, who himself had a non-Jewish wife.

By the 1840s the solemnisation of marriages was regularised. The government now required formal notice and instituted official registration of marriages. The *ad-hoc* days were gone, and neither inefficiency nor communal politics could affect the records. What did not change was that the validity of Jewish marriages was, at least since 1753, judged by whether they conformed to the usages of the Jews. In 1798 in Goldsmid v Bromer,[24] an English court refused to recognise a Jewish marriage because of rabbinical testimony that both witnesses were disqualified in the light of Jewish law: one witness had profaned the Sabbath, eaten non-*kosher* meat and declared himself to be only a nominal Jew.

Once marriages began to be governed locally, the chief rabbi (Solomon Hirschell until his death in 1842; Nathan Marcus Adler from 1845) still recommended ministers for antipodean congregations, but in conducting marriages such ministers did not act as the chief rabbi's agents but by authority of the colonial government. The Marriage Act 1899 admitted that Jews could not

be compelled to marry by Jewish rites, but the Act did not recognise any other form of marriage between two parties both of whom were Jews. In a legal Opinion of 6 August 1929, the Sydney barrister Alroy Maitland Cohen stated: 'In my opinion a Jew and Jewess, who in New South Wales go through the form of marriage before a Registrar only, are not legally married'. Many things have changed since then including the law on this point. In modern-day Australia, there are conversions to Judaism, there are synagogue marriages and there are civil marriages between Jews, and no-one objects that any of these acts necessarily contravene the law of the country.

THANKS: I am grateful for information and advice from the late M.Z. Forbes as well as from Joe Kensell, Rabbi Dr John Levi, Andrew Samuel, Edgar Samuel and Professor Prue Vines.

ENDNOTES

1. John Levi and G.F.J Bergman, *Australian Genesis*, (1st ed., Adelaide: Rigby, 1974; 2nd ed., Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002).
2. John Levi, *The Forefathers* (Sydney: Australian Jewish Historical Society (AJHS)), 1976.
3. John Levi, *These are the Names* (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 2006).
4. He was also known as Reb Oran or, from his place of origin, Aaron Lissa or Lisser. He was the Beth Din scribe and drew up its *gittin* (divorce documents): see the Beth Din minute book for 1833-1845, held in the Elkan Adler collection at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.
5. Lionel D. Barnett (ed.), *El Libro de los Acuerdos, Being the Records and Accompts of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue of London from 1663 to 1681* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931), pp. 11,13.
6. The Beth Din minute book (see note 4) records conversions in a number of parts of Holland including Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Elburg. Though Elburg had only a tiny Jewish community its rabbi might have been specially trusted by the London Beth Din. It seems from the minute book that females who had children went to Holland on their own and the children were separately converted in London.
7. The Beth Din minute book generally states in Hebrew that it was necessary 'for confidential reasons' (*ta'am kamus*) to repeat the immersion; maybe there was a doubt as to whether correct procedures had been followed.
8. Vivian D. Lipman, 'Trends in Anglo-Jewish Occupations', *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 2, part 2, pp. 202-218.
9. Haham Benjamin Artom, *Sermons*, (London: 1876).
10. Lionel D. Barnett (ed.), *Bevis Marks Records*, part 2 (London: Jewish Historical Society of England, 1949).
11. Richard D. Barnett, 'The Travels of Moses Cassuto', in John M. Shaftesley (ed.), *Remember the Days* (London: Jewish Historical Society of England (JHSE), 1966), p. 104.
12. Apple, Raymond (ed), *Yismach Yisrael: Historical Essays to Honour*

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13. Hermann Adler, 'A Survey of Anglo-Jewish History', *JHSE Transactions*, vol. 3 1899, pp. 13-14.
14. Henry S.Q. Henriques, *The Jews and the English Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1908, reprinted from the *Jewish Quarterly Review*).
15. *Ibid.*, p.14.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*, p.15.
18. Israel Getzler in *Neither Toleration Nor Favour: The Australian Chapter of Jewish Emancipation* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1970).
19. Henriques, *op. cit.*, p.277.
20. Israel Porush, 'The Earliest Australian Jewish Marriage Document, 1831', *AJHS Journal*, vol. 8 (1979), pp. 404-409.
21. John Levi, *These are the Names, op. cit.*, p. 153.
22. Hyman A. Simons, *Forty Years a Chief Rabbi: The Life and Times of Solomon Hirschell* (London: Robson, 1980), p.79.
23. Obituary, Victor Cohen, *AJHS Journal*, vol. 1, part 6 (1941).
24. *Haggard's Consistory Reports*, 1798, p.324.

AUSTRALIAN COMPOSERS AND ARRANGERS OF EARLY COLONIAL SYNAGOGUE MUSIC: NEW LIGHT ON ISAAC NATHAN, JAMES REICHENBERG, AND HERMAN HOELZEL

*Graeme Skinner**

The British Jewish settler Isaac Nathan (1792-1864) has traditionally been regarded as the founding father of synagogue music in Australia. However, while he played a leading role in the music at the consecration of Sydney's York Street Synagogue in 1844/5604, others also made significant, and more to the point surviving, contributions to colonial Jewish music. Notably, the observant Jewish pianist and composer James Henri Anderson later published a set of melodies sung at the Sydney service, *The Lays of the Hebrews*, and was involved as a composer and musical director in other consecrations and dedications in Launceston, Hobart, and at Sydney's Macquarie Street Synagogue. Meanwhile, the Italian-born Roman Catholic Joseph Reichenberg directed the music at the dedication of Hobart's Argyle Street Synagogue in 1845/5605, and published his own set of arrangements of traditional chants, as *Ancient Hebrew Melodies*. Both Anderson's and Reichenberg's published sets, as well as a pair of arrangements of 1857 by Rabbi Herman Hoelzel, are significant survivals of the work of colonial composers, important contributions to the small roll-call of early colonial ritual music for various settler religious denominations, and interesting colonial Australian successors of Nathan's earlier (British and non-Liturgical) *Hebrew Melodies*. In Australia, Nathan, on the other hand, arguably made a more sustained contribution to the music of other spiritual traditions: Christian (notably in his several musical labours on behalf of St. Mary's Catholic Cathedral in Sydney), and—memorably—Indigenous Australian.

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* This article was peer refereed.

EARLY SETTLER COLONIAL COMPOSERS AND ARRANGERS
OF RITUAL AND LITURGICAL MUSIC

From the mid-1820s until at least the late 1850s, local composers played a more significant role in the growth of the wider Australian musical economy than they have ever since.[1] Australia was still a captive local retail music market, perpetually kept waiting and hungry by its geographical isolation for new imported, usually printed, musical product from homeland Britain and Europe. Imagining how limited the available musical repertoire was is not hard; emigrants—professional and amateur—may well have brought their own music collections with them on the voyage out (some, as happened to Isaac Nathan, lost a box of music *en route*); but, once here, they were literally stuck with their 'desert island' selection, save for periodic arrival of shipments of 'new music' from home (always prominently advertised by music-sellers). Into this context, any new music composed, performed, and printed, or otherwise supplied on-shore was, therefore, far more highly valued than it was at any later stage in Australian history.

Local composers not only produced original works, but they were also responsible for making new arrangements of melodies, and for orchestrating (or often re-orchestrating) whole works for locally available musical forces. In 1844, Nathan owned the only copy in Australia of Rossini's opera *Cinderella*, but it was only a vocal score, with a reduced piano accompaniment, in a format already adapted for the English stage by Rophino Lacey.[2] According to Nathan, for the work's Australian premiere at the Royal Victoria Theatre in Sydney, he himself re-orchestrated the second-act finale, while his colleagues in the theatre orchestra Joseph Gautrot, Spencer Wallace, and John Gibbs (all also active composers) did the rest.[3] Arranging was, thus, one of a colonial composer's key roles, and when such local productions went on to be issued in print (whether arrangements or original compositions), they were often validated in the press more highly than imported music. In 1842, for instance, The *Sydney Herald* complained:

> Our music press has again been to work, and has issued, not an Australian composition calculated to undeceive those who imagine that we can only deal and barter, but a reprint of a very trashy piece for the pianoforte, called *Prince Albert's Band March*—the catchpenny title of which would be sufficient to deter any common-sensed amateur […] But are these the things we are to have reprinted in Australia? Certainly not.[4]

But in contrast to this 'trashy import', the same review noted with approbation:

> It has lately been our good fortune to notice several pieces of excellent music, of not only colonial 'getting up', but of composition, by musicians resident amongst us; and our duty has, in many instances, been the most agreeable that a reviewer can have, viz.:—that of awarding praise—praise being due.

The earliest documentary evidence of locally composed, arranged, or otherwise 'got up' ritual music for any of Australia's several imported settler-colonial faiths dates from the late 1820s. In March 1827, the Sydney *Monitor* reported that 'The choir of St. James's Church, will chaunt on Sunday evening next, the *Magnificat*, arranged by Mr. Pearson',[5] and in 1830, the *Gazette* revealed: 'That beautiful piece of sacred music adapted to the responses in the Communion Service, and sung by the choir of St. James's Church, is the composition of Mr. PEARSON, the Organist.'[6] Meanwhile, Australia's very first named settler composer, Joseph Reichenberg (c.1789/92-1851), the Italian-born master of the Band of the 40th Regiment, was actively involved in music making for the Roman Catholic congregations in Sydney in the mid-1820s, and later in Hobart where he remained as a free settler when his regiment left the colonies in 1829.[7] As we shall see, the faithful Catholic Reichenberg also went on to make an important contribution to early Australian synagogue music.

In May 1839, a Scottish Catholic settler, Dr J. A. Reid was appointed 'Organist and Musical Composer' at St. Mary's Cathedral in Sydney and in October, fellow Scot, the journalist William Augustine Duncan (1811-1885), welcomed one of Reid's compositions in his recently-founded Sydney Catholic newspaper, the *Australasian Chronicle*:

> On Sunday, a solemn Mass was celebrated in the Cathedral [...] The new choir and orchestra of the Cathedral performed publicly for the first time on this occasion, and we have pleasure in adding in a style which surprised and delighted every body. The Mass was Reid's No. I in C, which is, upon the whole, a charming composition [...] We venture to predict that the succession of sounds of which this piece consists, will be speedily heard resounding in all parts of our capital [...].[8]

Duncan himself was musically well educated, and if not strictly a composer, was a dedicated musical arranger. In late March and early April 1841, he released the first ever colonial liturgical music

publication, two numbers of a projected twelve-issue series of music for use in Catholic churches, *The Sacred Minstrel*, 'being a collection of APPROVED HYMNS, arranged and adapted to the choicest movements of THE MOST CELEBRATED COMPOSERS', including Haydn, Gluck, Mozart, Pergolesi, and Cramer.[9] As Duncan explained: 'The musical works from which the airs are extracted have cost the compiler the labour of many years in collecting', and the task of fitting them to English hymn texts, and arranging them in simple choral format can hardly have been less laborious. Already by issue two, Duncan was forced to 'confess the slow demand' for the publication, and release of a third issue, 'now in the hands of the printer', was never advertised.[10] Significantly, there is now not even a single copy of the *Sacred Minstrel* listed in the Australian bibliographic record, though a slightly later Duncan arrangement, a *Kyrie Eleison* ('adapted to a *morceau* in A minor of Karl Heinrich Graun, and arranged for four voices and chorus, with An Accompaniment for the Organ or Pianoforte') was published in 1842, and a copy has survived.[11]

Duncan's *Kyrie* is the earliest of only a handful of extant colonial liturgical imprints dating from before 1860. The others include two (Christian) compositions by Isaac Nathan, a setting of The *Lord's Prayer* (1845) dedicated to the (Anglican) 'Lord Bishop of Australia',[12] and *The Names of Christ* (1853) to a text by the Presbyterian minister James Laughton.[13] The former convict and composer, Charles Packer (1810-1883), published another work called *The Names of Christ* (1856), though to an entirely different text;[14] while a still-serving, though evidently free-to-roam convict, John Charles Tapp (1824/5-1875) composed his *Tasmanian Sacred Melodies* (1855), a collection of original Wesleyan Methodist hymn tunes.[15] Packer, notably, found his librettist in the eccentric religious enthusiast Samuel Elyard. Though now better remembered as a talented amateur painter, according to his biographer, Michael Saclier, Elyard was also an avid pamphleteer who aimed:

> [...] to convert the Jews to Protestantism. In mid-1857 he started a journal, the *Salem Standard*, and imported a press with Hebrew type. He suffered from prophetic and royal delusions, but moderated after his retirement and became an Anglican lay preacher and a justice of the peace.[16]

Beside these few Christian survivals, four colonial Jewish musical publications also survive from before 1860, thus representing—way beyond Judaism's population representation—a good half of the extant colonial liturgical music from this period.

JAMES HENRI ANDERSON AND ISAAC NATHAN AND THE
CONSECRATION OF SYDNEY SYNAGOGUE (1844/5604)

Nathan has traditionally been regarded as the founder of Jewish music in Australia, and there is no doubt that his *Hebrew Melodies*, as set to words by Byron, and which first began to be published in London in 1815-16,[17] made a significant local impact. Thus, Nathan had already made his Sydney press debut in 1830, eleven years before he himself arrived in the colony, in an article under the guaranteed eye-catching headline, 'Lord Byron'. Its mostly favourable portrait of Nathan was lifted verbatim, as was much of the literary content of early Sydney papers, from an English journal:

> Mr. Nathan, the musical composer, has just published a pleasant volume of *Fugitive Pieces and Reminiscences of Lord Byron*, with a new edition of the celebrated *Hebrew Melodies*, and some never before published […].[18]

The *Gazette* reprinted three of the 'new' Bryon lyrics, with Nathan's reminiscences of his and Bryon's collaboration, and recollections of Walter Scott and Thomas Moore:

> When the *Hebrew melodies* were first published, Sir Walter, then Mr. Scott, honoured me with a visit at my late residence in Poland-street: I sang several of the melodies to him—he repeated his visit, and requested I would allow him to introduce his lady and his daughter; they came together, when I had the pleasure of singing to them *Jephtha's Daughter* and one or two more of the most favourite airs; they entered into the spirit of the music with all the true taste and feeling so peculiar to the Scotch.[19]

The 1830 review concluded: 'Altogether, Mr. Nathan's is just the book for the season'; though, in due course (as hinted in the obituary quoted above), other books read in Sydney recorded Byron's much-circulated exasperated complaint to Thomas Moore: 'Sunburn Nathan! Why do you always twit me with his 'Ebrew Nasalities?'[20]

After Nathan's arrival in Sydney in 1841, *Jephtha's Daughter* indeed went on to become one of his most enduring Australian hits. The colonial soprano diva, Eliza Bushelle (sister of the composer William Vincent Wallace), better known locally for her not always welcome advocacy of 'foreign' (Italian) arias, had already sung it several times, before her performance in a concert in September 1841 received this extraordinary, and admonitory, press notice:

Then came the sublime piece of the night—JEPHTHA'S DAUGHTER, in which Nathan has in so masterly a manner 'married the immortal verse' of one of Lord Byron's splendid lyrics, to most exquisite and appropriate music, and Mrs. Bushelle, with her powerful voice and no less powerful pathos, caused every word to thrill to the hearts of those who heard her. Not only every word, but every letter was enunciated so clearly and forcibly, that the poetry was felt in all its agonising force as strongly as the music; an argument from fact— unanswerable—unassailable—indestructible, by any sophistry or quibbling logic which can be brought forward, of the gross absurdity of thrusting unintelligible Italian on an English audience. To all such logic we reply: produce one single Italian piece, that with its poetry and its music, even if sung by our *Prima Donna*, Mrs Bushelle, will speak home to the heart like the electric and thrilling pathos of the great master piece of *Jephtha's Daughter*, and we will give up the task for ever of opposing Italian vocalism [...].[21]

Even though it was sacred and Hebrew in subject and content, *Jephtha* was neither a liturgical setting; nor, of course, had it been composed in Australia. In fact, as we shall shortly see, there is documentation of only a couple of Australian Jewish liturgical compositions by Nathan, neither of which, sadly, is thought to have survived; whereas another settler Jewish pianist-composer-arranger, James Henri Anderson (?1823-1879)—moreover, an observant practising Jew—seems to have made a more sustained contribution to music in the colonial synagogue.

Anderson was not yet twenty when he arrived in the colonies, probably sometime in 1840-41,[22] after studies at the Royal Academy of Music, London, 'during the same period (seven years) being the constant pupil of Cipriani Potter',[23] the 'English Beethoven', and more recently with the late Professor John Thomson (d.1841) of the University of Edinburgh. He was certainly in Hobart at New Year 1842, advertising that he would give, in Campbell Town on 11 February, 'a GRAND CONCERT of the most popular music, as now performed in the principal places of fashionable report in London', and that on 'return from his tour', it was his intention 'to give occasional Concerts in Hobart Town as advertised'.[24] In April, he begged 'leave most respectfully to inform the inhabitants of Hobart Town' of his intention to give instruction in Music, Pianoforte, English Singing, and Thorough Bass,[25] though by July, either pleasantly surprised at their quality, or pandering to their pretensions, he had taken to addressing his advertisement to 'the

Nobility and Gentry of Hobart Town'.[26] However, having given a concert in Launceston in March 1843 with John and Eliza Bushelle,[27] by September he moved there, and advertised his availability to give instruction 'in the various branches of composition, the theory of music, singing, and the piano-forte'.[28]

Anderson moved on to Sydney by March 1844,[29] and was again looking for pupils, as our Catholic journalist-arranger W. A. Duncan noted with evident interest in his new paper, the *Register*:

> A late arrival has brought to our shores a Mr. Anderson from the Royal Academy of Music, who is stated to be a pianist worthy of his talented instructor Cipriani Potter. *Nous entendrons.*[30]

Anderson's arrival (possibly intentionally) coincided with the consecration of the new synagogue in York Street, for again according to Duncan (his antiquarian interest in the ritual evidently piqued), Anderson and Isaac Nathan shared responsibility for the musical part of the ceremony:

> The music consisted partly of ancient Hebrew chaunts—not unlike Gregorian chaunt, but less solemn—and partly of light, pleasing melodies and choruses, by Louis Leo and Nathan, the last composed expressly for this occasion.[31]

In addition to the imported items composed in Britain by Leo (a former pupil of Nathan),[32] Nathan contributed two newly composed colonial pieces, *Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord*:

> [...] harmoniously sung by the choir, who had been trained by Mr. Nathan; the music composed expressly by him was exceedingly appropriate. The melody—in common time—is simple, yet bold and energetic, whilst the modulations are natural and elegant [...].[33]

At the conclusion of the service, a new *Hallelujah Chorus*:

> [...] composed expressly for the occasion by Mr. Nathan. It is set in G major, common time, and is a delightful composition. There is in it a solo movement, sung with much spirit by Mr. Anderson, and replete with classical modulations and harmonious combinations and dispersion of chords. The hand of a master is visible throughout, and we hope Mr. Nathan will be induced to publish it.[34]

In addition, there were two imported psalm settings by another English cantor-composer, Matthew Moss (1795-1868). While Moss never set foot in Australia, one (and possibly more) of his sons later did.[35]

Curiously, Nathan never published either of his new synagogue settings. However, in September 1844, the local publisher Francis Ellard did advertise publication of *The Lays of the Hebrews: A Selection of Hebrew Melodies*, 'as Sung at the Consecration of the Sydney Synagogue [...] Arranged for the Piano Forte by J. H. Anderson'.[36] According to *The Australian*, Anderson had undertaken the task of making the piano arrangements 'at the desire of several families',[37] and the four items he thus reworked included the two psalm settings (Psalms 91 and 24) attributed elsewhere to Moss, and two other chants (*Awake! Awake!*, 'Sung on Sabbath Eve'; and *Come my beloved*, 'Introductory Chant on the Sabbath Eve'), though all four are unattributed in the print.
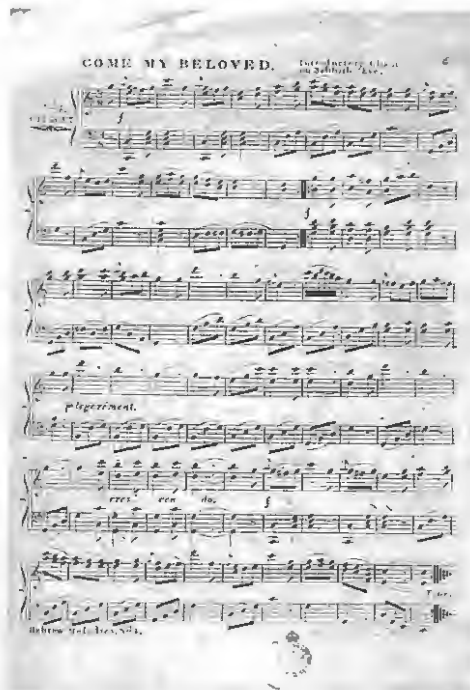
Come my beloved, 'Introductory Chant on Sabbath Eve', No 4 of The Lays of the Hebrews: A Selection of Hebrew Melodies as Sung at the Consecration of Sydney Synagogue arranged for the Piano Forte by J. H. Anderson (Sydney: Francis Ellard, [1844]); original in the Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW, Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2140776~S2; online image reproduced by permission.

The new issue was also reviewed in the *Register* by W. A. Duncan:

> The Hebrews were always a musical people, and this character they have carried into every country in which, since their dispersion, they have settled [...] Many of the traditional melodies of the Jews, as collected and published by Martini, Marcello, Burney, and latterly by Nathan, are truly beautiful. Of those used at the opening of the Sydney Synagogue, a portion of which are now before us [...] [i]n their present shape they are placed by Mr. Anderson within the power of the youngest pianoforte player, being arranged in a very easy manner. We are bound to say, however, that in some of his harmonies the composer has widely departed from what we should assume to have been the lessons of his instructor in the science (Cipriani Potter, we believe).
>
> We would merely point to bars 3, 21, and 22 in page 1 as examples to eschew in his next publication; which, though they may not be visible to the vulgar eye, or noticed by the uncultivated ear, yet greatly detract in the estimation of the dilettanti from the merits of an otherwise beautiful and characteristic melody.[38]

A month or so before the appearance of the *Lays*, a letter to *The Australian* suggested that it was to be the first of a series 'to be continued at intervals, should sufficient encouragement be afforded to those interested',[39] and so perhaps Nathan's newly composed items, along with the rest of the music from the York Street consecration, would have appeared later, duly arranged for piano by Anderson.

As it was, although Anderson's *Lays* never progressed beyond a single issue (probably more a sign of the straightened times economically, than of a lack of interest), they contributed considerably to the young man's reputation. When, early the next year, a synagogue was about to be opened in Hobart, another letter to the Sydney press noted that Anderson was again in demand:

> It appears to be the general desire of the Hebrew communities in both these places, that the services of our townsman, Mr. Anderson, who took a leading part in the consecration of the York-street Synagogue, should be secured to conduct the musical department at the opening of the new 'Houses of Israel', but I am given to understand that it is doubtful whether it will be in this gentleman's power to accept their joint invitation.[40]

JOSEPH REICHENBERG AND THE CONSECRATION OF
HOBART SYNAGOGUE (1845/5605)

Anderson must indeed have been unavailable to direct the music for the Hobart synagogue opening in July 1845,[41] for another friendly Catholic, the composer Joseph Reichenberg, instead stepped in to provide the music. As later printed, the music for the Hobart consecration, on 4 July 1845, is Reichenberg's sole extant work. Its peculiar genesis created some interest, as explained in the *Colonial Times*:

> In answer to numerous enquiries as to whether the gentlemen composing the choir at the opening of the Jewish Synagogue last Friday were professionals, we can inform our readers that the whole of them (consisting of Messrs. M. S. Simeon, treble; D. Allen, tenor; E. Isaacs, counter tenor; Isaac Solomon and H. Nathan, bass) were young men of the Hebrew religion, one of whom (Mr. Simeon) had assisted in a similar ceremony at home, and remembering the melodies, sung them to Mr. Reichenberg, who most felicitously melodized them. Mr. R attempted, and it must be admitted, accomplished the teaching five persons to sing in parts, and acquiring himself sufficient Hebrew to comprehend what he had to teach, in a manner which must increase the already high opinion entertained by the Tasmanian public of his professional superiority. [...][42]

An earlier report had gone into detail, noting also the participation of another Catholic, violinist-composer Joseph Gautrot (1775-1854):

> The ceremony commenced with one of Haydn's most favourite symphonies admirably performed by a choice orchestra led by Monsieur Gautrot, Mr. Reichenberg presiding at the piano. The choir was admirable, and singing of very first order; the melodies beautiful, and the harmonies perfect. A procession composed of the officers of the congregation circumambulated the avenues formed by the visitors seven times, at each interval the choir, accompanied by the orchestra, singing select passages of appropriate Psalms, but arranged to beautiful melodies [...] One of the Rolls of the Law was then taken out of the Ark and delivered to the Reader, who chaunted with musical accompaniments several appropriate passages of Scripture [...] The 39th Psalm was then chaunted by the choir with great taste and effect. Another prayer then followed, after which the 150th Psalm was sung by the choir, the *Hallelujahs* particularly beautifully, indeed it is only due to the gentlemen who formed

the choir to say that their performances would have done credit to any London Concert of Sacred Music. [43]

There was evidently a plan to publish nine of Reichenberg's settings immediately 'if a sufficient number of subscribers will patronise them'. [44] In the event (again perhaps for economic reasons), his *Ancient Hebrew Melodies* did not appear until two years later, 1847, published by Thomas Browne. [45] As 'harmonized and arranged for the pianoforte' by Reichenberg, these colonial *Hebrew Melodies* were greeted by the press as an:

> [...] invaluable addition to the musical gems of Tasman's Land [...] heightened by the recollection of the masterly performance of the several pieces at the consecration of the Synagogue in Argyle-street. [46]

These Hebrew settings for piano solo are, thus, the sole musical artefact from settler Australia's 'first composer'. Reichenberg had been naturalised in 1844, [47] and died in Hobart on 31 January 1851. [48]
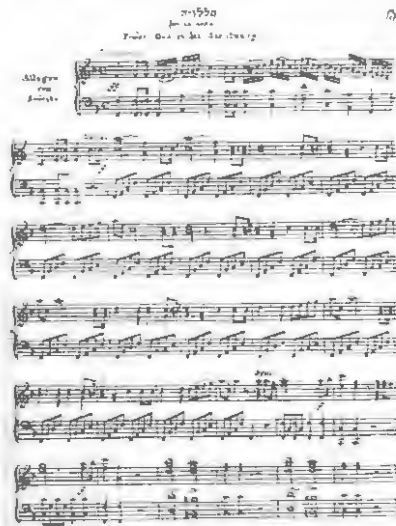
The opening of the final item, Hallelujah, from Ancient Hebrew Melodies sung at the consecration of the Synagogue, Argyle Street, Hobart-Town V.D.L. [...] harmonized and arranged for the pianoforte by J. Reichenberg (1847); copy at W. L. Crowther Library, Tasmanian Archive and Heritage Office; State Library of Tasmania Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=945363; online image reproduced by permission .

THE CONSECRATION OF LAUNCESTON SYNAGOGUE (1846/5606), ANDERSON'S LATER CAREER, AND HERMAN HOELZEL

Though there is no press record of his having participated, Anderson was, however, back in Tasmania at the time of the Hobart synagogue opening. In June 1845, the Launceston *Examiner* had noted his accession to that city's musical profession: 'Mr. Anderson [...] having received an appointment from the members of the Jewish persuasion to conduct the music of the new synagogue.'[49] Indeed, in March 1846, at the dedication of the Launceston synagogue, the *Examiner* reported: 'The greater part of the solos and chorusses [sic] were, we believe, composed by Mr. Anderson'.[50] His presence in Launceston has also led, recently, to some confusion as to his identity. In his entry on 'John Henry Anderson' [sic] in *These are the Names*, John Levi seems to have spectacularly elided the careers of the musician James Henri, and that of another Launceston Jewish identity, the swindler and former convict John (alias 'Aaron the Bolter') Anderson.[51] According to a press dossier complied on him in 1846, 'the active, enterprising, dapper little Jack Anderson was a transported offender to Van Diemen's Land for seven years', the last part of which was spent on a road gang, before—having served his term—he embarked on a career as a serial 'fraudulent insolvent', in Launceston and Adelaide.

Our Anderson, James Henri, meanwhile settled in Melbourne in 1848, having arrived there not direct from Tasmania, but from Mauritius.[52] In 1850, he composed his first documented secular composition, *The Fitzroy Quadrilles*, dedicated to Charles Fitzroy on the occasion of his first visit to Melbourne in his new capacity as first Governor-General of the Australian colonies.[53] They were published later that year in Sydney, and were favourably noticed in both Launceston,[54] and Hobart, where Anderson was clearly well-remembered:

> The votaries of Terpsichore have the opportunity of testing Professor Anderson's abilities, by purchasing a copy of these quadrilles for the pianoforte [...] The quadrilles are on sale at Messrs. Walch & Son's, and would make very suitable vacation presents.[55]

While there were no Melbourne or Sydney reviews, it is tempting to imagine that Anderson's quadrilles might have appealed to his co-religionists. According to a visiting English author, while Christian Sydney was at its evening prayers, certain musical Jews found a way of punctuating the Sunday evening hush by adding their own note to colonial Sydney's lively musical economy:

The Sydney people are very musical. I heard pianos played in every part of town, and very loud ones too; and was rather surprised one Sunday evening to hear a number of polkas, waltzes, &c., loudly performed, so as to be heard more than one hundred yards from the house; and the same evening, in another part of the town, more polkas saluted my astonished ear. I thought this very strange, and on further inquiry I ascertained that the musical individuals were Jews. [56]

The much-travelled Anderson was back in Hobart in 1852, having meanwhile spent some time in Launceston.[57] In April he established a music and instrument retail business,[58] and in July gave a concert with Charles Packer, at which it was also advertised that his son, possibly the future composer Alfred, 'Master Anderson, the juvenile Ethiopian [...]'sang 'the *Pretty Little Dark Eyed Maid*, *My Old Aunt Sally*, and *Sing, Sing, ye Darkies Sing!*[59]

In June 1853, he directed the music at Hobart Synagogue for a ceremony to welcome the new presiding rabbi, Mr. Hoelzel,[60] recently arrived in the colonies. In 1857, Herman Hoelzel himself would become a figure of colonial compositional interest,[61] when, as an appendix to his *Lecture on the History and Use of Music*, printed by Jacob Clarke in Sydney, he published two of his own piano arrangements of Jewish liturgical chants, 'The music of the celebrated *Hosannah Hymn*, ascribed to King David' and 'The music of *The hymn of the dead*, composed in time immemorial'.[62]

Anderson moved on to Sydney yet again by December 1853, advertising as a professor of music.[63] In September 1859, he was also again in business as an 'Importer of Music and Musical Instruments',[64] and that month presided at the harmonium and directed the choir at the dedication of the new Macquarie Street synagogue. On the occasion, according to the *Empire*, the choir sang 'a very melodious *Hallelujah Psalm*, composed by Mr. J. H. Anderson, who himself sang the solos'.[65]

In October 1861, Anderson published *The Star of Love Waltzes*,[66] on favourites theme from William Vincent Wallace's opera *Lurline*, the first of several works he would issue that were composed, not by himself, but by his barely teenage son, Alfred Anderson, then in London studying at the Royal Academy of Music. Anderson junior returned to have a brief but significant Australian career as a composer and pianist,[67] until his early death in 1876, aged 28.[68] Anderson senior was still associated with Macquarie Street Synagogue in 1868,[69] but during the 1870s moved to Melbourne. Only shortly before his death, young Alfred Anderson had married the touring Hungarian singer Ilma de Murska. Her manager, De

Vivo, much later went into print in the New York *Sun* claiming that, during Alfred's final illness, the Anderson family had effectively swindled Murska of £2000. According to De Vivo, when she last tried to see her husband:

> [...] she found the old Jewish father sitting at the door, a bottle of wine at his side, and when she attempted to enter the door he stretched out his cane and told her his son was too ill to receive her. [70]

Thus, any confusion with John Anderson 'the Bolter' notwithstanding, this last—possibly prematurely aged, and sadly archetypal—pen portrait of Anderson senior, sadly depicts him as a swindler after all. His dates of birth and death are yet to be unequivocally established, but our man—arguably one of the founding fathers of Australian synagogue music—is probably the J. H. Anderson who died in Melbourne in 1879, reportedly aged just 56. [71]

A MUSICAL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF COUNTRY: JEWISH COLONIAL COMPOSERS AND INDIGENOUS MUSIC

Wild Harp of Australia!—will none ravish thee
From the dark trackless forest the hand unrefin'd,
Yea—the savage no more thy sole master shall be,
No longer thy lay be but wrote on the wind [...].

When, in this poem of 1835, the young native-born settler patriot Charles Harpur contemplated the beginnings of a lasting school of Australian song, it was significant that one of his preconditions was wresting the figurative 'Harp of Australia' from Indigenous hands, and from an oral tradition that he believed—quite wrongly—destined Indigenous song to be written only 'on the wind'. [72] In this, he was typical of a settler colonial culture that, even before it had even reached its fiftieth anniversary in 1838, had already turned its back decisively on the Indigenous culture it was displacing. Notably, one of the last systematic attempts at salvaging something of Indigenous oral musical traditions for early settler colonial culture was—now famously—made by Isaac Nathan, in what seems of have been a conscious emulation of his own series of *Hebrew Melodies*, which first began to be published in London in 1815-16, [73] had earlier represented an act of cultural reclamation of the European Jewish oral tradition. Unfortunately, Nathan's series of 'Aboriginal Melodies' published in Sydney during the 1840s—transcriptions and arrangements into Western musical notation of some half-dozen

Indigenous chants—had no apparent successors, and little immediate influence. In fact, Nathan's harshest critics seemed to have had the longest memories of his venture. A still strong residue of anti-Indigenous and anti-Jewish rhetoric stands behind an unsympathetic obituary, penned by the Sydney correspondent of the Brisbane *Courier* a week after Nathan's tragic death (run over by a Sydney tram) in 1864, at the age of 73:

> [...] Whether rightly or wrongly I cannot say, there has always been a strong impression of late years that Mr. Nathan's intellect was impaired. On his first arrival in the colony he did some very ridiculous things [...] composed music for the Australian nigger melody, *Coreenda Braia*, as he called it, and, if I mistake not, got a whole chorus to chant it somewhere, like a lot of blackfellows. Then, when he became disgusted at what he considered want of appreciation, he wrote and composed what was meant to be a suitable song for Sydney, or Botany Bay, the burden being a complimentary remark and injunction us to the manner of succeeding in this part of the world:-
> *Knavery is sure to thrive,*
>   *And flattery's an estate,*
> *So live by your wits,*
> *and mind your hits,*
>   *To hum the rich and great!*
> The language and the sentiment [...] were not taken in very good part here at the time. [74]

Nathan's advocacy of Indigenous ritual song—in transcriptions and creative arrangements like his *Koorinda Braia* [75]—can be celebrated in a slightly more positive manner today, even as an early example of a musical 'Acknowledgment of Country'. Nor was he the first, or only, early Jewish-Australian settler to pay such a tribute. In 1834, the young German Jewish musician Joshua Frey Josephson (1815-1892)—later Lord Mayor of Sydney, member of the New South Wales parliament, and district court judge (and, despite his heritage, a committed Anglican)—contributed an original and inventive piano accompaniment to what was, fittingly, the very earliest locally published piece of music of any sort, a transcription of an Indigenous chant, *A Song of the Women of the Menaro Tribe*. [76] Thus, if alas all too fleetingly, Indigenous ritual music also formed a part of the early colonial Australian record of 'sacred' music.

It is tempting to speculate that Nathan's and Josephson's interest in Indigenous music was inspired by a native Jewish recognition of the plight of other outsiders. This may be so; but the well-being of

Indigenous peoples was also a cause taken up by a small but vocal group of thoughtful, well-educated urban settlers, notably our Catholic journalist-musician W. A. Duncan. Duncan's clear interest in, and sympathy with, the ceremonies performed at the consecration of Sydney synagogue might, for the matter, be construed as a further case of one outsider (a Catholic among a largely Protestant ascendency) making common cause with another outsider community. Historians, notably Manning Clark, have regretted that early colonial Australian society, in its worship of mammon, did little to foster intellectual curiosity and cultural sympathy. Nevertheless, the ecumenical instincts of some of the musicians discussed here suggests that seeds of a more equitable and just society were being sown during this early period of colonial history.

ENDNOTES

1.   This article is based on material first presented in the author's *Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition: First National Music 1788-c.1860* (Ph.D thesis, University of Sydney, 2011); the full work may be consulted online at University of Sydney Library, eScholarship repository: http://hdl.handle.net/2123/7264

2.   'ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE', *The Australian* (8 February 1844), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37120151.

3.   'CINDERELLA: To the editor', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (12 February 1844), 2s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12412733.

4.   'Music', *The Sydney Herald* (5 May 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12875009.

5.   James Pearson (c.1794-1841), see [News], *The Monitor* (9 March 1827), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31758255; 'chaunt' is the then regular, now obsolete, spelling of 'chant'.

6.   [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (6 July 1830), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2195472.

7.   The first documented colonial compositions, Reichenberg's (lost) *Australian Quadrilles* were announced in [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (28 April 1825), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2183967.

8.   [News], *Australasian Chronicle* (29 October 1839), 1s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31726755.

9.   [Advertisement], *Australasian Chronicle* (27 March 1841), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31731282; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (30 March 1841), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12868457; 'NEW PUBLICATIONS', *Australasian Chronicle* (30 March 1841), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31731328.

10. [Advertisement], *Australasian Chronicle* (8 April 1841), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31731402; 'NEW PUBLICATION: THE SACRED MINSTREL NO. II', *Australasian Chronicle* (10 April 1841), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31731426.

11. Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2198584~S2; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17314438.

12. Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16497174; 'THE LORD'S PRAYER', *The Australian* (11 October 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37156786; 'NEW MUSIC', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (13 October 1845), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12882794.

13. Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/15072837; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 April 1853), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12944888; see also a broadside copy of Broughton's text at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8324145.

14. Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b1707177~S2; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/7577334.

15. Copy at SL-VIC; Permalink: http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/sheetmusic/inter/871740.shtml; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/28085849.

16. M. J. Saclier, 'Elyard, Samuel (1817-1910)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 4 (1972), 139-140: http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A040580b.htm; Jonathan Watkins, 'Samuel Elyard' [1817-1910], *Dictionary of Australian Artists Online*: http://www.daao.org.au/main/read/2422; on one of Elyard's more delusional claims, 'O Heavenly Father! [...] if it be proper, grant that [...] Samuel Elyard may be [...] Emperor of Australia', see 'AN EMPEROR AND EMPRESS WANTED', *Launceston Examiner* (17 December 1857), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36303319.

17. A copy of a later edition, viewable online via the National Library of Australia's Trove, is *A Selection of Hebrew Melodies: Ancient and modern, newly arranged [...] by I. Nathan* (London: J. Fentum for the Proprietor, [1827-1829]); Trove Bookmark: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-vn902136.

18. 'LORD BYRON', *The Sydney Gazette* (13 May 1830), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2195106; from *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction* 13/373, Supplementary Number: http://www.gutenberg.org/files/11338/11338-h/11338-h.htm; for the book under review, see Isaac Nathan, *Fugitive Pieces and Reminiscences of Lord Byron* (London: Whittaker, Treacher, and Co., 1829); http://books.google.com.au/books?id=24OO7x4wErcC.

19. Ibid.

20. See *The Works of Lord Byron Complete in One Volume* (London: John Murray, 1842), 463, footnote 1: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=TWxAAAAAYAAJ&pg=RA1-PA463&#v=onepage&q&f=false; but noted that Byron is said to have pronounced his own name: 'burn'.

21. 'BUSHELLE'S CONCERT', *The Sydney Herald* (24 September 1841), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12871293.

22. He may have been the James Anderson whose arrival, on the *Lady Emma*, on 29 June 1840, was noted in the *Launceston Advertiser* (2 July 1840), see Archives Office of Tasmania, index of arrivals; see also [Advertisement]: 'The advertiser has been advised of a case of BOOKS addressed to Mr. James Henry Anderson [...]', *The Sydney Herald* (24 April 1841), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12868810.

23. [Advertisement], *The Melbourne Argus* (6 June 1848), 3:

http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4763989.

24. [Advertisement], *The Courier* (4 February 1842), 3:
http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2954905; he later added Launceston
to his schedule, [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (8 February 1842), 1:
http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8752417; for Anderson's concert
program, given with singer and guitarist 'Mons. De La Martini of the
Italian Opera, Paris', see, [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (22
February 1842), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8752455.

25. [Advertisement], *The Courier* (8 April 1842), 1:
http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2954531.

26. [Advertisement], *The Courier* (15 July 1842), 1:
http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2954058.

27. [Advertisement]: 'GRAND CONCERT', *Launceston Examiner* (29 March
1843), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36233098.

28. [Advertisement], *Launceston Examiner* (27 September 1843), 1:
http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36234765.

29. [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 March 1844), 1:
http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12425565.

30. 'The Musical Register', *The Weekly Register* 2/32 [recte 33] (9 March
1844), 476
http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18440309/e0020032/9-12.pdf.

31. 'OPENING OF THE SYNAGOGUE', *The Weekly Register* 2/37 (6 April
1844), 519:
http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18440406/00020037/5-
8.pdf; see also: H. N. Kirwan, 'HEBREW SERVICES: THE FIRST
SYNAGOGUE', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (18 March 1933), 9:
http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article16985725; the printed order of
service contains no composer attributions, see *Order of service
arranged for the consecration of the New Sydney Synagogue, 'House
of Israel', 'Beth Yisrael', York street, city of Sydney, New South Wales,
on Tuesday, April 2nd, (13th day of Nissan, 5604.) : = Seder Hanukat
ha-bayit shel Kahal Kadosh bet hakneset ha-hadash 'Bet Yisrael'*
(Sydney: Printed for the synagogue, 1844); copy at SL-NSW; Trove
Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/37528220.

32. English composer Louis Leo published a set of *Hebrew Melodies*
(London: Mori, Lavenu & Co, [?1844]); copy in British Library, Music
Collections   H.1698.(5.)   [004478512],   microform   copy   in   Sydney,
University of NSW: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/34745795; see also
'Hebrew Melodies', *The Literary Gazette and Journal of the Belles Lettres*
(20 January 1844), 43:
http://books.google.com.au/books?id=uMZLAAAAYAJ&pg=PA43#v=
onepage&q&f=false; also, report from London press, in 'MUSIC OF THE
JEWS',   *The   South   Australian   Register*   (13   July   1844),   4:
http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article27447601: 'A very interesting lecture
on the subject of the Music of the Jews was delivered on the 17th
January last, by Mr. H. Phillips, at the Music-hall, Store-street [London],
being illustrated as he proceeded by specimens executed by himself,
assisted by Miss Lucombe, Mr. Ansel Leo, and Miss Leo, with a piano-
forte accompaniment by Mr. Louis Leo [...]'.

33. 'CONSECRATION   OF   THE   NEW   SYDNEY   SYNAGOGUE',   *The
Australian*   (3   April   1844),   2-3:   http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-
article37118533.

34. Ibid.
35. Matthew Moss's son was Joseph Moss of Melbourne, see [Advertisement]: 'QUADRILLE PARTIES ATTENDED', *The Argus* (27 November 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4824336, and [Advertisement], 'Messrs. R. and J. Moss, Professors of Piano-forte', *The Argus* (16 May 1856), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4838014; in March 1861 he reportedly performed his father's compositions on the harmonium at the opening of the Ballarat Synagogue, see Goldman, *The Jews in Victoria* (1954), 169; another son may have been the Sydney pianist, publisher and occasional composer, Lewis Moss; a Mr. J. and L. Moss arrived with Mr. and Mrs. P. Solomon and family, from San Francisco on the *Crishna* on 23 February 1852; 'SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE: ARRIVALS', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 February 1852), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12934589; Lewis Moss was active from 1854, see [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 January 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12958917; in 1867 he composed and published his *Adon Gnolom: A Hebrew Hymn*, copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18561036; see also 'A NEW HEBREW HYMN', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (5 January 1867), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13151006.
36. [Advertisement] *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 September 1844), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12418309; copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2140776~S2; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/23533289.
37. 'THE LAYS OF THE HEBREWS', *The Australian* (23 September 1844), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37119610.
38. 'LITERARY NOTICES', *The Weekly Register* 3/61 (21 September 1844), 148: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18440921/00030061/1-4.pdf; also [Advertisement], *The Weekly Register* 3/61 (21 September 1844) 155: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18440921/00030061/9-12.pdf.
39. 'ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE: HEBREW MELODIES: To the Editor', *The Australian* (19 August 1844), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37120411.
40. 'JEWISH SYNAGOGUES', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (30 January 1845), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12877054.
41. He was still in Sydney a year later, see: 'DINNER', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (19 April 1845), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12878895. 'About sixty members of the Hebrew Faith dined together [...] The town band was in attendance, assisted by Mr. Worgan at the piano, and charmed their hearers with some sweet music [...] Messrs. Lazar, Simmons, Anderson, and several others, whose sweet voices and humourous songs need only to be heard, assisted materially in detaining their co-religionists till so late an hour.'
42. 'THE SYNAGOGUE', *Colonial Times* (11 July 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756924;
43. [News], *Colonial Times* (8 July 1845), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756909; according to John S. Levi & George F. J. Bergman, *Australian Genesis: Jewish Convicts and Settlers, 1788-1850* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1974), 237, 'the music was written by the Jewish immigrant John [sic] Henry Anderson, and orchestrated and conducted by Joseph

Reichenberg'; but there are no composer attributions at all in the printed order, see *Order of service at the dedication of the synagogue, Argyle Street, Hobart Town, van Diemen's Land, on Friday, the 4th July, a.m., 5605-1845*, copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9801095.

44. [Advertisement]: 'Hebrew Melodies: To be published shortly [...]', *The Courier* (30 July 1845), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2947838.

45. Copy in SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=945363; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/37015413.

46. 'NEW MUSIC', *The Courier* (28 April 1847), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2972015; 'LITHOGRAPHY—HEBREW MELODIES', *Colonial Times* (23 April 1847), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8760488; interestingly, however, Reichenberg's music was not specifically mentioned among that sung at the re-consecration (after renovations) of the Hobart synagogue in 1848, reportedly on that occasion 'the music being composed by the Reader of the Berlin Synagogue, [and] John Barnett [(1802-1890) British, and a former pupil of Matthew Moss], and other Hebrew composers', 'RE-CONSECRATION OF THE JEWISH SYNAGOGUE', *The Hobart Town Daily Mercury* (4 May 1858), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3247917.

47. Tasmania, Archives Office: SC415/1/1 p.34; 'Richenburg' in the 1843 census (CEN1/1/52, 27).

48. 'DIED', *Colonial Times* (31 January 1851), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8768673.

49. 'MUSICAL PROFESSION', *Launceston Examiner* (4 June 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36240128.

50. 'CONSECRATION OF THE NEW SYNAGOGUE', *Launceston Examiner* (26 March 1846), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36244260; Anderson is credited on the cover of the printed order of service: 'THE MUSIC COMPOSED EXPRESSLY FOR THE OCCASION BY MR. ANDERSON', and later 'I. H. Anderson' is also listed as 'honorary secretary' of the Launceston congregation; see *Order of service performed at the consecration of the new synagogue, St. John Street, Launceston, Van Diemen's Land, on 5606-1846* (Launceston: Printed for the synagogue, 1846); copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/20361962.

51. John Levi, *These are the Names: Jewish Lives in Australia, 1788-1850* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2006), 49-50; see 'JOHN ANDERSON, ALIAS AARON, THE BOLTER TO SYDNEY', *South Australian Chronicle* (18 November 1846), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article27454277; also 'ANDERSON THE BOLTER [From the *Portland Gazette*]', *South Australian Register* (16 December 1846), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article27454492; and several further articles in 1847 and 1848.

52. [Advertisement]: 'MR. J. H. ANDERSON', *The Melbourne Argus* (6 June 1848), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4763989; but, curiously— perhaps even a little suspiciously after all—apropos the confusion over Anderson's identity noted above, the swindler John Anderson disappeared to Mauritius in 1846, and the musician James returned from there in 1848; a George Anderson was governor of Mauritius in

1848, perhaps more likely to be a relative of James, than of John; on John's being tracked to Mauritius, see [News]: 'Many of our readers [...]', *South Australian Register* (22 July 1848), 2:http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48728235.

53. Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18588440.

54. 'FITZ ROY QUADRILLES', *Launceston Examiner* (25 September 1850), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36267077.

55. 'THE FITZROY QUADRILLES', *The Courier* (21 December 1850), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2961634.

56. John Shaw, *A Tramp to the Diggings: Being notes of a ramble in Australia and New Zealand in 1852* (London: Richard Bentley, 1852), 202-03:

57. 'MUSIC', *The Courier* (1 May 1852), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2959114:'Mr. J. H. Anderson [...] has recently arrived from Launceston, where he has for some time past successfully practised as a teacher on the pianoforte, and vocal instructor'; also 'MUSICAL', *Colonial Times* (7 May 1852), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8771362; 'MASCONIC: ST JOHN'S DAY', *The Courier* (29 June 1850), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2962585: 'Mr. J. H. Anderson exercised his professional talents [...]'.

58. [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (27 April 1852), 1s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8771293: '[...] on sale at the Musical Repository, of J. H. Anderson, Professor of Music [...] the cheapest and best collection of Standard Publications of [...] printed in music folio [...]'

59. 'GRAND CONCERT', *The Courier* (28 July 1852), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2958694.

60. 'THE HEBREW CONGREGATION: INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE NEW RABBI', *The Courier* (9 June 1853), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2247364: '[...] At the commencement of the ceremony, a voluntary, adapted to the occasion was performed by Mr. J. H. Anderson on the seraphine, who was assisted by an efficient choir [...]'; the article has further specific information on music sung.

61. See I. Porush, 'Rev. Herman Hoelzel, the first qualified Jewish Minister in Australia', *Journal and Proceedings of the Australian Jewish Historical Society* 2/4 (1945), 172-200.

62. *The Lecture on the History and Use of Music: delivered in the hall of the School of Arts, on the 25th August, 1857* (Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1857); copy at SL-VIC: http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/vicpamphlets/inter/223995.shtml; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8309123.

63. [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 December 1853), 9: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12960312.

64. [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (14 September 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13030751.

65. 'DEDICATION OF THE NEW JEWISH SYNAGOGUE' [From the *Sydney Empire*, 26 September], *The Hobart Town Daily Mercury* (5 October 1859), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3258182; 'THE OPENING OF THE NEW SYNAGOGUE', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 September 1859), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13031208; see also 'OPENING OF THE NEW SYNAGOGUE, MACQUARIE-STREET', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (13 October 1859), 11: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-

article13031875: '[...] The consecration service was performed by their minister, the Rev. Solomon Phillips [...] assisted by a numerous and well-selected choir, Mr. J. H. Anderson presiding at the harmonium, and directing the musical department. The opening symphony, by Mozart, was played in the most effective style by the conductor. The service was performed in the ancient style of the Hebrew faith [...]'; article includes further specific information on music sung.

66. Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/11355098.

67. [Advertisement] 'A CARD. MR. ALFRED ANDERSON', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 July 1869), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13180506: '[...] is expected to arrive in the course of a few days, and will be prepared to give LESSONS on the Pianoforte and Composition, in the most modern style.'

68. [Obituary] 'Death has put an end to the career of Mr. Alfred Anderson [...]', *The Argus* (23 March 1876), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7435256.

69. 'HEBREW', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (29 April 1868), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13165367: 'At the Synagogue, Macquarie-street [...] Mr. Anderson, sen., presided at the harmonium.'

70. 'THE LOVES OF A CANTATRICE', *Kalgoorlie Western Argus* (11 March 1897), 10: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32343749; see also J. H. Anderson's letter to editor answering the claim made in the *Argus's* obituary (cited above) that Murska was prevented from seeing Alfred, 'THE LATE MR. [ALFRED] ANDERSON', *The Argus* (25 March 1876), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7435415.

71. Levi has the death of 'John Henry Anderson' on 19 February 1892, aged 65, but his birth year as 1823; whereas, 'DEATHS', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (9 May 1879), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13434295: 'ANDERSON. May 1, Melbourne, J. H. Anderson, 56', thus also born c.1823; his wife died two years earlier, aged 46, see 'DEATHS', *The Argus* (25 December 1877), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5949904. *

72. 'MELODY: TO THE HARP OF AUSTRALIA', *The Sydney Monitor* (19 September 1835), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32149736; most of the primary source material cited in this article is freely viewable online, and web addresses are provided should readers wish to consult the sources themselves.

73. A copy of a later edition, viewable online via the National Library of Australia's *Trove*, is *A Selection of Hebrew Melodies: Ancient and modern, newly arranged* [...] *by I. Nathan* (London: J. Fentum for the Proprietor, [1827-1829]);Trove Bookmark: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-vn902136.

74. 'NEWS & NOTES BY A SYDNEY MAN', *The Courier* (23 January 1864), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3168164.

75. Copy at NLA, available online, Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/21236841.

76. Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Record: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/33504891; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (11 November 1834), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2217523; see also 'Domestic Intelligence', *The Australian* (7 November 1834), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article42007225.

MOSES ANGEL AND THE JEWS' FREE SCHOOL

Mary Lazarus, edited by Jennifer McNaughton

INTRODUCTION

The story of Moses Angel or Angel Moses (see text for elucidation on this point) occurred through the good offices, energy and dedication of Louise Rosenberg who tracked down my aunt, Mary Lazarus's research paper about a man whom she dubs as her 'co-lateral ancestor'. I knew it existed and I believed I had a copy, but after she died in 1992 it could not be traced. We tracked the manuscript down to the house of Dr Edward Conway, the former Principal of the Jews' Free School, who lived in the East End of London. Dr Conway had served as principal for 20 years.

When I say we, it was really only the feisty and dedicated Louise who made this journey of discovery and now she and I are both anxious that this story should be published, as it is a fascinating and significant part of Jewish history. Louise prevailed upon Dr Conway to allow her to photocopy the paper that Mary, my aunt, must have given him. He agreed to this request and Louise returned to Australia with a copy of the typed manuscript.

The story is closely linked to Australia. Moses Angel's (originally Angel Moses) father, Emmanuel Moses, (known as 'Money Moses') was transported to Van Diemen's Land in 1841 and Angel, himself, would have ended up in Australia had it not been for the philanthropy of some 'wealthy gentleman' in England. Mary Moses, Angel's sister, however, did migrate later to Van Diemen's Land. She was my aunt, Mary Lazarus' great grandmother, and my great, great grandmother while Emmanuel Moses was our very distant grandfather. (See Appendix I).

Jenny McNaughton

FOREWORD

Mary Lazarus (left) and her neice, Jenny McNaughton (née Lazarus).

I decided that the life and work of my co-lateral ancestor Moses Angel was a subject worth investigating when, in the course of doing other research, I read the Report of the Newcastle Commission, appointed in 1858 to 'inquire into the state of popular education in England', with its praise of Moses Angel and the Jews' Free School. (JFS) My maternal grandfather, Moses Angel's nephew, lived with my family when I was a child and both he and my mother used to refer to *Uncle Angel.* I was interested as long ago as that, in the very little I knew of him. His portrait, which I still have hung on the wall of our sitting room;[1] I did not realise it then, but it was a photograph of a painting. When my mother and I went to England in 1933, and we saw the painting there, we did not know it too was a copy of the original.

At this stage it did not occur to me that I should try to discover more about Uncle Angel's life and work when there would have been many people still alive who knew him. Indeed, I could not at that time have undertaken the task as I was in England on leave of absence from my position as a full time High School teacher with the Department of Education in Victoria, Australia.

My visit to England in 1971 was made only a year of so after I saw the reference to Moses Angel in the Report of the Newcastle Commission. Soon after my arrival I went to see Dr Conway, the headmaster of the JFS Comprehensive School in Camden Town. He

was interested in my project and encouraging, but alas, he told me that all school records, which I had hoped to be able to consult, had been destroyed in the Blitz. Dr Conway did, however, suggest that I write to Edmund de Rothschild, a member of the School Committee, who was carrying on a family tradition of over a century in his active interest in the School. I hoped that there might be some references to the School in his firm's archives. Two Annual reports were discovered which he kindly made available for me to consult.

My investigations took me to the office of the *Jewish Chronicle* and to a number of libraries and in all these places the librarians were most helpful. The libraries include those at the Jews' College, Woburn House, the County Hall and the Ministry of Education and also the Mocatta and Tower Hamlets' Libraries. It was on one of the occasions when I went to the Mocatta Library that a parcel arrived containing the School minute books covering a period of twenty years, 1840 -1860. These were invaluable sources of information.

In addition to the people I have mentioned, I should like also to thank Mr Joseph Leftwitch, the biographer of Israel Zangwill, Mrs Beth-Zion Abrahams who told me of the article in *Young Israel* and allowed me to see her copy and Mr L Rubins who was engaged in completing the index of the *Jewish Chronicle*.

Moses Angel (1819-1898) Headmaster from 1842-1897.
Reproduced from Gerry Black, JFS: The History of the Jews' Free
School, London since 1732, (London: Tymsder Publishing, 1998),
Image (III).

MOSES ANGEL AND THE JEWS' FREE SCHOOL

When the Jews' Free School was founded in 1817, there were about 30,000 Jews in the whole of England. About two thirds of these lived in London[2] and although a comparatively small group was well-to-do and influential, the majority, who lived in the East End of London, were poverty stricken. There were several small synagogues in the area with which the Talmud Torahs (small religious schools), were usually associated. These mainly provided a traditional Jewish religious education and a number of wealthy, philanthropic Jews thought that something more was called for. Some twenty years or so after its foundation, the aims and objects of the founders of the Jews' Free School were outlined as follows:

> Ignorance, combined with idleness, is a bane to society; both are sources of licentiousness and vice. The mind of man, naturally active, will, unless directed to useful purposes, employ itself merely for its own gratification; and if, from want of instruction, it be uninformed of moral truths, and unrestrained by the fear of God, nothing but the strong hand of the law can prevent its indulging in every species of evil.
> The children of the poor are particularly exposed to misfortune and vice; uneducated, ignorant of all religious, moral or social duties, and unoccupied, their time becomes devoted to wicked courses; and habits are produced, which eventually prove destructive to the individual and injurious to society. To raise the future generations of the poor from so degraded a condition – to crush in the bud all growing dispositions to vice – to implant in their minds the germs of knowledge, the tenets of our holy law; the elements of moral and religious truth and thereby to enable them to claim and uphold a due rank among their fellow citizens - are objects which must ever demand the attention of the philanthropist and call forth the aid of the public.[3]

The first pupils, all of whom were boys, were admitted in 1817. From the beginning, parents were eager to send their children and soon there were too many to be accommodated in the original building in Lancaster Lane. A Joint Stock Company was formed, a freehold property was purchased in Bell Lane, Middlesex Street (Petticoat Lane) at a cost of £700 and 'a draughty and barn like' building was erected to accommodate the 262 pupils who were enrolled by that time.[4]

This number now included some girls, for the Committee had decided that provision should be made for girls, the members 'being

convinced that the complete amelioration of society could not possibly be effected unless females...were likewise initiated in those duties, which if known and practised, must invariably ensure individual happiness and general prosperity'.[5]

By 1841 the number of pupils had more than trebled; the building had been enlarged to accommodate them and also to provide 'suitable playground and commodious residences for the Master and Mistress'. The curriculum consisted of Hebrew, the three Rs and in addition for the girls, 'plain needlework'. The highest class or Talmud Torah, in which there were at that time twenty-one boys, was 'to serve the purpose of a grammar school, giving instruction of a more advanced character in Hebrew and English and teaching also Geography, History, and the Hebrew commentators on the Sacred Writings'.[6]

At this time, the master of this class was the twenty-two year old Moses Angel who had been appointed to the post in the previous year. In his doctoral thesis, Quinn wrote that Angel 'was the enigma whose antecedence is still cloaked in mystery'.[7] In view of the fact that less than three years later, on the retirement of the Rev. H.A. Henry, Angel was appointed Master, that is Headmaster of the Jews' Free School, where his background would be of some importance, it was, Quinn considered, all the more strange that nothing was known of it. All that is known of his early days, Quinn went on, is that he had been virtually adopted by a 'non-Jewish gentleman'. Though much remains obscure or unknown about his background, a little light on this 'mystery' can be thrown by the present writer.

Angel, when an old man of 79, told a journalist that his father was a poor man with eleven children and that a 'wealthy gentleman'[8] had adopted him as his son. He did not say when this occurred nor did he mention that his mother and three sisters had emigrated to Van Diemen's Land in 1842, but this was so. One of these sisters, born in 1826 was the present writer's great grandmother and her maiden name was Mary Moses.[9] At some time, Angel Moses transposed his name, perhaps at the suggestion of his rich patron but we can only guess at his reasons.

In 1827, when he was eight years old, he went to board at H. A. Solomon's boarding school in Hammersmith. It seems reasonable to conclude that his patron paid for this and it was probably at this time that he transposed his name. If this was the case, the change was sure to have been known to his headmaster, who had gone to this post from the staff of the Jew's Free School. When he was eleven, Angel was appointed captain of the Hammersmith School and three years later he transferred to the secular University College School where he was at once placed in the Sixth Form. He was awarded

prizes for mathematics in each of his two years there. He was permitted to matriculate at the age of fourteen and a half, eighteen months before the legal age; this, according to Quinn, was quite unprecedented. He attended University college for the next few years: however, his patron intended that his protégé ought to be a lawyer, but just at the time when his legal training would have begun, the patron's business failed so Angel's 'expectations of a legal career suffered disappointment and he was thrown upon his own resources before he was seventeen years'.[10] For a time he was employed as a clerk in a Dublin bank but when a master was needed for the Upper Division of the Jew's Free School, (the Talmud Torah), H. A. Solomon recommended Moses Angel for the post.[11]

At this time there were twenty-one boys in the class and from these, the monitors, without whom the school could not have functioned at all, were chosen. A school run on the monitorial system had a large class room at one end of which, was a raised platform on which the master sat supervising the great number of children, perhaps several hundred, in his care. These were divided into groups each in the charge of a monitor, one of the older pupils who had received special instruction from the Master. The monitor's task was to pass on the information to the children in his group and to drill them in it.

monitors taking a reading lesson in 1816:
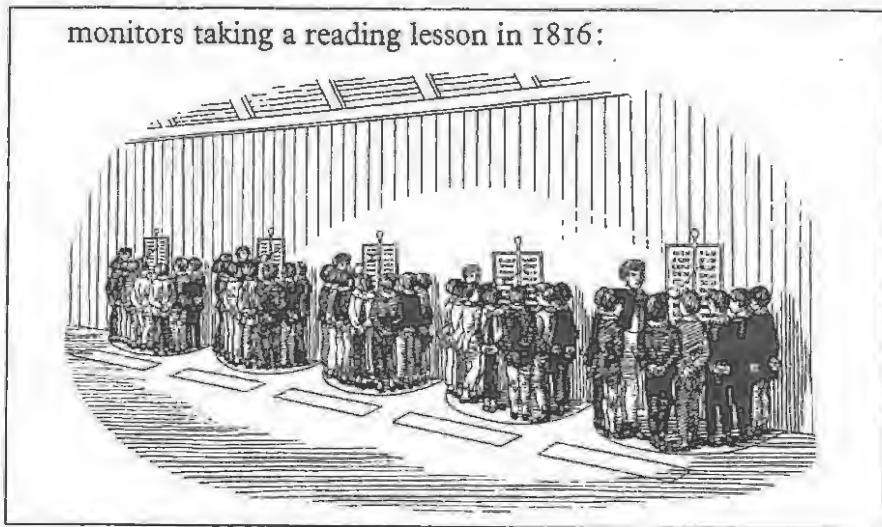
Monitors Taking a Reading Lesson in 1816, Reproduced from Gerry Black, JFS: The History of the Jews' Free School, London since 1732, London: Tymsder Publishing, 1998, Image (VIII).

Angel inherited this system and later expressed his opinion of it, calling it 'that cheap method of imparting the least possible

amount of information to the smallest number of pupils in a large school'.[12] The first mention of him in the minutes of the Jew's Free School Committee meeting was to record his application to be allowed the use of the school library for his pupils in the Talmud Torah class. Permission was given. Not long afterwards he was entrusted with other duties.

At this time there was no Jewish newspaper in English. Nathan Isaac Vallentine was anxious to start one. He had difficulty in raising sufficient money and although Jacob Franklin agreed to support his scheme and is recorded as the co-founder of the *Jewish Chronicle*,[13] Vallentine was anxious to start a paper of his own. On 16 September 1841, the first issue of Franklin's *The Voice of Jacob* appeared. It was intended to be a fortnightly paper but the second issue did not come out until 15 October. Jacob Franklin, 'a public spirited and pious Jew', ten years Angel's senior, was a member of the well known banking family of that name, though he himself was not a banker. He had originally been an optician, then a statistician and also an educationist, philanthropist and patron of scholars.[14]

For some reason, Franklin had decided to anticipate Vallentine with his paper. The first issue of the *Jewish Chronicle* did not appear until 12 November 1841, two months after the first issue of the *Voice of Jacob*. The *Jewish Chronicle* was under the joint editorship of the Rev David Meldola and Moses Angel, Hebrew and English editors respectively. Angel had accepted the post on two conditions: that his services should be honorary and 'that anonymity should be strictly preserved in regard to the editorship'.[15] It was probably Angel who outlined the paper's policy in its first issue: 'Our creed is peace to all man-kind – opposition to none and the love of God, worshipping Him through the medium of our affections and hopes and not our fears'.[16]

In later years, Moses Angel said that the *Chronicle*'s early success was largely due:

> ... to the mystery which shrouded the authorship of the articles.

Intoxicated by success, Vallentine, in a moment unfortunate for his own interest, induced Angel to allow the names of the Editors to be printed on the face of the paper. The collapse was as sudden as the success had been eminent. People resented the fact that a teacher from the Jews' Free School 'was setting himself in authority over them'.[17]

The Jewish community at this time was scarcely large enough to support two papers; when the *Jewish Chronicle*'s fortunes were at a low ebb, Franklin offered to buy Vallentine out, incorporating the *Chronicle* in his paper. He asked Angel if he would edit his paper.

The following letter from Moses Angel to Franklin, dated 21 April 1842, makes the issue clear. He began by informing Franklin of Vallentine's refusal to sell his paper and his determination to continue its publication. He continued:

> Under the above circumstances your proposition about me of course falls to the ground; but be it at once understood that I should not think myself at any time justified in uniting with you in the production of a paper if, by so doing, I should confess myself your inferior by acting as your subordinate. The request is one you are certainly at liberty to make, but it is one which the consciousness of our relative positions in the Jewish literary world would by no means permit me to comply.[18]

Despite this confident statement, a month after the letter was written the *Chronicle* had to cease publication because of 'heavy losses'. According to the *Chronicle's* historian, for eighteen months *The Voice of Jacob* 'entered upon a short blaze of glory under Moses Angel's editorship, which lasted until September 1843'. Evidently some arrangement was made by which differences over the owner's and the editor's 'relative positions in the Jewish literary world' were overcome. The *Voice of Jacob* continued publication until September 1846. The *Chronicle* was reissued after an interval of eighteen months and has continued to be published as a successful weekly paper until the present day.

By the time the *Voice* ceased publication, Moses Angel's position at the Jew's Free School had greatly changed. In August 1842, after the retirement of Rev H.A. Henry, H.W. Solomon, chairman of the education committee and Angel's former headmaster from Hammersmith, moved a resolution that a replacement, Angel, be appointed to the post. He was then twenty-three years of age and the committee passed the motion. His salary was to be £140 a year and was to start when school resumed on 2 October. He was also to be provided with coals and a house in the school grounds which he was to occupy 'forthwith'. If it were found that he was 'not competent to fill the duties of the office' he was to be given three months notice.[19]

There were at this time some nine hundred pupils in attendance, two thirds of whom were boys. Angel continued to teach the Talmud Torah class. Three months after he took up his new appointment, he applied for leave of absence as he was to be married to Rebekah Godfrey[20] on Wednesday 11 January 1843. Five days' leave was granted and the school was given a holiday on his wedding day.[21]

One of the conditions of his appointment as headmaster was that he should 'devote the whole of his time to the business of the School

and that he be not allowed to engage himself in any other pursuits whatsoever'.[22] However, according to the historian of the *Jewish Chronicle*, he continued to edit the *Voice of Jacob* until September 1843. Three months after this, on 21 December 1843, he wrote the following letter to the President and Committee of the School:

> Gentlemen,
> Finding the restrictions as to my not being allowed to employ my after hours press so heavily upon me in consequence of the extraordinary expenditure I have been obliged to make, I respectfully beg you will allow me as all other Masters have done, to devote my Evenings to some pursuit likely to be conducive to increase my income on my promise that I will in no way mix myself either with public Organs or public bodies but will devote my time to private tuition or Book keeping in such a manner as shall neither interfere with my duties to you nor my position with regard to the Public. I am above all anxious that you should understand that I shall enter into no employment of which you in Committee shall disapprove, as you have always reserved to yourselves the right to deprive me of the privilege should you find I abuse it. Indeed, I should not ask it if I did not find that illness unfortunately long protracted brings with it enormous expences (sic) and that the birth of a child engenders in its father a consideration for its future as well as present provision.[23]

The child was his eldest son Emanuel and it must have been his wife's illness to which he referred though this can only be inferred. The Committee resolved that his request be granted. He later referred to having private pupils. He also from time to time contributed to the Jewish press, but whether he was paid for this is not known. Family worries were not the only ones he had to contend with. A week or so before his marriage, he had to suspend two boys 'in consequence of their bad conduct and the insolence of their relations'.[24]

At the end of the year, he reported to the president and vice-president of the School Committee:

> The conduct of the children is only tolerable, arising as I think from the almost total lack of Corporal Punishment. I find the system of keeping inefficient, as much as the kept frequently thrash the monitor appointed to take care of them and at times do much damage to the Books, Lesson Books and Pointer. I respectfully call your attention to this subject. Truantism still prevails to a great extent – the only remedy I can recommend

for this as well as for neglect of paying the weekly pence is stoppage of the clothing.[25]

The reference to 'paying the weekly pence' in a Free School needs explanation. Payment was not enforced if the pupils came from very poor families. For example in 1850 when the enrolment was over one thousand, only £64/3/3 was collected from the scholars.[26] Probably about one third paid. Moses Angel 'did not think any evil arose through one child knowing that another had been excused payment.'[27] He believed that the children who paid most regularly valued their education most.[28]

The 'stoppage of clothing' referred to the gifts of clothing supplied annually by Mrs Nathaniel Rothschild since 1822. (Her husband was at this time president of the School Committee) In 1837 she had contributed £1400 to an accumulating fund, which she established for this purpose. From the School's foundation until the present day, members of the Rothschild family have taken not only a generous but also an active interest in the School. Israel Zangwill, one of the School's most famous sons wrote: 'Rothschild was a magic name in the Ghetto; it stood next to the Almighty's as a redresser of grievances and a friend of the poor'.[29]

By 1840, nearly 4000 children had benefited from gifts of clothing, who 'but for such aid must have remained home and wanted both clothing and education'.[30] Some years later the good attendance at the Jews' Free School, so much better than at other schools in poor areas, was said to be partly due to the fact that gifts of clothing were withheld from truants.[31] Nearly a year before Moses Angel had suggested this method of checking truancy, Mrs de Rothschild had herself suggested that the headmaster should withhold clothing from any boys who had been 'refractory' or had 'misbehaved' until such time 'as they had retrieved their character.'[32] Angel still had to depend on monitors to run his school; most of them were chosen from the Talmud Torah class and by no means were all of these were suitable. Angel reported to the Committee:

As the Talmud Torah boys form the majority of the monitors I think you will agree with me that it is essential they should be of such a stamp as that when one leaves at fourteen years of age another should be capable of stepping into the place, otherwise I shall at some period be left without sufficient talent to work the classes. Eighteen of the twenty-one Talmud Torah boys are thus qualified for graduation, the other three whom I have now endeavoured to teach for fifteen months are such incorrigible dunces that they still remain behind boys more recently admitted.

They can neither read, spell nor cipher and their stock of general knowledge is below zero. I have therefore respectfully to suggest that as they have never been regularly elected, only appointed by a sub committee, that measures be taken to remove them from the Talmud Torah School which I take it should be held out to those Boys best capable of receiving the Benefit of a Superior education and not to those who in spite of all my endeavours are dead-weights impeding the progress of their class fellows and wholly useless as monitors. I respectfully urge earnest and immediate attention to this subject.[33]

Four months later the committee empowered him to conduct the School with the help of such monitors 'as may be deemed by him capable of cooperating with and assisting him in his duties'.[34] The monitors were paid 10/- a month and an additional 40/- or £2.00, was granted to the headmaster.

It was not unusual for monitors in other schools to be under twelve when they were appointed and some were as young as eight or nine! Judged by this standard, the Jews' Free School monitors were satisfactory, but Angel was only one of many leading educationists who condemned the whole system.[35] A few promising lads from the Free School were sent to the Borough Road School, considered the best monitorial school, to be trained for service within their own school.

On several occasions the headmaster reported that attendance was unsatisfactory. Apparently the School opened seven days a week, for he stated that the attendance averaged three hundred out of four hundred for Mondays to Thursdays and was only one hundred and fifty on Fridays and the Sabbath, though rising to two hundred and twenty on Sundays. (The Headmaster held religious services at the school on Saturdays.) Dr. Adler, the Chief Rabbi, had used his influence to combat the poor attendance but 'with only partial success'.[36] No mention was made at this time of the penalty of withholding the gifts of clothing from truants or badly behaved pupils and there were still some incorrigible pupils. One had to be expelled for 'brutal and inhuman conduct' and two others were admonished in view of the school.[37]

Despite these problems, the enrolments continued to rise and Angel reported a record enrolment of 489 in the Boys' School in May 1848. The president agreed that for the present no new pupils should be admitted and plans were soon started to enlarge the building. There were so many boys in the lowest division that Angel himself devoted the whole of each morning to teaching the boys in this part of the school.[38]

Moses Angel's family as well as the number of his pupils was increasing. He had four children, two sons and two daughters though there may have been others who did not survive him.[39] In 1846, he told the Committee that his house was by that time too small to accommodate his family and his request for it to be enlarged was referred to the Building committee.[40] This request was granted and the house was also sewered.

From the outset, Angel had been anxious to build up the school library and add such equipment as the limited resources at his disposal would allow. From time to time small grants were made to him with which he purchased books for the library and such items as 'an object box', a microscope, a magic lantern with astronomical slides and a set of 120 plates in Natural History.[41] He tried to widen the narrow horizons of Spitalfields by occasionally arranging outings for the boys. Twenty boys (presumably from the Talmud Torah class) attended the lectures of the Jewish and General Literary and Scientific Institute.[42] A few months later he took 'a large number of the most deserving boys' for a day's outing to the British Museum and the Surrey Zoological gardens, picnicking by the roadside. The *Voice of Jacob* reported that 'the advantages of thus introducing to the notice of the children the most striking objects in nature and art cannot be overrated'.[43] In 1846, a famous Minute on Education with which the name of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth is associated, recommended various changes in the education system. These included the replacement of monitors by pupil teachers, who from the age of thirteen would serve a five-years' apprenticeship and would be paid an annual salary of £10 in the first year, and subject to passing the annual examination, rising to £20 in the fifth. To receive a government grant, a school and its headmaster had to be approved by a government inspector. It was hoped that the masters would have a certificate of merit, but at first this was impossible to enforce as there were so few who were so qualified. 'It was enough if the inspector found the school in good order and well instructed, and formed the opinion that the master knew enough of the work and was able to be a guide and example in the formation of the character of the apprentices.'[44] He was responsible for training them as teachers and for further instructing them in general subjects.

The Jews' Free School must have been among the first to employ pupil teachers, though it was five years before a government subsidy for this purpose was provided. As early as May 1848, the *Jewish Chronicle* reported 'the dawn of a new system'[45] and a few months later the first pupil teachers were appointed at a salary of £10 a year.[46] In 1850 a visitor to the school reported that he had been 'more than gratified' by what he had seen of the new system.[47] Moses Angel,

responsible for training these apprentice teachers, took classes in general subjects after school hours and these included modern and ancient languages.[48] In each of the years 1850 and 1851, the corporation of the City of London granted £105 to the School, the first contributions from a public body. It can be presumed that this was to defray the expenses of the pupil teachers until such time as the government made a grant. A delay in this may have been due to a dispute between the Jewish Board of Deputies and the School Committee as to who should be ultimately responsible for the School but apparently this was resolved without the School Committee giving up its complete authority.[49] Boys applying to be pupil teachers had to be approved by the headmaster and the appointment had to be confirmed by the Committee. The president interviewed them. One of the first pupil teachers many years later recalled this:

> I can see him now - Sir Anthony de Rothschild - bluff, stout, hale, hearty, a country gentleman every inch of him. He looked at Mr Angel and then at me. 'Is that him?' he asked. I hope I do not wrong him in declaring that he used the ungrammatical 'him' instead of 'he'. 'He's small.' 'He will grow,' said my Master, 'Humph', was the rejoinder.[50]

The boy was then fourteen years of age and his appointment not only meant that he could continue his education, 'above all it meant continuance of association and increased association with the man I had long loved and worshipped'.[51] Angel was insistent on grammatical rules being accurately learnt and applied. The only unjust action his former pupil remembered his ever having performed was caning a dull boy who could not understand the degrees of comparison:

> I felt that my hero had in this been far from heroic, that he had given way to temper. It was nearly fifty years ago and I remember it vividly as though it had occurred yesterday. How uniformly kind or at least just, he must have been that his severity or injustice should so ineffaceably have impressed itself on my memory.[52]

Early in 1852, Angel was granted a gratuity of £20 'in consideration of the progress of the pupil teachers under his instruction'.[53] Some few months later the Committee resolved that steps be taken so that the Head Master be examined as to his fitness to train pupil teachers. This decision was taken only a few days after a most unfortunate incident, a fire in the vicinity of the school that 'threatened the entire

destruction of the neighbourhood...Mr Angel having barely time to rescue children who had retired for the night'.[54] Angel, despite his personal worries, quickly took steps to minimise the inevitable disruption. A room was hired as a classroom for the boys. He attended the school daily during repairs and a man recommended by the Fire Brigade was appointed to be on duty from 6pm to 9am at a cost of 4/- a night. The headmaster paid tribute to the police for the help they gave him for eighteen hours.[55]

This must have been a serious upset to school routine and caused the headmaster to spend much time away from his usual duties just when he and his staff knew that the first official government inspection would soon be taking place. Two months after the fire, the Committee agreed to engage a teacher to take the Talmud Torah class, thus leaving the headmaster free to attend to 'the superintendence and supervision of the school generally'.[56] He was to continue to instruct the pupil teachers and he was to 'devote special attention to the class hitherto instructed by him'.[57] This was, of course, the class from which the pupil teachers were selected.

Some months later the first official government inspection took place. Her Majesty's Inspector who carried out the task was the twenty-nine year old Matthew Arnold, the recently appointed inspector for the Spitalfields area. As he said, he had 'sat by the cradle of the Free School'.[58] He considered its headmaster to be 'a man of supreme educational abilities' who had 'the school under his complete command'.[59] Arnold inspected the school for at least six years and never failed in his annual reports to praise the headmaster and its school. He often made constructive suggestions for improvements in buildings or organisation and the Committee seems always to have acted on his advice. At his first inspection, he agreed that the five boys who came before him should begin their training as pupil teachers. One of them acquitted himself so well that he 'declared him to be competent to be placed at the end instead of the beginning of the first year'.[60]

In the following year, Arnold found the school 'still in a most efficient state and the instruction, notwithstanding the hour daily bestowed on the teaching of Hebrew, sound and well advanced'. In the Boy's School, 'both classrooms and teaching were in general good'. Arnold singled out the instruction in Angel's class as being 'superior', but 'the lower mass of the School was too large for the teaching power'. (One assistant and four pupil teachers.) Throughout the school, drill and discipline were 'excellent'. Angel was responsible for the whole school but the Girls' School was run separately and had its own staff and headmistress. Arnold was more critical of this part of the school, though, there too discipline was 'good', but instruction

was only 'fair'. The numbers in the 'vast fourth division' had been reduced since his last visit but there were 'still too many in it'. He nevertheless praised the headmistress and reported that the instruction in the upper classes had 'decidedly improved' since his last visit. A month before, the Committee had resolved to raise Moses Angel's salary from £350 to £450 and that of the headmistress from £110 to £150. Both wrote to express thanks.

Arnold also reported on the recent examination of the Pupil teachers which must have been the first group to complete their training under the new system. To show their appreciation of their headmaster who had trained them, they presented him '...with a splendidly bound edition of Macaulay's *History of England* accompanied by a suitable letter'.[61] Arnold must have suggested that the lads should attend classes at the School of Design, a suggestion followed by the headmaster. Early in the following year, the School Committee grudgingly approved his action 'but recommended that in future no arrangements be definitely made by Mr Angel without the sanction of the General Committee'.[62] It seems to be one of the few occasions when an implied criticism of the headmaster was recorded, though in the past he had 'not always received the undivided support of the managers of school in the radical changes he introduced'.[63] Probably in 1857, some of the headmaster's old critics were still on the Committee, but on the whole it remained appreciative of the headmaster and his staff and minutes of appreciation are often recorded. It was in that year that a mistress in the Girls' School was granted a gratuity of £10 'in consideration of the very efficient manner in which she conducted the examination of the Girls under the inspection of Mr Arnold, Her Majesty's Inspector'.[64]

A year later, 'Mr Arnold having intimated his wish that the next examination of Pupil Teachers take place at this Institution', the Committee agreed that 'his wish be complied with' and that he should be asked if the members of the Ladies General Committee could attend the examination.[65] They had a common interest in the Jews' Free School. This examination must have been successful for in the School's Annual Report of that year it was stated that five pupil teachers had successfully completed their apprenticeship and were engaged as assistant teachers. They would receive their certificates after three years experience and would then enter University College to work for degrees.

Jews were restricted by religious tests from entering the teachers' training colleges of the time or obtaining Queen's Scholarships but the wealthy and philanthropic school treasurer, Alfred Davis, provided funds so that they could enrol as students at

University College. Thus, an increasing number of graduates joined the staff of the Jews' Free School. Davis, who gave more than £21,000 to the School in his lifetime, left a legacy of £30,000 so that a fund could be provided to pay teachers from the Free School attending University College. He also left a legacy to Moses Angel of £3000.[66] The 1858 Annual Report stated that the School 'had acquired all the characteristics of a normal School', training teachers for its own and many other schools as well.

Moses Angel had himself received no specific training but from the outset of his career at the Jews' Free School spared no effort to familiarise himself with the problems connected with running an elementary school. He may have learnt as much what to avoid as what to imitate in the visits he paid to 'some of the principal elementary schools in London'.[67] His own standard of education must have been superior to that of the average headmasters of such schools. His own school's reputation for good discipline was not earned without the headmaster's supervision of every aspect of its activities. For example, every time the School was dismissed, his 'tall figure' was to be seen 'standing erect at the small door in Bell Lane, his keen eye directing the outpouring of the thousands of his charges in the narrow thoroughfare'.[68]

The children's health had always been of concern to the headmaster and to the Committee. As early as 1847 a resolution was passed that no child should be admitted without a certificate of vaccination.[69] Smallpox was still a scourge and the first Acts to make vaccination compulsory were not passed for another twenty years. All boys had to have their hair 'closely cut' or risk being deprived of the gifts of clothing.[70] The headmaster's report to his Committee on the dirty condition of the boys is an example of his practical way of dealing with problems. He wrote:

> It appears to me that much of the difference between the appearance of the Boys and Girls is due to the difference of their clothing and to the fact that the Boys are constantly taking off and putting on their caps thus disarranging their hair. The Girls wear dresses which are frequently washed and thus rendered clean and their bare shoulders and arms being lean and their hair parted and not disturbed by caps they mostly look tidy. The Boys wear clothes made of cotton cord which can neither be brushed nor washed, their shirts, not always clean, are visible in front of their buttonless jackets, their sleeves are begrimed with accumulated grease and this is nothing, but their faces are seen; if these be not very clean, which is difficult owing to their want of Pocket Handkerchiefs and consequent

use of their aforesaid sleeves, their general appearance is not tidy.[71]

He went on to explain, that the male teachers examined the boys before they entered the school in the morning but in the afternoon they could not be so particular, for if the boys were sent home, there was little chance of their returning, especially as most of the mothers were out. He suggested that:

> A man be engaged for two hours daily from 1.45 to 2.45 at a sum not exceeding 5/- per week. That he be furnished under my guidance with three wooden washing bowls and that thirty six towels be supplied, eighteen in use and eighteen at wash, that soap be given through me as required say three pounds per week. That three dozen strong combs be furnished to be used indiscriminately by the boys and to be kept washed by the man. That the duty of the man be to wash every boy sent to him for that purpose and to see that each Boy goes into school clean. It would be very desirable that the boys should be enabled to have something analogous to the Pinafores worn by the Girls during School hours and which would effectively conceal all defects of clothing. For this purpose I suggest a supply of dark coloured Blouses to be kept in the School and I am to receive patterns of stuff for such blouses and by direction of the President I shall submit the particulars to him.[72]

There had recently been improvement in the ventilation, heating and draining 'and a constant and adequate supply of water secures the comfort and cleanliness of the pupils'. There was a covered way in both playgrounds for wet weather and the space was used as an open classroom for the Boys in the heat of the summer. No wonder that Matthew Arnold had expressed 'much satisfaction with the ventilation and sanitary condition of the building, and the healthful appearance and general proficiency of the children'.[73] Some years later the good health of the children was thought to be in part due to the 'simple breakfast' consisting of warm milk and dry bread donated by a 'benevolent friend' but it is not clear how long this scheme was in operation. Ten per cent of the boys took advantage of this but the other children 'influenced by a feeling of independence, prefer to go without'.[74]

In 1858, a royal commission under the chairmanship of the Duke of Newcastle was appointed 'to inquire into the state of Popular Education in England'. Its Report was published in 1861. The publication of Moses Angel's answers to a long questionnaire

regarding the School make it clear that by that time the School's 'wide sphere of usefulness' had become known outside Jewish circles.[75]

At the beginning of 1858, 1701 pupils were enrolled, 997 boys and 704 girls. Of these 212 boys and 100 girls had been born abroad and 194 boys and 100 girls had foreign-born parents. Many of these, according to Moses Angel, 'often bring vices and prejudices of their country of origin'.[76] The integration of the children in the life of their new country was an important task faced by the school. This was the task of all the teachers, The Headmaster, The Senior Hebrew Master (M.H. Myers), ten assistant teachers and twelve 'Government Pupil Teachers'. Early in 1859, the first member of the staff to graduate took out 'a first class Bachelor of Arts' degree at the University of London. The School Committee presented him with a cap and gown.[77] In the Girls' School, the Headmistress (Mrs. Phillips) had Miss Lipson as her assistant and sixteen other assistant teachers, two teachers of needlework, a Housekeeper and a Domestic Superintendant (sic) who had a General Assistant'. In addition there were twelve girls in training in training to be teachers who had two masters and a drawing mistress to instruct them. (A distinction was made in the Annual Report between these girls and the Government Pupil Teachers.)

The curriculum consisted of English, Euclid, Mensuration, Algebra, Natural Science, History, Geography, Grammar, 'Physiology as applied to health' and of course Hebrew. In the highest class, the boys studied the *Mishna*, 'vocal music from notes' and drawing.[78] Angel believed that music and drawing 'cultivate the taste and so refine the character and should be introduced into an extended system of education'. He doubted if 'the luxuries of learning should interfere with the necessities'.[79] Boys who entered the Talmud Torah class, even though they might be only thirteen years old, were considered to have entered 'an extended system of education'. There were still only twenty-one pupils in the Talmud Torah class as most children had left before they reached this stage and it was considered an honour to be admitted to it. Many years later, an 'Old Boy' writing in the *Jewish Chronicle* recalled his delight at entering the 'holy of holies and becoming one of Mr Angel's boys'.[80]

In the Girls' section of the Jews' Free School:

> less attention [was] of necessity, devoted to the higher branches of intellectual cultivation in order to afford time for instruction in duties more useful to females.
>
> These included plain and ornamental needlework and laundry; 'other household economies [were] sedulously inculcated'.[81]

Angel had clear ideas about the education of girls:

> Domestic training for girls, who are one day to become mothers
> of families and mistresses of houses, cannot be carried too far.
> Every young woman is the better for knowing how to mend,
> wash, make clean, scour. polish, cook etc. No lady needs to be
> ashamed to know how to tell when such labour is properly done.[82]

Angel had always regarded the library as of great importance. It now
formed 'a prominent feature of the school', and was used 'for
reference and circulation'. Many people had made donations of books.
These included fourteen volumes of *Household Words* (the weekly
paper edited by Charles Dickens, a volume comprised twenty-six
weekly numbers), Prescott's *The Conquest of Mexico*, Captain
Marryat's novels and 'various other entertaining works'. A museum
contained 'almost everything that can be required to illustrate lessons
on art, science and manufactures', and it was 'continually receiving
additions'.

The secretary of the South Kensington Museum had told Moses
Angel that he 'might select from the Museum such Diagrams of
Machinery and manufactures as might be useful in the school. Angel
had taken advantage of this offer and had been 'materially assisted'
by a member of the Museum staff in doing so.[83] According to the
School's Report, 'Every article, in short, that was formerly regarded
as a luxury of school life, has been here considered a necessity and
has been copiously supplied'.

Among the hundreds of pupils in attendance at the school, many
of them from homes where standards of conduct were not high, it is
not surprising that recalcitrant pupils and trouble-making parents
presented problems. The 'Old Boy' previously quoted, who was a Pupil
Teacher at the time, remembered that in the fifties 'the Jewish
denizens of Bell Lane were a rough lot'.[84] On one occasion, an
assistant mistress, Miss Kitty Goldman, no doubt tried beyond
endurance, had slapped one girl on the face. (This was the same
young teacher who, only the year before, had acquitted herself so
well before Arnold). The child's mother, Mrs. Benjamin, came to the
school, accosted Miss Goldman and slapped her on the face. An
enquiry that followed discovered that Miss Goldman 'frequently
slapped the girls' faces but never to cause pain'. Mrs. Benjamin was
found was judged 'a low type of person' and was made to apologise
to Miss Goldman who was instructed not to slap the girls' faces in the
future. The report of the incident concluded: 'The Committee must
admit that they do not believe that the practice of corporal
punishment is systematically practised in the School'.[85]

However, Moses Angel thought that the abolition of corporal punishment could have a bad effect. His own procedure if a 'delinquent' was sent to him was to say: 'Hold out' and the culprit would receive 'one', 'two' or 'three'. The 'Old Boy' who recalled this was probably typical of many. 'We feared and we adored him', he wrote. To his pupils, he appeared 'calm, strong, irresistible'. He, too, had sometimes to face 'enfuriated (sic) parents' whose children he had corrected:

> I have seen them [his old pupil recalled] shouting curses and oaths at 'the Master' vomiting brutal insults and coarse threats and he was 'as one who heard not'. He pursued his course unchecked and unruffled.[86]

W.B. Hodgson, LLD, the Assistant Commissioner appointed by the Newcastle Commission to report on the area which included Spitalfields, visited the Jews' Free School on many occasions and included a paragraph on it in his Report. He summarised its history and described the area around the school: 'A sort of London Ghetto swarming with Jewish tribes....the School in Bell Lane, being Jewish, being free, being close to hand and being very efficiently conducted, naturally absorbs the teeming juvenile population of this district'. He added a footnote. 'This school is remarkable in more respects than I have space to tell...Mr. Angel, the headmaster, who has conducted it for about twenty years, is no ordinary man'.[87] He went on to say how much the School owed to the 'munificence of the Rothschilds'.

In the year 1858, Baron Lionel de Rothschild was, for the first time, allowed to take his seat in the House of Commons. Hitherto, although he had been elected on several occasions, he refused to take the oath 'on the true faith of a Christian' and was therefore not allowed to take his seat. In 1858 the law requiring this phrase to be included was altered and Baron de Rothschild became the first Jewish MP. To commemorate this, a fund was raised to provide a scholarship worth £30 a year, available to pupils at the Jews' Free School.[88]

The Newcastle Commission recommended various reforms but no legislation embodying them was enacted. Instead a 'Revised Code' was issued. Its chief provision, which came into force in 1863, was that grants to schools were to be dependent on the children's attendance and on their results at the annual examinations. The only subjects examined were reading, writing and arithmetic and the examinations were conducted by government appointed inspectors. For these examinations, the children were divided not into classes according to age, but into standards. 'In Standard I, the age range might be from seven to eleven with the majority aged eight or nine.

A boy of eight or nine might be in Standard II. If eleven was accepted as the general leaving age very few children would rise above Standard II'.[89]

Most children at the Jews' Free School left school when they were eleven.[90] Those in standards IV, V and VI were likely to be either intelligent eleven year olds or children of twelve to fourteen. This may explain Moses Angel's statement that he introduced 'as many extra subjects as was possible in Standards IV, V and VI so as to screw out of the Government who would pay only by results, the largest grant possible'.[91] He considered this system of payment by results 'wrong from the commencement'. Reading, one of the three subjects examined by the inspectors, 'bore no relation to general intelligence – some children read mechanically'.[92]

The subjects taught in the highest class in his school continued to be the same as those before the Revised Code came into force. Evidently it did not greatly affect the Jews' Free School, which was perhaps less dependent on government grants than other church schools. Some years later, a doctor who visited the School reported that there, unlike other schools he visited, 'no spurt is ever put on in anticipation of examinations' and he listed 'avoidance of pressure before examinations' as one of the 'special advantages' of the Jews' Free School.[93]

The Revised Code came into force in the twentieth year of Moses Angel's headmastership. To mark this occasion, more than eleven hundred people met to honour him. Past and present pupils and teachers presented him with a pair of salvers, a pair of goblets and a claret jug, 'all of silver of the most massive and recherché description'. Sir Anthony de Rothschild, chairman of the School committee, spoke warmly on the depths of feeling and appreciation of all those who had contact with him.

There were several speeches; a senior master, G.J. Emanuel, BA, spoke of the immense benefits derived by all who had passed under Angel's care. He alluded to the kindness and solicitude bestowed by Angel, not only on those who were his current pupils but also on those who, having been his pupils, 'had grown to man's estate'. It was due to him, Emanuel went on, that universities were now open to many who without him would have been denied this advantage. A younger master, L.B. Abrahams, who many years later was to succeed Moses Angel as headmaster, spoke on behalf of the women teachers. Moses Angel, he said, had been 'their teacher, adviser and friend'; they had long felt for him 'sentiments of affectionate gratitude'.

When Moses Angel rose to give thanks he was 'received with vociferous and renewed cheering'. He said he had always tried to give

as much education to every child as he could take, regardless of 'station'. The meeting closed with three hearty cheers for Angel and his family.[94]

Two years later, the Committee marked what the *Jewish Chronicle* reported as Moses Angel's twenty-five years as headmaster. Actually, the year 1865 marks his first quarter century's association with the school. Sir Anthony Rothschild presided over a Committee meeting when 'a magnificent silver inkstand emblematically designed was presented to Mr. Angel'. Some five years later the *Jewish Chronicle* published a long article on the Jews' Free School, praising its 'great and good work'. The writer of the article had one criticism of the school – pupil teachers were allowed 'to administer corporal punishment'. This practice, which the article stated, was not allowed in Christian primary schools, 'is as injurious to the mind of the flogger as to the body of the flogged'. Not long after this, Moses Angel was reported as saying that he thought that the 'abolition of the rod' would have a bad effect. He then said that in his school 'all teachers except the juniors might use it to tap the delinquent but he would never allow any of them to flog'.[95] 'Old Boy', himself, one of the first pupil teachers, remembered that the boys had to refer to the pupil teachers as 'master', and they strongly objected. He continued, 'How many lectures were addressed! How many rebukes administered! How many strokes of the cane fell on extended palms! How many severe thrashings were inflicted before that stubborn resistance was subdued'.[96] This does not suggest that the pupil teachers were allowed to administer corporal punishment but he does not make this clear.

For some time the question of an Act to provide schools for all children had been discussed. The controversies over whether government subsidies should be granted to schools giving religious instruction, and whether this should be compulsory or what form it should take, delayed the passage of the Education Act of 1870. Moses Angel had expressed his views on some of these matters in his answers to the Newcastle Commissioners' questionnaire. On the matter of religious instruction, he had written that the curriculum should include:

> Religious information enough to produce those practical virtues which bless society, such as charity in thought and deed, tolerance, sympathy, belief – less in the dogmas of sectarianism than in the beauty of all God-worship, a superstructure in short, rising from this foundation – that an Eternal Almighty, All-Merciful, All-perfect Being placed man in this world to perfect his own happiness through piety to Heaven and charity and love on earth....*and so on in that vein.*[97]

He thought that government aid should be withdrawn from sectarian schools, though not from Jewish schools as non-Jews were not likely to attend schools where so much time was given to the teaching of Hebrew. This seems a little like a piece of special pleading. Though he thought that every encouragement should be given to parents to send their children to school, education should not be made compulsory. He wrote: 'I am of the opinion that the prime object of law is to restrain people from what is wrong, not to coerce them to do what is right and I would therefore not apply it to education'.[98]

The Act of 1870 did not make education compulsory. It did say that schools should be provided for all children and where existing authorities had not made up the deficiencies within a year of the passage of the Act, Boards should be elected by ratepayers in defined areas whose duties should include the provision of schools for such children not already catered for. Each Board had the power, if it so wished to make education compulsory in its own area. The Act forbade instruction in the tenets of a particular sect, but otherwise, the question of religious instruction was left open. The early meetings of the London Board 'were rent with arguments' but eventually a compromise was reached, followed in time by most other Boards. It decided:

> That in the schools provided by the Board, the Bible shall be read, and there shall be given such explanations and such instruction therefrom in the principles of morality and religion as are suited to the capacities of the children...provided that no sectarian teaching is given and that special arrangements shall be made where necessary. [for example in Whitechapel where the population was mostly Jewish.][99]

This decision must have satisfied Moses Angel and it seems likely that his views were remembered when it was made. At this point there were 1600 boys and 1000 girls in attendance. In the Boys' School there were, besides himself, sixteen certificated and assistant teachers and thirteen pupil teachers. Presumably because the girls' cookery, laundry and needlework classes had to be smaller than those for general subjects, there were more teachers in the Girls' School — forty two. The report does not make clear whether this included the nine pupil teachers. Angel himself took classes for these girls from 4 pm to 6 pm on four afternoons a week. He thought a good teacher could manage a class of seventy, though this was too large a number for effective teaching. He would prefer forty. There were in the Boys' School fifteen large class rooms in addition to a 'great school room', one hundred feet by fifty, which could either be used as one large room or divided into three.

The normal school day was from 9 am until 1pm and from 2 pm until 4 pm. The School opened for half a day on Sunday to make up for the short school day on Friday (short, because the Jewish Sabbath begins at sundown). During the lunch hour break some children went home, others stayed at school and played in the playground or gymnasium. Marbles 'or any game involving loss or gain' was forbidden. The plan, first introduced some fourteen years before, of employing a man to come at midday to wash any boys needing such attention had been extended; a woman was now also employed for the girls.

There were certain disadvantages suffered by orthodox Jewish children seeking employment; they would not work on Friday afternoons, Saturdays or on Jewish holy days. That is why, according to Moses Angel, 'Jews followed such peculiar occupations'. It is not clear what he meant by this but he also said that the parents of his pupils were 'hawkers and such like who generally live from hand to mouth'. A decade later, it has been estimated that though hawking had declined, it was still the trade in which the greatest percentage of London Jews was employed, indeed, about 20 per cent. Boot and shoe making and tobacco trades each employed about ten per cent; the diamond, jewellery, fur and cabinet making trades each employed something less than ten per cent.[100]

Moses Angel had said that the parents of his pupils were 'sober, cleanly and continent. Immorality was scarcely known among Jews; vice was common enough, but not immorality; a woman guilty of incontinency lost caste for ever among her race.' This description of the families whose children attended the Jews free School might have passed without comment but this was by no means the case with the passage that follows. According to the *School Board Chronicle*, he said that the families of the foreign children:

> ....were the refuse population of the worst parts of Europe, whose first object in sending the children to school was to get them out of the way; many of the children had to be admitted half a dozen times before they finally settled down into regular attendance. The population among whom his school was placed lived a quasi-dishonourable life, by selling things which were not what they seemed; and the children he was afraid, contracted many objectionable habits, truancy among the number.

It was this passage that poured the fat into the fire. 'These statements were tossed about among the dailies and weeklies for many weeks after they were uttered'[101] and were bitterly resented by all sections

of the Jewish community. Within a few months, the matter was taken up by the Board of Deputies of British Jews. This body, according to Cecil Roth was 'little less than an Anglo-Jewish Parliament'.[102] Its president at this time was Sir Moses Montefiore.[103] He wrote to the President of the Committee of the Jews' Free School to complain of the opinions expressed by Moses Angel. His letter began by quoting the objectionable passage from the *School Board Chronicle* and continued:

> By a careful perusal of the evidence referred to, it was felt that the statement of Mr Angel contained most improper reflections upon the Jews and I cannot doubt that your Committee will take such steps as will remove from our co-religionists the very unwarranted imputations which have been cast upon them and which have caused deep pain and irritation amongst a large section of the community.

Moses Angel must have been called before his committee to answer the charge. On 13 February 1872, he wrote a long letter of explanation addressed to the President and Committee.

The President of the School Committee, Sir Anthony Rothschild, in forwarding this letter to the Board of Deputies, accompanied it by one from himself:

> Mr Angel's explanations of the evidence given by him to the School Board were satisfactory. The Committee are likewise convinced that it was never the intention of Mr Angel to cast any reflection on our industrious and deserving co-religionists of the poorer classes whom during a period of over thirty two years he has done so much to elevate in his capacity of a successful and devoted teacher.

A letter was also read from the secretary of the London School Board in answer to a query as to whether Mr Angel's evidence had been given *viva voce* or handed in to the Committee. The secretary replied that the evidence was given *viva voce* and that a *précis* of it had been published in the *School Board Chronicle*. He added: 'I may add my inference as to the sentence (quasi-dishonourable) to which you refer is that it applies to the population of the District in which the School is placed and not to the parents of the pupils of the School'. In support of this he referred them to the evidence and quoted the passage referring to the 'cleanly and continent' character of the parents of his pupils.

The matter was debated by the Board of Deputies at some length.

Finally Moses Angel was exonerated. A motion that his explanation should be accepted was passed by thirteen to four.

The stir caused by this episode soon blew over. Later references in the press to the School and its headmaster were as appreciative as ever. Past students continued to be appointed to positions of responsibility - heads of other schools, ministers of religion and many in business and the professions. Sir Anthony Rothschild, who for so long had been President of the School committee and had been actively interested in its affairs, died early in 1876. A correspondent to the *Jewish Chronicle* in recalling Sir Anthony's great service to the school, thought that the time was appropriate for a history of the School to be written. How unfortunate it is that this suggestion was not taken up and Moses Angel encouraged to carry out the task.

Lord (Nathaniel) Rothschild (1840-1915), President of JFS, 1876-1915.
Reproduced from Gerry Black, JFS: The History of the Jews' Free School, London since 1732, London: Tymsder Publishing, 1998, Image (VII)

Sir Anthony was succeeded as President by his nephew Lord Nathaniel Rothschild who continued in this office for many years.[104] The School, soon to be faced with new problems, continued to receive the praise of Her Majesty's Inspectors. In 1880, the report referred to the 'excellent examination' which testified 'to the great energy and ability exerted in tuition'. The Girls' School continued 'to be carried on with undiminished efficiency. The reading of the higher standards and indeed all the work of the first class, deserves special praise'. The *Jewish Chronicle* in reporting this commented:

Some minor defects are of course, pointed out, for no school is absolutely perfect, certainly no school in the eyes of a Government Inspector. But that such eulogistic words should find a place in a report that is expected to be characterised by the sobriety so dear to the official mind conclusively proves the excellence of the work of teachers and pupils.

Ninety five per cent of the girls and ninety seven per cent of the boys who presented for examination passed and the government grant, still dependent on results, had reached the extraordinary sum of £2,073. The amount of time given to teaching Hebrew (and this was about a quarter of each day)[105] had not affected achievement in other subjects. The *Chronicle's* report ended:

> To Mr Angel's remarkable qualities, his untiring energy, his general knowledge and above all his administrative ability, the repeated success of the School are directly and very largely due. Veteran teacher as he is, he is yet eminently modest; and thus he is, a fit type of the institution he superintends. He is to be congratulated on the School's latest achievements, the managing body on the ability of its teachers, the community on the efficiency of its representative educational institution.[106]

Between 1850 and 1880, the Jewish population of Britain had increased by about seventy per cent. (London by about 125 per cent).[107] Restrictive laws and harsh penalties had led to a big emigration of Jews from Russia (which then included Poland) throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. An Education Code of 1882 laid down new standards for school buildings. This and the still increasing number of pupils seeking entry to the Jews' Free School determined the Committee to embark on plans for extensive alterations and additions to the building. Events in Russia were to make this an even more pressing need.

In March 1881, Tsar Alexander ll was assassinated by a group of 'terrorists' and although Jews were not implicated 'within a few weeks, Hell was let loose against the unfortunate Russian Jews. Tens of thousands of homeless refugees were thrown destitute upon the charity of their more fortunately situated brethren'.[108] Many of these came to England, and nearly all gravitated to the East end of London where within twenty-five years, the Jewish population rose from 40,000 to 150,000.[109] The problem of the integration of large numbers of foreign children had always been one the Jews' Free School had to face and one with which it had dealt successfully. During the next two decades the problem increased in magnitude.

An enlarged building became an even greater necessity.

In February, 1883, Sir Nathaniel de Rothschild, still president of the School Committee, wrote a long letter to the *Jewish Chronicle* appealing for funds to add to and alter the existing building. As he pointed out, the London School Board had shown 'special consideration to the Jews in the area'. Those who could not be accommodated at the Jews' Free School would not be sent to local Board Schools but to *Chiderim*, 'close, ill-ventilated rooms where inefficient teachers unacquainted with the English language are wholly incapable of giving the Jewish poor an education which can in any way fit them to be a credit to the Jewish community of the country of their adoption'.[110]

The funds were finally raised and the building completed within the year. It was important enough to merit a long, illustrated article in *The Builder* from which we learn something of how the School functioned while the new building was in progress. Temporary rooms were erected in the playground so 'that the work of the school was not disturbed for a single day during the reconstruction'. The work 'progressed with remarkable rapidity being carried out day and night'.[111]

The four-storeyed building with a frontage of 94 feet on Bell Lane was 'a well-ordered design of early Italian Renaissance decorations carried out in red brick and terra-cotta, materials which impart a distinctly Bolognese flavour'.[112] There were fifty-two new classrooms of varying sizes; the largest could hold sixty children, the smallest thirty-two. These were built round a quadrangle eighty feet by thirty, with each room 'separately accessible'. There were also store rooms, cloak rooms and with old rooms still in use, there were altogether seventy-two rooms. The number of staircases enabled class rooms to be lighted on both sides and also facilitated rapid discharge of the pupils, a necessity in case of fire for there were now nearly three thousand children in the school as well as a staff of seventy five. Each room had a glass panel in the door, through which the headmaster used to peer to see that all was well within.[113] The quadrangle, with its sky-lighted roof, formed a central hall and its 'convertible' desks enabled it to be used as a venue for examinations and other school functions.[114] On Festival days, a free synagogue for parents and children was held there. An article in the *Sanitary Record* paid a tribute to the provision made for hygienic conditions – glazed tiles, abundant water supply, 'drains flushed many times a day by attendants engaged for that purpose'.[115]

CATERING FOR THE EASTERN EUROPEAN REFUGEES

Over a decade before Moses Angel had spoken of the number of foreign-born children who came to the school unable to speak a word of

English.[116] A few years later, a journalist described the area where the School was situated, with its predominantly Jewish population and where in the streets one seldom heard anything spoken but Yiddish. This was before the influx of refugees from Russia. Yiddish was the medium (though it was described as 'the Judeo-German dialect') that was chosen in 1886 to instruct 'the large number of pupils [of the Jews' Free School] who cannot speak a word of English'. A. Herschowitz, the superintendent of the Poor Jews' Temporary shelter, was engaged to teach these children.[117] From this time until the end of the century, tributes from a variety of sources were paid to this important work done by the School. There is evidence from non-Jewish authorities of the magnitude of the problem.

When Beatrice Potter, better known as Beatrice Webb, (wife of Sidney Webb) studied conditions in the East End of London for Charles Booth's survey of social conditions in Great Britain, she was impressed with the Jews' Free School, describing it as 'a striking example of the admirable organization peculiar to Jewish charity'. She gave figures of the number of foreign children in the school. Altogether there were 3,400 pupils. Of these, 897 (26.3 per cent) were born abroad, 1,962 (57.7 per cent) were born in England of foreign parents and only 541 (16 per cent) were born in England of English parents.[118] Three or four years later the total number of pupils had risen to 3,582 and by this time the number of foreign born children had increased to 1358 or 38 per cent, an increase of nearly 12 per cent. The number of children born in England with foreign parents had dropped to 45.5 per cent and 596 had English parents, an increase of about 6 per cent.[119]

At about this time, the School Inspector of the area told a gathering in the Great Hall of the School:

> You have not seen as I have seen these galleries filled with strange children from other lands, who have often come here unable to read one single word of English, often unable to speak one single word, and witness as I have the rapid manner in which these strange foreigners at first are transformed into bright and clever English scholars and this work is accomplished with marvellous celerity by the genius of our esteemed friend Mr Angel.[120]

A reporter from the *Daily Graphic*[121] visiting the Board of Trade commented: 'the great Jews' Free School in Bell Lane, Spitalfields' was 'far more powerful ..... for "anglicising" the foreign community' than adult evening classes. The report continued;

> As the children pass from the ABC class at the bottom, in which the energies of the teachers are mainly directed to teaching them the English language and something of English notions of cleanliness, upwards through the standards to the top of the school, there is almost marked change in their appearance and habits. They enter the School Russians and Poles and emerge from it almost indistinguishable from English children.[122]

On another occasion, a reporter from the *Daily Graphic* visited the School in 1895. He was struck by the high percentage of foreign children who entered the school knowing no English. He wrote that often such children were admitted to the School 'the very day after they landed in London. When they leave, after passing the successive standards, they all speak English with a regard for grammar and a purity of accent far above the average of the neighbourhood'.[123] His impressions of the School are those of a disinterested observer:

> I went during the play hours and the children swarmed around me like bees. On the average they seemed to be as healthy and sturdy a set of children as one could hope to find in a poor quarter of a great town...of the work the School does in turning these little foreigners into English folk, I had most interesting evidence. In the course of my visit I was introduced to and chatted with several of the teachers. As I was bidding good-bye to the venerable headmaster of the School, I remarked incidentally and in all good faith on the number of English and presumably Christian teachers he seemed to find it necessary to employ. 'With one exception' was his reply, 'every one of the hundred teachers on our staff is a Jew and has been trained from childhood in the School itself'.[124]

The journalist met the manager of another institution and asked him how such 'an obvious "John Bull" came to be so closely connected with the Jews'. The reply was that this 'John Bull' was a Jew who had come to London from Poland when he was four years old and received all his education at the Jews' Free School. The journalist concluded his account;

> This is typical of the work the School does. This school, supported by Jewish subscriptions and Jewish endowments, is in effect a huge factory for the production of English citizens from foreign material.[125]

A Singing Lesson at the Jews' Free School, 1908. Sir Arthur Sullivan was so impressed with the School choir that he promised to compose a special work for them.[126]
Reproduced from
http://www.victorianweb.org/history/education/jewsfreeschool1.jpg

Israel Zangwill, who was perhaps the best known former pupil and one time staff member, wrote in *Children of the Ghetto:* 'The brazen clanging of a bell. It was the bell of the great Ghetto school, summoning its pupils from the reeking courts and alleys, from the garrets and the cellars, calling them to come and be anglicised'.[127] The School was indeed 'a huge factory for the production of English citizens from foreign material', but it was much more than this. A leader writer in the *Jewish Chronicle*, probably an old pupil of the school said of Moses Angel that he was 'not only the master of a great teaching machine, he constantly came face to face with his pupils in the bracing impact of mind upon mind which constitutes the daily detail of actual education'.[128]

This was also the opinion of the 'Old Boy' who remembered Moses Angel more than forty years earlier and who thought it necessary in the nineties to remind people that by that time, Moses Angel had come to be thought of as a great administrator and it was sometimes forgotten that he was also an outstanding teacher able to hold his pupils spellbound.[129]

The year 1889 was the fiftieth of Moses Angel's association with the School. Early in that year, a function was held to honour him: 'The scene on that occasion in the great hall of the School in Bell Lane

was unique in the annals of the Jewish Community'.[130] Lord
Rothschild presided over the large gathering which included
'members of all sections of the community'. He opened the
proceedings by outlining the School's history and went on:

> If you look back over the history of the Jews' free School you
> think of the history of education in this country and whatever
> may be your views about the future, you will agree with me
> that men like Mr Angel – and Mr Angel is pre-eminent among
> those who worked with him in his youth – were the pioneers of
> the system you are so proud of and the education you are apt
> to boast of. Education - I am talking of elementary schools -
> education in its infancy certainly owed everything to
> denominational schools. They fought the first battle, they
> showed the advantages of education to the world, and your
> present broad and imperial system has simply been grafted
> upon the work which men like Mr Angel have done in the past
> and are still doing now. [Lord Rothschild then spoke of his
> training of teachers] Headmasters and Headmistresses of many
> other schools and all the Jewish teachers in the employment of
> the London School Board who were trained by Mr Angel and
> more Jewish clergymen and Readers have been trained by him
> than have been trained at the Jews' College.

The speech had been interrupted by cheering at one or two points
and at its conclusion, Lord Rothschild handed to the guest of honour
an antique silver casket suitably inscribed containing a cheque for
£800. Lord and Lady Rothschild also gave him four silver
candlesticks engraved with his monogram,[131] but as this was not
reported in the *Chronicle*, it was probably presented on a private
occasion.

The staff of the School gave him 'a very massive and elegant
silver vase, gilt inside, standing on an ebony plinth. This too had
inscriptions on the silver plates placed back and front'. Mrs. Angel
was presented with an old English silver gilt card stand of 'very
chaste design'. The three thousand children then in attendance gave
him 'a pair of handsome brass pedestal telescope lamps standing six
feet high'. In making the presentation, one of the pupils said, 'I wish
I could express sufficiently on their behalf, and on my own all the
love and gratitude we bear to you...In every way you are our
benefactor, ever ready to plead our cause, ever anxious to relieve our
necessities; through you the hungry are fed, the naked clothed'.

A former Minister of Education, A. J. Mundella, also spoke in

praise of Moses Angel's work. It was on this occasion that T.S. Aldis, Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools for the district, referred to the speed with which foreign pupils learnt English. He concluded, 'I am glad to join you in wishing to our dear friend that the crown of glory which grey hairs give, may long be worn by him and that his remaining years may be free from those troubles which afflict so many who attain as he has done, to such a prolonged career of usefulness.' This too was greeted with cheers.

When Angel, now only three months from his seventieth birthday, rose to speak, the applause continued for 'some minutes' and the old man was 'quite overcome with emotion'. Several times during his speech he 'faltered, but was encouraged by the renewed cheering of the audience'. He apologised for his faltering: 'If ought I say appears to be incoherent or illogical, it is not for want of feeling but on the contrary, through the fullness of my feelings of gratitude'.

He outlined the progress of the school and ascribed his success, 'I believe I have been successful', to his belief that 'unless the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it'.

He paid tribute to the support given to him by the late Sir Anthony Rothschild who 'was kind enough to take a personal interest in me'. He praised the members of his staff, especially Miss Lipman, head of the Girls' School and his chief assistant, his 'old friend and pupil, Mr Abrahams'. (This teacher was to be his successor as headmaster).

He then referred to another gift from the Committee, teachers and pupils 'which will probably do the same in my domestic circle as the Scholarship which they propose to give to the School, a portrait of myself painted by my friend Mr B.S. Marks, to whom I am deeply grateful'. He concluded, saying that though he felt 'the advance of years' bodily, 'as far as mental energy is concerned I feel as young as ever'. He 'resumed his seat, quite overcome, amid loud and prolonged applause'. It must have been a moving occasion for the members of his family who were present: his wife of course, his eldest son Emanuel, his daughter Maria and her husband John Hart, another daughter, Mrs. J. Myer and 'several of Mr and Mrs Angel's grandchildren'.

At his Jubilee celebration, Moses Angel spoke of feeling his years but no mention was made of his suffering any illness for another two years. Early in 1891 he became seriously ill and had to be absent from school for more than a fortnight, an 'unprecedented' event. 'His absence was severely felt by the entire staff of the institution, particularly as it coincided with the annual examination of the pupils by Her Majesty's Inspector'.[132] On his return to school he 'was greeted with genuine pleasure in both departments of the School.'[133]

This illness must have brought home to Lord Rothschild (still president of the School Committee) that the headmaster was not immortal. The annual prize giving that year was a special occasion, partly because the new Chief Rabbi of Great Britain and the Chief Rabbi of France were both present and both paid tributes to the 'veteran headmaster'. The main event of the day was the presentation to the School of a copy made by B.S. Marks who had painted the original of the portrait of Moses Angel given to him on the occasion of his Jubilee.[134] In making the presentation Lord Rothschild said:

> The portrait has been given by some friends of the Institution. They give it to the pupils, pupil-teachers and scholars in order that they may look upon the portrait and remember that the best friend of these schools has been and will be I hope for many years, the able headmaster, who for more than half a century has presided over its destinies.[135]

Lord Rothschild spoke again after the award of prizes. He moved a vote of thanks to the headmaster, the headmistress and all the staff. Mr Angel responded for them all.

Moses Angel did not retire for another six years. In 1893, he and his wife celebrated their golden wedding and over three years later, Mrs. Angel died. From this time he had 'a series of illnesses that greatly enfeebled his powerful frame'. In November 1897 he retired from the position of headmaster and was then appointed to 'the more dignified but less harassing position of Principal'. He continued to attend the School daily when his health permitted. On the last day of term before the summer holidays in 1898, he handed the key of the School to the secretary saying 'that he did not believe he would ever need it again'. He contracted jaundice only nine days after this and died a little over a month later.[136] He was in his eightieth year.

He was buried at Willesdon Cemetery and 'the entire teaching staff were present. Contrary to usual Jewish practice, all the women teachers were there. Not only that but they stayed until after the others had left, helping to fill in Mr Angel's grave. It was splendidly characteristic of the man himself, a duty to be done somewhat out of the beaten path but done with all love and no ostentation. Boys from a neighbouring Jewish school and those from the Seventh Standard of the Jews' Free School as well as many former pupils were present. Among these last was 'the striking figure of Myer Davis' who had been in the 'Talmud Torah class when Moses Angel first taught there. He was 'the oldest among those who had been [his] colleagues'.[137]

The chief mourners were members of his family; his eldest son Emanuel, his son-in-law John Hart and their sons, Moses Angel's

four grandsons. The ceremony was, an onlooker reported, 'just the kind of farewell that he would have desired, simple in every detail, profoundly impressive, attended by those who knew him best and best appreciated his worth to the great institution which he built up, and to the great community which in its turn has been mainly built up by the Jews' Free School'.[138] The bier was carried to the grave by former pupils. 'Most divergent were their walks of life but they were old boys again in spirit and paid the Master their last act of attention'.[139]

A memorial service was held at the School three days after the funeral. The sermon was preached by the Rev. G.J Emanuel, minister of the Birmingham Hebrew congregation, an old pupil of Moses Angel's and a former teacher at the School. Perhaps obituary articles and funeral sermons are not the places where one would find critical estimates of their subject but the praises accorded to Moses Angel at this time must be considered when trying to form an estimate of the man.

Something of the character, personality and ideas will perhaps have emerged from the foregoing account. He was undoubtedly a great teacher and administrator who had, according to the London *Times* 'raised the Jews' Free School from a comparatively unimportant institution to be, on the authority of Matthew Arnold and others, not only the largest, but the best managed elementary school in the United Kingdom'.[140] He did not achieve this without presenting a stern exterior to the world and maintaining strict discipline in his school.

But there is plenty of evidence that, stern though he could be, his deep concern for the welfare of his pupils and staff members was one of his outstanding characteristics. A writer, who described the scenes at his graveside, reported. 'There were many who repeatedly asserted that they had lost one who was regarded more as a father than a Headmaster'. Putting the words of many into one sentence, 'he never lost an opportunity of serving need, or of rewarding merit or of encouraging effort'.

In his memorial sermon, the Rev. G.J. Emanuel, who had been both pupil and teacher under him, felt he had lost his 'father, friend, teacher, guide'. He spoke of his power of inspiring 'his subordinates, grey-haired men to beardless youths, with confidence, courage and strength'.

Mr Emanuel continued: 'You could not help loving him. He was your friend to whom you came when in trouble or doubt. Ah! How kind and gentle he was! How large-minded! How wise and sympathetic! How generous and considerate! You always left him comforted, encouraged, sustained, helped'. This kindness and gentleness were not apparent at

all. 'He never wore his heart on his sleeve, and disclaimed, to his own loss perhaps, to let the gentler side of his character become known except to a select few privileged friends'.[141]

Some of his views on religion have already been referred to. In 1858, he published *The Law of Sinai and Its Appointed Times*, most of which had appeared as articles in the Jewish press. He wrote, as he stated in the Preface, in the hope that it would 'contribute to a better understanding between Jew and Christian...by demonstrating the possibility that all may be right who honestly conform to the first principles of Revelation by showing that true charity admits of no qualification...It is the spirit of the law, as contained in the Law, which is eternal. I have endeavoured to evoke that spirit from the shroud in which it has been laid'.[142] He concluded the Preface, 'I shall be more than rewarded in the knowledge that I have fulfilled my vocation as a Jew, by aiding the diffusion of a blessing to all the families of the earth'.

These are the words of a sincerely religious man and not those of a bigot, for bigotry he hated. In his answers to the Newcastle Commissioners' questionnaire, he told them that he had known many Sunday school teachers:

> While for many I entertain much respect, I am no less bound to say, that as a body of men, I know none to whom I should feel less disposed to entrust the proper education of children. They are mostly narrow-minded, bigoted, sectarianists as incapable of instilling that universal charity and sympathy which should permeate all true religion, as they are wilfully blind to all moral excellence without the pale of their own peculiar creed.
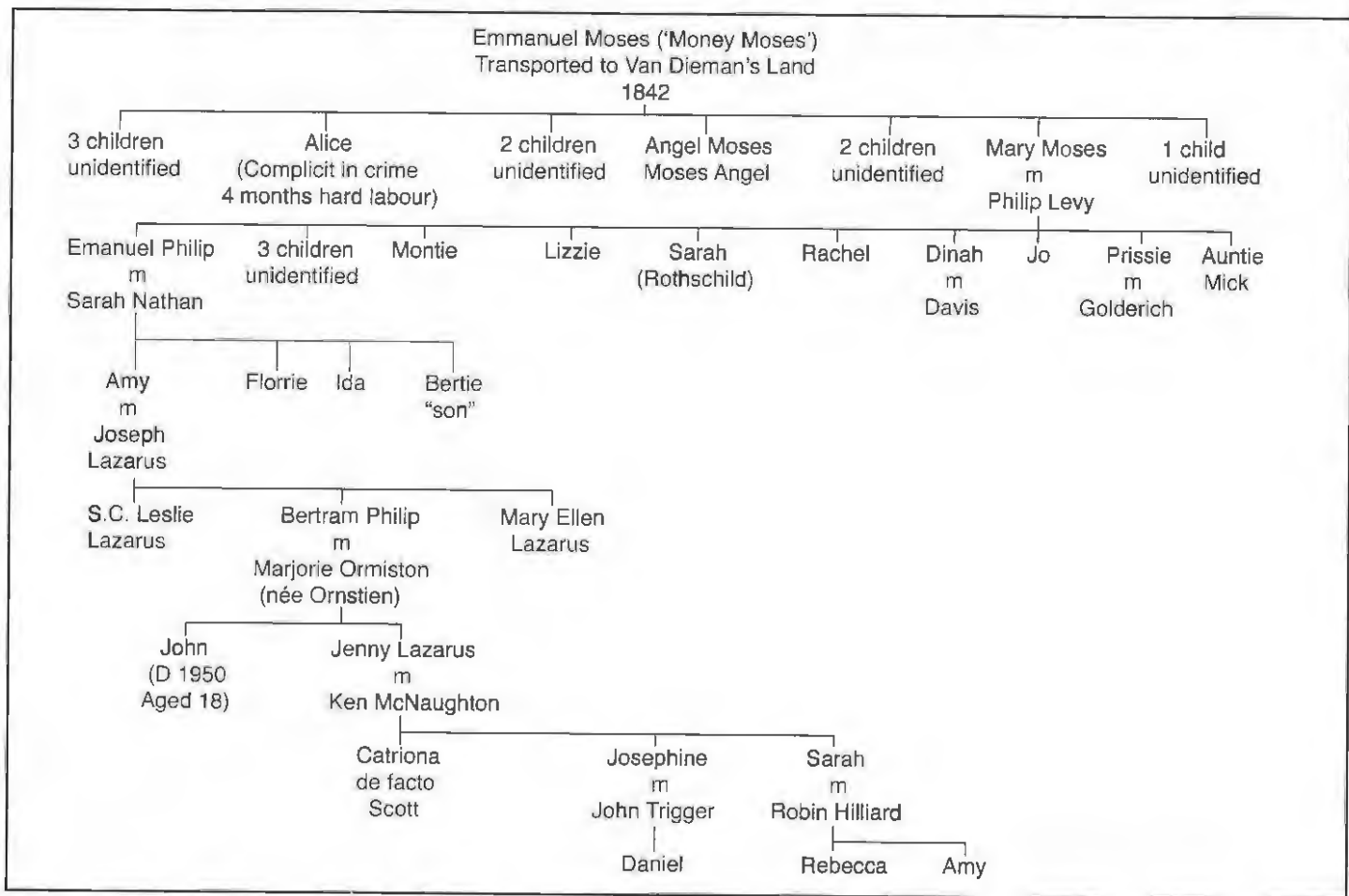
In the answer to another question, he came out equally strongly against 'charitable endowment' schools. *Dombey and Son*[143] had appeared a decade before the publication of the Newcastle Commission Report, with Dickens' scathing condemnation of such a school. Perhaps the thought of 'Charitable Grinders'[144] was in Angel's mind when he wrote the following:

> Every school which, under the name of a charitable endowment, clothes boys in leather smalls, and girls in hideous nightcaps, or such like abominations, and which atones for rendering the body a deformity by storing the mind with catechetical bigotry, I would at once annihilate by Act of Parliament, and would make the funds so rendered disposable, available for the general purposes of education.

We know nothing of his methods of bringing up his own children, but he appeared to have strict views as to the employment of leisure. He thought that lectures and mechanics' institutes were valuable adjuncts to adult education for the poor. With all their faults, they were better than 'the tavern, the billiard room, the cheap theatre and the casino'. They were also suitable places to meet those of the opposite sex, but as they encouraged those 'socially inclined to indulge in company keeping' this often led to extravagant habits. Also they 'sometimes convert half educated men into ill-formed politicians (and therefore revolutionists, [sic] or at least democrats) or dogmatic school men'.[145]

These views are what one might expect from 'the Bismarck of Bell Lane' as Israel Zangwill called him and they come as rather a surprise after some of his more liberal views. He thought there should be free libraries, 'even with the risk of converting a few young men into dreamers and a few girls into slatterns, for some people "reading is a necessity"'. One surmises that he himself belonged to this category. As Dr Hodgson had written of him about a century before, he was 'no ordinary man.'

Emmanuel Moses ('Money Moses')
Transported to Van Dieman's Land
1842

| 3 children unidentified | Alice (Complicit in crime 4 months hard labour) | 2 children unidentified | Angel Moses Moses Angel | 2 children unidentified | Mary Moses m Philip Levy | 1 child unidentified |

Emanuel Philip
m
Sarah Nathan

3 children unidentified

Montie

Lizzie

Sarah (Rothschild)

Rachel

Dinah
m
Davis

Jo

Prissie
m
Golderich

Auntie
Mick

Amy
m
Joseph
Lazarus

Florrie

Ida

Bertie
"son"

S.C. Leslie
Lazarus

Bertram Philip
m
Marjorie Ormiston
(née Ornstien)

Mary Ellen
Lazarus

John
(D 1950
Aged 18)

Jenny Lazarus
m
Ken McNaughton

Catriona
de facto
Scott

Josephine
m
John Trigger

Sarah
m
Robin Hilliard

Daniel

Rebecca

Amy

ENDNOTES

1. At the time of writing the portrait was in Mary Lazarus's possession. However, it was later mislaid.
2. G.M. Trevelyan, *History of England*, Longman Group (Far East) Limited, 1926, p.608 - an estimate made from a table in Cecil Roth, *The Rise of Provincial Jewry*, pp.110-111.
3. Twenty Fourth Annual Report – Jews' Free School, 1841.
4. Quinn, Thesis held in the Library, University College, the University of London, *Jewish Schooling Systems of London, 1656 -1956*.
5. Twenty Fourth Annual Report, op cit.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Quinn, op.cit.
8. *Young Israel*, April 1898. (As typed in the original manuscript; reference could not be verified.)
9. He kept in touch with his sister Mary during his life time as I know from what my grandfather, Moses Angel's nephew, told me. *M.L.*
10. *Young Israel*, April 1890. (As typed in the original manuscript; reference could not be verified.)
11. He did not graduate. King's college and University College formed the University of London, a degree awarding institution that was not incorporated until 1836.
12. Report of the Commissioners appointed to *Inquire into the State of Popular Education in England, Vol V*, 1861.
13. *History of the Jewish Chronicle*, p13. This reference is probably to Cecil Roth, *The Jewish Chronicle 1841-1941: A Century of Newspaper History* (London, 1949).
14. *Ibid.* p.9.
15. Article by Asher Myer, quoting Moses Angel. Jubilee Edition of the the *Jewish Chronicle (JC)*, 13 November 1891.
16. *JC*, 12 November 1841.
17. *History of the Jewish Chronicle*, pp. 25-26.
18. Picotti, *Sketches of Jewish History, Vol 2*, facsimile of letter.
19. *Jews' Free School Committee Minutes*, 3 August 1842.
20. See *JC, Obituary*, 9 September 1898.
21. *Minutes*, 2 January 1843.
22. *Minutes, op. cit.*, 1842.
23. *Minutes*, 21 December 1843.
24. *Minutes*, 2 January 1843.
25. *Minutes*, 21 December 1843.
26. *Minutes*, 8 April 1851.
27. *The Schools Board Chronicle*, 8 July 1871.
28. *Report of the 1861 Commissioners, Vol V*.
29. Israel Zangwill, *the Children of the Ghetto, Ch 12* (London, 1892).
30. Twenty Fourth Annual Report, op. cit.
31. *Aldis Report to the Committee of Council on Education*, 1887-8.
32. *Minutes*, 2 January 1843.
33. *Minutes*, December 1843.
34. *Minutes*, 25 April 1844.
35. Mary Sturt, *The Education of the People-A History of Primary Education in England and Wales in the Nineteenth* Century (London: WH Smith, 1967). Contains an account of the monitorial system.

36. *Minutes*, 21 September 1841, 18 May and 3 October 1842.
37. *Minutes*, 8 December 1846.
38. *Minutes*, 17 May 1848.
39. *JC*, 9 September 1898 and also Moses Angel's will, lodged at Somerset House.
40. *Minutes*, 8 December 1846.
41. *Minutes*, 1 February 1844.
42. *Minutes*, 14 April 1845.
43. *Voice of Jacob*, 11 August 1845.
44. Sturt, *op. cit.*, pp.195-6.
45. *JC*, 12 May 1848.
46. *Minutes*, September 1848.
47. *JC*, 12 April 1850.
48. *Minutes*, 8 May 1851.
49. *Minutes*, 13 July, 27 September, 10 October 1852.
50. Article by 'Old Boy', *JC*, 29 July 1898.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Minutes*, 1 March 1852.
54. *JC*, 8 October 1852.
55. *Minutes*, 12 October 1852.
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Minutes*, 11 January 1853.
58. *JC*, 9 September 1898.
59. *Young Israel*, April 1898.
60. *JC*, 26 August 1853.
61. *JC*, 29 August 1856.
62. *Minutes*, 10 February 1857.
63. *JC*, 9 September 1898.
64. *Minutes*, 9 June 1857.
65. *Minutes*, 13 April 1858. Matthew Arnold was among the many guests entertained by Sir Anthony de Rothschild.
66. *JC*, 9 September 1898 and *Report of Newcastle Commission, Vol V.*
67. *Report of Newcastle Commission, Vol V.*
68. 'An Impressive Farewell- by an Onlooker', *JC*, 9 September 1890.
69. *Minutes*, October 1847.
70. *Minutes*, 8 April 1851.
71. *Minutes*, 10 February 1857.
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Forty First Annual Report, op. cit.*
74. Article in *Sanitary Record*, Dr Maurice Davis, quoted in *JC*, 13 February 1885.
75. House of Lords Papers 1861, Vol 44. *Commission to Inquire into the Present state of Popular Education in England and to consider and report what measures, if any, are required for the Extension of Sound and Cheap Elementary Instruction.* (The Newcastle Commission).
76. *Appendix to the Newcastle Commission Report.*
77. *Minutes*, March 1859.
78. *Forty First Annual Report, op. cit.*
79. *Appendix to the Newcastle Commission Report.*
80. *JC*, 22 July 1898.
81. *Appendix to the Newcastle Commission Report.*

82. *JC, 29* July 1898.
83. *Minutes,* 8 June 1858.
84. *JC,* 22 July 1898.
85. *Minutes,* 14 December 1858.
86. *JC,* 22 and 27 July 1898.
87. *Newcastle Commission Report, Vol III,* p.486.
88. *Minutes,* 11 January 1859. The title 'Baron' was conferred by the Austrian Emperor.
89. Sturt, *op. cit.,* p.274.
90. *Appendix to the Newcastle Commission Report.*
91. *The Schools Board Chronicle,* 8 July 1871.
92. *Ibid.*
93. *The Sanitary Record as* quoted in *JC,* 13 February 1885. The other 'special advantages' were a free breakfast provided for ten per cent of the pupils, 'penny dinners' for 3-4 per cent and clothing and boots for 90 per cent.
94. *JC,* 9 January 1863.
95. *JC,* 29 July 1898.
96. *Ibid.*
97. *Ibid.*
98. *Ibid.*
99. *Sturt, op. cit.,* pp.321-322.
100. V.D. Lipman, *Social History of Jews in England 1850-1950* (London, Watts & Co), p.81.
101. *JC,* 29 December 1871.
102. Cecil Roth, *A Short History of the Jewish People* (London: East & West Library, 1969), p.378.
103. Sir Anthony Rothschild, President of the School Committee was married to Sir Moses Montefiore's niece.
104. Sir Nathaniel had represented Aylesbury in the House of Commons since 1865 when he was only twenty five. In 1895 he was raised to the peerage, the first Jew to be so honoured.
105. Moses Angel's evidence to the School Board committee in 1871.
106. *JC,* 9 April 1880.
107. V.D. Lipson, *Social History of the Jews,* p.165. (As typed in the original manuscript, reference could not be verified.)
108. Cecil Roth, *op. cit.,* pp. 384 & 386.
109. *Ibid,* p. 390.
110. *JC,* 2 February 1883.
111. *Ibid.*
112. *Survey of London, Vol XXVII,* Spitalfields and Mile End, p.241.
113. When the present writer (ML) visited the School in the early nineteen thirties, she was told this by an elderly member of staff who had been a pupil teacher in Moses Angel's time.
114. *The Builder,* 7 July 1883.
115. *JC,* 13 February 1885.
116. His evidence given to the School Board Committee in 1871.
117. *JC,* 12 November 1886.
118. *Life and Labour of the People,* Charles Booth (ed.), Vol 1, Pt III, p 57. The figures are from the 1891 edition. Judging from this and Beatrice Webb's *My Apprenticeship* Vol II, Ch 6, the figures applied to 1890.
119. *Board of Trade Report of 1894,* quoted by V.D. Lipman, *op. cit.,* p.146.

120. *JC*, 4 January 1889.
121. ML did not provide an exact reference for this information. The London newspaper *The Graphic* was founded in 1869 and commenced the *Daily Graphic* in 1889, the first issue of which appeared on 4 January 1890. Extract from *Wikipedia*: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Graphic, accessed 1 May 2011
122. Quoted in V.D. Lipman, op. cit. pp.146 & 147.
123. *Daily Graphic*, 22 October 1895.
124. *Ibid*.
125. *Ibid*.
126. This quote is from Gerry Black, *JFS: The History of the Jews' Free School, London since 1732*, London: Tymsder Publishing, 1998, Image (XLII).
127. Zangwill, op. cit., Ch. 3.
128. *JC*, 1 January 1889.
129. *Ibid*, 22 October 1898.
130. *Ibid*, 1 January 1889.
131. These are specifically mentioned in his Will lodged at Somerset House.
132. *JC*, 20 February 1891.
133. *Ibid*.
134. The portrait survived the Blitz. The writer saw it in The Bell Lane building in 1933 and again in 1971 in the JFS Comprehensive School. In the May school holidays that followed this second visit, vandals entered the school and damaged the portrait. 'A copy is being made as Moses Angel was considered quite outstanding' as Mr Edmund de Rothschild, a member of the School Committee, told the writer in a letter written soon after the unfortunate affair.
135. *JC*, 3 July 1891.
136. *JC*, 9 September 1898.
137. *Ibid*.
138. *Ibid*.
139. *Ibid*.
140. *The Times*, 7 September 1898, from an Obituary.
141. *JC*, 9 September 1898
142. The book was a commentary on the first five books of the bible (the Torah) and was intended to show their relevance to the times.
143. Charles Dickens, *Dealings with the Firm of Dombey and Son: Wholesale, Retail and for Export* (London, Bradbury and Evans, Monthly October 1846-April 1848).
144. The name of a school in Dickens' *Dombey and Son*.
145. No reference is given in the original manuscript for the quotes in this paragraph.

JEWISH SCHOLARSHIP IN SYDNEY BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS: PART II

Raymond Apple

In Part I of this article, published in this Journal last year, the role of two important Jewish scholars of the interwar period in Australia was discussed. Jack M. Myers' three-volume *History of the Jewish People* and the *Blashki Humash* (known also as the Silberman Rashi) were important contributions to Jewish scholarship on an international level. The present article discusses the Chevra Midrash, an institution dedicated to Jewish learning, and the substantial contribution which Abraham Rothfield made to Jewish education over a long period. If Sydney was largely a spiritual desert in terms of Jewish learning, these contributions constituted an oasis that existed despite the broader Jewish community's virtual indifference to Jewish culture.

3. THE *CHEVRA MIDRASH*[1]

The only Sydney institution dedicated to Jewish learning in the interwar period was the *Chevra Midrash* (Study Society), which met weekly at the Maccabean Hall on Sabbath afternoons. It was the nearest thing Sydney had to the traditional *Bet Midrash* (House of Study), which was an established feature of traditionally-minded Jewish communities all over the world. An offshoot of the Great Synagogue, whose chief minister was the official or unofficial director of studies, it attracted mostly Great Synagogue members, though a few members of the Central and other congregations also attended.

Before the Great Synagogue was consecrated in 1878, there were two city congregations, York Street and its breakaway in Macquarie Street. Each synagogue presumably had a *Shabbat* afternoon service with the ministers, *shammas* and a few religiously observant congregants in attendance. The members of both synagogues mostly

lived in the city, though some had their homes in Ultimo, Newtown, Moore Park and Paddington. After the reunification of the community in the 1870s the Great Synagogue must have attempted to hold similar services, but there was probably very little support. As time went on the community dispersed towards the suburbs and very few people were willing to come back into the city on a Saturday afternoon. A further consideration may have been the sheer size of the 'cathedral' synagogue and the lack of a minor synagogue or *Bet Midrash* which would have provided a more intimate setting for a small number of worshippers.

After the Sir Moses Montefiore Jewish Home opened in South Dowling Street, Moore Park, in 1889, the Synagogue had its *Shabbat* afternoon service there. The location was more convenient for congregants, and the Home had enough male inmates to augment the nucleus of the *minyan*. Rev Alexander Barnard Davis, chief minister of the Great Synagogue, had raised considerable sums to create the Home and was pleased to see it providing religious facilities, which also included the Synagogue *sukkah* and communal *Seder*. However, the Sabbath afternoon service did not emphasise Jewish learning as such. Raymond Joseph (I think) Rosenberg, who later became president of the Home, said that 'the building acted as a communal centre, and as a boy I myself attended for *Havdalah* (at the end of *Shabbat*) and at the *sukkah*'.[2]

It is not certain when the name *Chevra Midrash* was first used. Writing about the Sydney visit of Chief Rabbi J.H. Hertz in 1921, the *Great Synagogue Journal* said in January 1952, that he had given 'addresses to learned Jewish bodies such as the *Chevra Midrash*'.[3] Perhaps the writer meant to say that the chief rabbi spoke to the group that was later called *Chevra Midrash*. The name seems to have come with the group's move to the Maccabean Hall, opened on the corner of Darlinghurst Road and Burton Street in 1923. The 'Macc' offered Sydney Jewry a venue for many community events and had a library to which the Sabbath afternoon services were transferred in about 1925.

As *Chevra* director, Rabbi Francis Lyon Cohen gave well-attended lectures, which, like his sermons, were often published in the *Hebrew Standard*. The handwritten notes of some of his sermons and discourses are in the Synagogue files. Though his preaching followed the style and pattern that was by now characteristic of the Anglo-Jewish ministry, he was also capable on occasion of giving an address which 'took the form of a *drosho* (exposition) by an old-fashioned *maggid* (expositor), and the novel interpretation of the text and frequent Tamudical references were much appreciated'.[4]

Presumably the other Great Synagogue ministers also supported

the *Chevra*, since all lived within easy walking distance. The congregation had several Judaic scholars amongst its membership, and the *Chevra* became the Sydney version of what the rabbinic sages called *bet va'ad lahakhamim*, 'a gathering place for the wise'.[5]

As we would expect, Aaron Blashki found the *Chevra* a congenial meeting place. As discussed in Part I of this article, he was a well-read orthodox Jew whose father, Phillip Blashki, had brought him up on the weekly Torah portion with the commentary of Rashi. As previously noted, Blashki prepared an English translation of Rashi with another *Chevra Midrash* figure, Louis Joseph, whose real name was Joseph Abovy Louwisch, and about whom more is said later in this paper. The Blashki/Joseph manuscript was eventually merged with a translation made in London by Dr A. M. Silbermann and Rev Morris Rosenbaum and the published work was dedicated to Blashki's parents. The story is told in the first article in the present series.[6] Blashki's learned relatives included his brothers-in-law Lazar Slutzkin, who lived in Australia before settling in Israel, and Shaul Chune Kook. In old age Blashki went to London, where he died in 1938.

Elias Green was another regular attendee at the *Chevra Midrash*. Patriarch of a religiously-minded family, he was a pioneer of the Central Synagogue, which began in 1912 in Dowling Street, close to Oxford Street and convenient for Jewish families who were part of the migration to the eastern suburbs. The 'Macc', opened in 1923, was very close to the original Paddington location of the Central Synagogue, which moved to Bondi Junction in the 1920s. Hyman Lenzer, a Great Synagogue *shohet*, was another enthusiastic member, as was one of his successors, Morris Snyder, who often led the study sessions of the *Chevra*.

The *Chevra* was faithfully supported by Hyam Sholom Himmelferb, a scholarly Jew from Eastern Europe, and his son Morris Zion (later Forbes), who acquired a wide knowledge of rabbinic texts and even in old age criticised his fellow congregants for their lack of interest in Jewish study. Himmelferb senior frequently conducted the *Chevra*'s study sessions. In the late 1950s Morris Forbes, a lawyer who eventually became Deputy Crown Solicitor of NSW, was the *Chevra*'s chairman. Forbes was also a mainstay of the Australian Jewish Historical Society from its inception, already contributing articles from the 1950s and later serving as president and editor of this *Journal*.

The discussions at the *Chevra* were generally on the Torah portion of the week and were accompanied by the afternoon and evening services. Between Pesach and Rosh HaShanah the *Chevra* frequently focussed on the reading of *Pir'kei Avot*, the six chapters

of the Mishnaic tractate known as *Ethics of the Fathers*. The discourses were sometimes given by the ministers but frequently by scholarly laymen whose learning would surprise today's orthodox community. Not all were strictly observant in their private lives and a number were not too particular about not travelling on the Sabbath. Many came by tram from the eastern suburbs; some salved their consciences by arriving in a car driven by a non-Jew.

Most members of the Great Synagogue were quite indifferent towards the *Chevra*, but the synagogue was generally represented by at least one of its board members apart from the ministers; the board defrayed the expenses of the meetings, and a Torah scroll owned by the Great Synagogue was used each week. The Ark was donated by Morris Symonds, a former president of the Synagogue. The *havdalah* set was given by Aaron Blashki.

In 1939 Edmund Van Cleef, from a German orthodox family, arrived in Sydney and joined the *Chevra Midrash* as well as the *Chevra Kadisha*. Van Cleef, who became chairman of the *Chevra Midrash*, was sometimes accompanied on *Shabbat* afternoon by his grandson Clive Kessler, later a professor at the University of New South Wales. Other regulars included the Synagogue *shammas*, George Heyman, as well as Arthur D. Robb, Solomon Berglas, Jacob Diamond, Henry Golomb, Lewis Shaw, Abraham Isaac Ellitt and David Levitus. Much assistance was given at a difficult time by Sydney B. Glass, a solicitor who was a founder of the Australian Jewish Historical Society and its first honorary secretary. In the 1950s, Elias Green's son Israel, congregational president for many terms, took a keen interest in the *Chevra*.

Edmund Van Cleef, a German Jew in fortunate exile: with his grandchildren.
Clive and Naomi Kessler [later Kronenberg], Darling Point, Sydney NSW, c. 1945[7]

Expositions were often given by Louis Joseph (his real name, as was mentioned above, was Joseph Abovy Louwisch), a teacher and linguist who gave spell-binding addresses, though some called him '*Meshuggener* Joseph'. A versatile but sometimes volatile figure, his tombstone at Rookwood Cemetery (he died 12 February 1962, aged 71) calls him 'an outstanding Talmudic scholar and linguist, a great personality and character'. As Captain J. A. Louwisch, he was on Defence Force headquarters staff as an interpreter and in this capacity was posted to Japan after the war. He reported on Jewish services in Japan in the *Great Synagogue Journal* in June 1946. Another Louis Joseph, grandfather of Rabbi Aryeh Leib Solomon, school rabbi of Moriah College, also attended the *Chevra*; he was not related to Louwisch.

Rabbi Dr Israel Porush, chief minister of the Great Synagogue from 1940 to 1972, often came and gave addresses, though to relatively small numbers. The rabbi frequently criticised the community's apathy towards Jewish learning,[8] but he apparently never complained when his discourses failed to attract the crowds. During his incumbency other regulars at the *Chevra Midrash* included Martin Lapin, who had lived in Bathurst for many years but retained his enthusiasm for Jewish learning, Mordechai Eisen, a teacher and bookseller who had previously been the minister in Broken Hill, and Selig Horwitz, manager of the *Chevra Kadisha*, who was also the Synagogue's *ba'al teki'ah* (*shofar* blower). Some regulars attended for many years whilst others tended to come and go. Attendances ranged between 20 and 24 people. One of the attractions of the *Chevra* was the opportunity for mourners to say *Kaddish* with a *minyan*.

The only extensive article that the *Great Synagogue Journal* published about the *Chevra Midrash* was in the September 1954, issue, with a heading, 'The Synagogue and the Beth Hamidrash'. The author is not identified, but it may have been David J. Benjamin, one of the community's few Jewish intellectuals, who was a major figure in Australian Jewish leadership and for a period was secretary of the Great Synagogue. Calling the *Chevra Midrash* a 'less-known Synagogue subsidiary', the article says:

> At one time or another the *Chevra Midrash* included in its circle almost every outstanding orthodox Jew in Sydney. Today there are barely any survivors in our community of this type of 'old school' Jew.[9]

Nearly five decades later, however, things have changed, and the community can boast many study circles and *shi'urim* (rabbinic lessons) and a good sprinkling of orthodox families.

By 1957 the *Chevra Midrash* was finding it difficult to assemble a *minyan* and a short piece in the *Great Synagogue Journal* in July that year (presumably also by David Benjamin) appealed for support. There was very little response, even when Benjamin undertook arrangements for lecturers and tried to involve significant personalities such as Mordekhai Nurock, Minister of Israel to Australia. Around the same time a group of young adults, mostly recent arrivals, began to come to Rabbi Porush's home at Potts Point on *Shabbat* afternoons to study Mishnah or Maimonides and to *daven Minchah,* but this was independent of the *Chevra.*

Though the *Chevra* faded away it left an offshoot in the *She'arith Yisra'el* congregation that met on *Shabbat* morning at the Maccabean Hall with the involvement of Rev Aaron Kezelman after his retirement from the Great Synagogue. *She'arith Yisra'el* had occasional discourses, but the group seemed more interested in a short, relatively informal service than in becoming a centre of learning. In the 1970s one of its members told others that they could attend the *Shabbat* afternoon *shi'urim* of the then rabbi of the Great, but he himself would not because the *shi'urim* were not in Yiddish.

She'arith Yisra'el attracted some of the postwar Jewish migrants who lived around Kings Cross and found the Great too English, pompous and unfriendly, though some of the group's members also belonged to the Great and attended there on Friday nights and weekdays. Most of *She'arith Yisra'el's* religious appurtenances were on loan from the Great Synagogue, though some were 'inherited' from the *Chevra Midrash.*

The Great had no regular *Shabbat* afternoon services from the late 1950s until early 1973, when Rabbi and Mrs Apple and Rev and Mrs Isidor Gluck opened their homes for *Minchah* services with songs and refreshments. Up to 60 people came, children as well as adults. Some youngsters walked long distances in order to be present. Morris Forbes generally conducted the *Minchah* service and sometimes gave expositions in the rabbi's absence.

Distinguished visitors to Sydney attended these services from time to time including Chief Rabbis Immanuel Jakobovits and Jonathan Sacks as well as Rabbi Porush, who after his retirement had moved to Melbourne. One of the regulars named the services 'the armchair congregation'. The ministers themselves tended to call the gathering 'the *Oneg*', a reference to *Isaiah* 58:13, 'you shall call the Sabbath a delight (*oneg*)' as developed by the Hebrew poet Hayyim Nahman Bialik who inaugurated a weekly cultural event in Tel Aviv on Sabbath afternoons close to the end of the day.

4. ABRAHAM ROTHFIELD[10]

Another key personality in the world of Jewish learning in the interwar period was Abraham Rothfield, whose educational career influenced generations of Sydney Jewish children. The *Reader's Digest* used to run a series entitled 'My Most Unforgettable Teacher'. The popularity of the series proved that regardless of what one learns from books and formal study, more of a person's principles and attitudes derive from the personality of a memorable teacher. In Judaism this is second nature, beginning with Moses, whom tradition wisely dubbed 'Moshe *Rabbenu* – Moses our Teacher', proceeding through the many influential teachers in the Talmud, and continuing up to our own day.

Abraham Rothfield

Australian Jewry is part of the story, with its long record of effective and sometimes individualistic teachers, amongst whom Abraham Rothfield ('Roth' or 'Rothy'), headmaster of the New South Wales Board of Jewish Education from 1924-64, holds a special place of honour. Like his predecessors Louis Pulver and M. A. Cohen, Rothy was a beloved institution in the community.

The Board of Education probably produced very few really literate Jews. The times were not ripe for a learned community. Rothy's lessons, however, trained countless youngsters to be fluent in the prayers and in many cases to conduct all or part of a synagogue service. He gave a firm grounding in Hebrew reading to many who would have otherwise struggled with the language. He made Jewish history live for a large number who might have thought

of it as an ancient irrelevancy. He made the festivals an exciting experience for many whose home life was far from being governed by the Jewish calendar. He probably saved generations of young people from brushing their Jewishness aside and abandoning it. They all remember his foibles even if the details of his lessons have become vague and uncertain in their minds.

Born in 1890 to a pious family in Gateshead in the north of England, he moved to Sunderland as a small child. He gained a Bachelor of Arts degree at Durham University and began teaching. His life – and much of his subsequent teaching – was changed forever by his gallant military service as an officer in the 14th Durham Light Infantry in France in World War I. He was awarded the Military Cross (MC) and then a Bar to it, the equivalent of a second MC. Some even say that he was worthy of a Victoria Cross. He was not only brave but thoughtful. If he found a soldier asleep whilst on guard duty, Rothy would let the man sleep and take over his duty.

According to the *British Jewry Book of Honour*, the citation for his MC reads:

> For conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty. Although exhausted by illness he successfully led a daylight raid into the enemy trenches, inspiring everyone by his unexpected presence, and taking all his objectives with the greatest skill and gallantry. He has previously done very fine work of the same description.[11]

The citation for the Bar to his MC reads:

> For conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty when in command of a company which was heavily attacked three times. During the bombardment he walked along the top of the trench to reorganise the men. He was badly wounded, but continued to direct operations until unable to do so through loss of blood.[12]

When exchanging reminiscences with one of his Sydney friends who fought (aged 18) in the Boer War, he used to say: 'You won the Boer War and I won World War I!' It was of course a joke; he was not one to brag.

His decorations were given to NAJEX (the NSW Association of Jewish Ex-Service Men and Women) by his second wife, Olive, but somehow ended up in a shop in the United Kingdom that specialised in military memorabilia, and NAJEX did not succeed in re-acquiring them for the ex-service display at the Sydney Jewish Museum.

As a teacher in the Jewish educational system in Sydney his

pupils loved trying to distract him by asking him for army stories and he often complied. The evidence of his patriotism and exploits fitted well into the climate of thought in Australia of those interwar years and later.

Rothy's stories were not limited to wartime subjects. He embellished all his teaching with reminiscences of the way *Shabbat* and the festivals were observed in his childhood. Even youngsters in other parts of Australia such as my childhood self in Melbourne read and enjoyed his stories in *Ittoni* (My Newspaper), produced by the New South Wales Board of Jewish Education and supplied to children in other states. One of the disappointments of my early days in Sydney was that Rothy was no longer alive. Meeting the great man in the flesh would have been an experience, though I did hear stories of 'The Guv'nor' from Olive, who became a dear friend.

After his war service Rothy taught for the London County Council in its secular schools. In 1924, after the death of the previous incumbent, M. A. Cohen, (who held office from 1897-1923), he came to Australia to be headmaster of the NSW Board of Jewish Education. He officially retired in 1957 but after an overseas trip returned to the Education Board teaching staff until his second retirement in 1964, when the Board named him Headmaster Emeritus in recognition of forty years of loyal service.

His work entailed not only teaching but also organising and supervising education throughout the community, applying to education the skills of strategy and tactics he had learned during the war. Finding teachers was a constant problem and Rothy constantly encouraged his best pupils to accept teaching responsibilities, which entailed providing training courses and teaching aids (often created from scratch by Rothy himself, generally in consultation with the incumbent chief minister of the Great Synagogue – first Rabbi Cohen, then Rabbi Levy, and then Rabbi Porush).

Those who attended his children's service at the Great Synagogue were fascinated by the imaginative teaching aids he developed in regard to the *Shabbat* Scriptural readings. He trained his Barmitzvah boys in the cantillation notes from yet further teaching aids, which enabled them to handle any given Torah portion and *haftarah* (the reading from the Prophets), not just the passages they needed for their own Barmitzvah. Some veteran congregants of the Great Synagogue can still chant a *haftarah* on sight because of the effectiveness of Rothy's teaching.

In theory Rothy's supervisory responsibilities as headmaster remained the same over the years, but the task became more and more onerous and complex with the changes in the community. His first decade in office coincided with a period of accelerated

geographical dispersal from the inner city, requiring new centres to be opened and staffed, right-of-entry classes to be established at new schools, and some of the older venues to be reduced or closed down altogether. Then came the Depression, when Jewish education was unable to hold its own financially against the stringencies affecting many families. Enrolments rose with the arrival of the refugees, but there was no increase in funding as communal facilities (notably the Australian Jewish Welfare Society) needed to be created to assist integration of the newcomers. It was a constant battle to maintain educational standards, and Rothy and the Education Board needed unceasing flexibility...and faith.

During the war the absence of men on active service affected their children's schooling, religious as well as secular. The arrival of postwar immigrants meant that still further centres needed to be opened up, in many cases providing the basis for the establishment of a suburban congregation.

Throughout these years much of Rothy's time was devoted to the Great Synagogue, which was still the largest congregation, the centre of the community. In the 1940s the Education Board appointed an additional headmaster in Rev Caesar Steinhof (Stanton), a German refugee, who concentrated on the management of synagogue Hebrew classes and brought new ideas to curriculum development, while Rothy devoted most of his energies to the Board's other major area of activity, the right-of-entry classes at state primary and high schools. Stanton was particularly associated with the Central Synagogue whilst Rothy focussed on the Great.

Both were enterprising educators who tried to make up for the lack of textbooks and teaching aids by producing their own, though it was a time when the Education Board was financially strapped. Rothfield presented Jewish beliefs and practices in a 45-page booklet entitled *An Outline of Jewish Religious Knowledge*, produced for children in senior primary classes. The material, generally in note form, is an extension of duplicated notes, which the author had long been producing for teachers and pupils.

Stanton spearheaded a local version of a Hebrew textbook, *Dan and Gad*, by Ze'ev Neier, published before the war for use on the Continent. It follows a year's experiences of Dan and Gad as they learn Hebrew phrases. Stanton did not alter the text but added a vocabulary and preface, indicating how skilfully the author had integrated the Land of Israel as well as Jewish religious life into the two boys' daily lives. This book, aimed at pupils aged 8 to 10, was also used in other States. My own first acquaintance with spoken Hebrew was sentences from *Dan and Gad* such as '*Dan, red min ha-gader* – Dan, get down from the fence'. Presumably some of the

children who used *Dan and Gad* eventually made Aliyah and found that their Hebrew textbook in Sydney laid some basic foundations for life in modern Israel.

Though both textbooks were introduced after the period to which this paper is dedicated, they reflect needs, which had already become evident before the war. The postwar spirit of reconstruction inspired these books as well as the innovative *Ittoni*, to which reference has already been made. The first *Ittoni* was published in 1949 and the magazine continued until financial considerations forced its closure in 1953. Edited by M. H. Cohen, son of Rothy's immediate predecessor, it relied greatly on Rothy's skill as a writer and his ability to seize and hold his pupils' interest.

Despite the fact that he generally taught primary-aged classes, he had the expertise in Biblical Hebrew and its grammar to teach up to matriculation level, which was beyond most other teachers at the time with the exception of Rabbi Porush and some of the other ministers.

The establishment of Israel brought a number of new emphases to the Board's work, and Israelis who sought teaching appointments in Sydney had to be judiciously integrated into the system, though it was not possible to employ everyone who announced: 'I am Israelian – I will teach Hebrew!'

The *Great Synagogue Journal* paid tribute to Rothy in an article in July-August 1964 – probably written by David J Benjamin – which said:

> As a teacher, besides wide learning and a deep love of Judaism, he has a number of rare gifts – enthusiasm, sincerity, humanity, humour and the ability to gain the confidence of the young. He never talks down to his pupils, and his approach is that of a friend rather than a superior. Countless pupils owe their religious knowledge and interest to his inspiration. By all these he is regarded with the warmest affection.[13]

His Barmitzvah boys had especial admiration for him, but if it was a Great Synagogue Barmitzvah he did not stand on the *bimah* with the boy nor even sit in the Synagogue beside him. Because of disappointed hopes described in the next paragraph the most he would do – at least from the late 1930s to the early 1960s – would be to stand just inside the Synagogue door and then return to his children's service elsewhere in the building. What he told some of the boys was that they should have learned their portion well enough to manage on their own.

He did come into the Synagogue and officiate from time to time

- when the *chazzan* was away. He was a capable officiant, though he was not a trained professional musician. He trained cantors for several synagogues and endeavoured to spread a love for sacred music throughout the community. He expected that after the death in 1937 of Rev Marcus Einfeld, *chazzan* at the Great since 1909, he would be given the position, but the board thought otherwise and appointed Rev Aaron Kezelman, who held office until his retirement shortly before the 1964 arrival of Rev Isidor Gluck, with whom Rothy had a close and friendly relationship. Any annoyance which Rothy felt was with the Synagogue board, not with Kezelman personally.

Rothy was proud to claim that he had officiated and/or read the Torah in every synagogue in New South Wales. At the Great Synagogue he acted as *chazzanic* locum, conducted overflow services at the Maccabean Hall, and trained boys to conduct parts of the Sabbath and holyday services. He was not a great cantor with the sensational, dramatic passionate quality of the world-renowned *chazzanim*, but a representative of the Anglo-Jewish tradition as enshrined in *The Voice of Prayer and Praise* (the 'Blue Book') edited by Rabbi Cohen together with a London choirmaster, David M. Davis.

He was a fine exponent of Torah cantillation. *Ba'alei K'ri'ah* (Torah readers) need more than the ability to memorise the notes and understand the text. They need to be Hebrew scholars with an insight into the patterns of Hebrew grammar and linguistics, and this was second nature to Rothy.

As we have seen, he had his own methods of training Barmitzvah boys in chanting their Torah portions and *haftarot* (prophetical readings). He had no time for mere rote learning, and other Barmitzvah teachers were judged against his standard.

With the support of the Education Board, Rothy emphasised the social side of the school community. As Maurice H. (Harry) Kellerman writes in his history of the Board, Rothy 'encouraged activities that gave pupils opportunities to work and play together as Jewish children, hence choirs and singing, dramatisation and plays, children's Synagogue Services, camping, scouting, were fostered, and in all of these he was very successful'.[14]

Sport was not neglected. As a youth, Rothy was a good soccer player and 'not too bad at cricket', though he claimed no special sporting expertise and felt he had more enthusiasm than skill. In Britain he was sports master at the Norwood Orphanage and at Bermondsey Central School, and in his early days in Sydney he would take Great Synagogue boys to play football or cricket at Moore Park on a Sunday afternoon. He was highly supportive of GSY – Great Synagogue Youth – from its formation in the 1940s and trained officiants for its youth services. A further adjunct to formal

education came with the arrival of Jewish scouting. Rothy was founding scoutmaster of the First Sydney Judean Troop in 1926. A second troop began in 1927, followed by a Wolf Cub pack and a Rover Scout troop. Scout camps were run on Jewish lines with Sabbath observance and kosher food. A Girl Guide company was inaugurated by Rothy's first wife Anne, who, like her husband, was also a teacher.

From about 1930 onwards celebrations such as the demonstration Seder, Purim picnic and Sukkot party became exciting events for children and their families, and the regular children's services introduced pupils to Sabbath and festival worship on a child-friendly level. Rothy was in his element and utilised the many educational possibilities of these occasions.

He and the Board wanted to provide advanced classes for high school students, and though worthwhile attempts were made in this direction by the rabbis together with the more scholarly teachers such as Rothy himself and Louis Joseph, who had collaborated with Aaron Blashki in producing a *Humash* with Rashi's commentary translated into English (see the first part of this series: AJHS Journal, vol 19 part 4, 2010), it was always a struggle to attract and keep the senior students. Mid-week classes for the primary school age were never particularly successful, though the few children who did attend attained much higher levels than the Sunday-only pupils. At this stage the Board was still the major dispenser of Jewish education; the day school movement in its modern form only began in Sydney during World War II, and did not develop substantially until the 1970s.

In 1951 Rothy, by now a widower with two adult sons, married Olive Jacobs, a widow with a son and daughter. Olive had worked sporadically for the Education Board in the 1930s when her children were growing up. When they went overseas after Rothy's first retirement in 1957, they met his former pupils all over the world. He died on 18 August 1968, aged 78, and Harry Kellerman paid tribute to him in an obituary in the September-October *Great Synagogue Journal*, praising his 'fund of knowledge and...real love for his religion and its practices' as well as 'his human qualities as a man'.

In a series on Jewish scholarship there may be room to question whether Rothy could be considered a scholar. That he was well-read and had considerable Jewish and general knowledge was obvious, and he certainly had the ability to find an apt text or explanation, but did it raise him to the level of a scholar?

The answer is suggested by a comment attributed to the poet Hayyim Nahman Bialik at a time in his life when he put creative writing aside and turned anthologist. Bialik is said to have declared, borrowing the language of *Kohelet* chapter 3, that there was a time

to create and a time to conserve. In that sense Rothy was less of a creator than a conserver. By means of his teaching he ensured that Jewish commitment and experience, and to some extent Jewish knowledge also, would be preserved in a community that was then very largely apathetic towards its treasures and heritage. If one can posit a distinction between pure and applied scholarship, Rothy was a master of the second category.

CONCLUSION

Great achievements often emanate from unexpected sources. Hardly anyone would have thought in the period before 1939 when Australian Jewry was an almost insignificant corner of the Jewish world, that high-quality books, institutions and personalities would emerge from the Antipodes. The material in this series of articles is evidence of the belief, *lo alman yisra'el* -'Israel is never entirely bereft'[15] - from far-off Australia. It must be remembered, too, that though these articles deal with the interwar era, there was Jewish scholarship here in an earlier period – and recent decades have seen solid development in the field.

ENDNOTES

1. I appreciate the assistance I have received from Helen Bersten, Joe Kensell, Clive Kessler, Gary Luke, Daniel Rossing and Andrew Samuel.
2. 'Guest of Honour: R.J. Rosenberg', *Great Synagogue Journal*, May 1955.
3. 'Dr Hertz in Sydney – Memories of 1921' (author not named), *Great Synagogue Journal*, January 1952.
4. *Hebrew Standard*, 28 September 1906.
5. *Avot* 1:4.
6. Raymond Apple, 'Jewish Scholarship, Part I', *AJHS Journal*, vol. 19 part 4, 2010.
7. Naomi Kronenberg, 'Clive Kessler: Some Biographical Reflections', in Virginia Hooker & Norani Othman (Eds.), *Malaysia: Islam, Society and Politics, Essays presented to Clive S. Kessler*, (ISEAS: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 2003), pp.1-15, esp. pp.2-4.
8. See, for example, *Great Synagogue Journal*, January/February, 1947.
9. 'The Synagogue and the Beth Hamidrash', *Great Synagogue Journal*, September 1954.
10. I appreciate the assistance of some of Rothy's former pupils, especially Wesley Browne, Joan and Sam Fisher, Joe Kensell, Rodney I. Rosenblum and Antony D. Robb.
11. 'Abraham Rothfield', Michael Adler (ed), *British Jewry Book of Honour, 1914-1918*, (London: Caxton Publishing Ltd, 1922), p.144.
12. Ibid.
13. Tribute to Abraham Rothfield, *Great Synagogue Journal*, 1964.
14. M.H. Kellerman, *New South Wales Board of Jewish Education: History 1909-1979 with Background Summary 1863-1909*, Sydney: NSW Board

of Jewish Education, 1979, pp. 22-23.

15. Jeremiah, Ch 51, V 5. The literal translation is 'Israel is not widowed', reflecting a common Biblical metaphor of God as Israel's 'husband'.

'WAGGA BOASTS A MODERN PIMPERNEL': DAME MARY GILMORE, JOHN ALEXANDER CAMERON AND JEWISH EMIGRATION TO PALESTINE, 1920 TO 1923

Les Hetherington

A DEATH AND AN OBITUARY

The death at ten minutes to one in the morning on 3 March 1949, in Glasgow, Scotland, of John Alexander Cameron, retired journalist, aged 76 years, went unremarked other than in the official record.[1] But several months later, on 31 August 1949, the *Wagga Wagga Daily Advertiser* published an obituary written by Cameron's sister, Dame Mary Gilmore. Dame Mary, poet, author, radical socialist, journalist and grand old lady of Australian letters, 'has now passed into Australian legend'.[2] Her brother is virtually unknown today. In contrast, Dame Mary's obituary suggested in his adventurous life he was not without achievement, recognition and reward. Yet, how much of what she wrote was true? A characteristic of her ostensibly non-fiction prose was that it contained many 'fabrications', particularly when it came to her own family.[3] Was her obituary for her brother similarly embellished?

A key claim among those Dame Mary made about her brother's life gave rise to the headline above the obituary: 'Wagga Boasts a Modern Pimpernel'. It was while he served in the British diplomatic service that John Cameron, 'one of Wagga's outstanding sons', 'played the role of a Scarlet Pimpernel', said the *Advertiser*, 'and rescued hundreds of Jews from firing squads'. Dame Mary provided more details:

> When war broke out in 1914 he left his publications [including two seasonal ones in Berne, Switzerland] to a manager ... and went as a London special correspondent to the Italian front. This war ending he was appointed as British Vice-Consul to Schaffhausen, on the border between Germany and

Switzerland. ... From Schaffhausen he was sent as Consul to Czernowitz ... Here *he surreptitiously saved the lives of as many as 500 Jews at a time* [italics added]. Men women and children were being pogrommed by Czarist Russia, who was our ally. They were lined up on trenches which the men had to dig for their mass graves, and the guns were then turned on them. Some of those he saved came to Australia and told me this. The heads of Jewry (he later told me) were so grateful they said his name was to go into the Golden Book at Jerusalem directly next to the signatories of the Balfour Declaration.[4]

How much of Dame Mary's story is true? Did John Cameron, the bush-born son of an itinerant farm worker and self-taught builder, educated at a local 'bush' school at Downside, on the road north from Wagga to Coolamon, and later at Wagga Wagga Public School, some time school teacher and, later, journalist and war correspondent, really become a member of the British diplomatic service, and was he responsible for saving hundreds, if not thousands, of Jews from Tsarist Russian firing squads? If so, was his name inscribed by a grateful Jewish community in a 'Golden Book' in Jerusalem? How much, instead, is one of Dame Mary's 'historical inaccuracies, distortions and fantasies'?[5] Answering these questions, even if only partially, requires not only research into Cameron's life but also to the strategic great power politics of his time.

CONSULAR SERVICE

The truth of John Cameron's diplomatic – or rather consular – service is readily verified. Though it appears he lied about his age (giving his date of birth as 21 March 1872 rather than 1869, the correct year) John Alexander Cameron is recorded in *The Foreign Office List and Diplomatic and Consular Year Book for 1934* as indeed joining the consular service during the First World War, serving as Vice-Consul at Schaffhausen, Switzerland, from 12 February 1917 until January 1919 and then temporarily at Bâle (Basel), before being appointed Consul at Czernowitz (now Chernivtsi) on 1 August 1920. He remained at Czernowitz until 10 December 1923 and subsequently served in Detroit, USA (1924-1930) and the League of Nations-administered Free City of Danzig, at the head of the Polish Corridor between Germany and Poland (1931-1933). He was made a member of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) on 3 June 1933 and retired with a pension on 1 November that year.[6]

In being able to pursue a new career in 1917 Cameron might have been lucky to have been where he was. The Foreign Office and

Diplomatic and Consular Services were exclusive 'clubs' prior to the First World War, in which 'only a very small and wealthy elite entered'.[7] In 1915 the British Civil Service Commission's report on the services recommended significant reforms, including abolition of the requirement that candidates for the Diplomatic Service possess 'private means ... at a minimum of £400 a year'. For the Consular Service the Commissioners recommended entry by open competition, followed by appropriate training and then service under an experienced Consul 'to learn practical work'.[8] But the war may have provided its own impetus for the widening of entry. Schaffhausen, for example, was a city in the German-speaking, northern Swiss canton of the same name through which repatriated British prisoners of war from Germany passed on their way to the United Kingdom. As a British subject, familiar with Switzerland as a result of his publishing experience in Berne, and probably German-speaking, Cameron may simply have been the best man on the spot to fill an important, but unusual and temporary, position.[9] His Australian origins may have caused some hard thinking, but at least by 1919, a background from the Dominions within the Empire was not thought an impediment:

> ... what is, or should be, the Imperial nature of the service should not be forgotten. It should be felt by the Dominions to be their service and to represent them as well as the United Kingdom. This object will only be fully attained if candidates, whose qualifications are up to the standard, are able to enter direct from Canada, Australia, and the other Dominions.[10]

His employment in the British Consular Service established, the question remains why was he posted to Czernowitz? Why, indeed, was there a British consulate at Czernowitz at this time at all?

CZERNOWITZ

Czernowitz (Romanian Cernauti between the two World Wars) was the Austrian name for the capital of the province of Bukovina, situated to the east of Hungary, bordering Russia and the Ottoman Empire (independent Romania after 1878). Populated mainly by Romanians and Ukrainians (often also referred to as Ruthenians), the Austrian Empire gained Bukovina in 1775 as a result of the decline of the Ottomon Empire in Europe. Austria encouraged German settlement in the territory, and Czernowitz grew into a Germanised city which was a social and cultural centre in an otherwise relatively backward rural province. By the second half of

the nineteenth century, a large proportion of the German-speaking population was Jewish, and the Jewish community was the largest single community in Czernowitz from around 1870, comprising about one third of the city's population. The community was culturally German and looked to Vienna for its inspiration, perhaps understandably because the Austrian Empire was the most benign regime for Jews in central and eastern Europe at the time, having granted full emancipation in 1867.[11] Czernowitz 'had a thoroughly assimilated upper class' and 'the assimilated Jews considered themselves Germans, with the caveat "of Mosaic confession"'.[12] An additional reason for strongly associating with German culture was the relative animosity of the two other major cultural influences in the region – Russian and Romanian. The loyalty to the Habsburg Monarchy demonstrated by the Jews of Bukovina:

> was associated with their recognition of the fact that they enjoyed a much better social position in comparison to the adjacent areas of Russia and Romania. Life on the border of countries whose governments were notoriously hostile to Jews engendered, as its mental consequence, an attitude of rejection of their cultures.[13]

These sentiments combined to make the Jewish community enthusiastic supporters of the Austro-Hungarian cause in the First World War, which 'provided the Jews with the perfect opportunity to assert this Austrian identity'. The Jews of Czernowitz were 'gripped by war fever' in 1914 – 'This patriotism ... engendered by two generations of imperial rule, under which the Jews had attained equal rights and high positions in public office.'[14]

Notwithstanding its local pre-eminence within Bukovina, Czernowitz would seem unlikely to be a place considered appropriate to establish a British consular post in 1920. Reform of Britain's overseas representation, begun in 1914 and 1915, had stalled during the war but was resumed in 1918 and 1919: 'if the need for reform was great at the beginning of the war', said a report on the matter in March 1919, 'it is infinitely greater now'. The focus for the Consular Service had shifted to trade:

> the whole conception has gradually altered of the services expected from a Consular officer. It is now rightly required that he should actively assist trade. ... Foreign trade for other countries is a luxury; for the United Kingdom a necessity. But if our Foreign trade is to be restored and developed, our commercial service abroad must be made into a really efficient instrument.[xv]

Bukovina was not considered useful as a place for a trade-oriented post and Czernowitz did not appear in the report's list of recommended locations for a consulate. Its omission may have been influenced by the assessment of Bukovina in a 1919 Foreign Office paper as 'a poorly developed province' with 'practically no products of commercial importance, though there is some exportation of agricultural and dairy produce'.[16] This assessment would appear to have been later vindicated, as, although there was a branch of the Anglo-Austrian Bank there in 1922, by 1924 London *Times* correspondent Stephen Graham could report that he met only one Briton in Czernowitz, 'a redoubtable Scot buying Bessarabian eggs'.[17]

However, despite the heavy influence of trade matters on both the focus of the service and of the locations for posts, other considerations were also factored in – 'It must not ... be imagined', continued the March 1919 report, 'that the only considerations that need to be considered are commercial. ... Political interests may require the presence of a Consul ... [and] political needs ... have necessitated the presence of consuls whose functions have largely been political and judicial.'[18]

The decision to establish a consulate at Czernowitz may indeed have been the result of later political events and considerations the report anticipated:

> Certain assumptions have had to be made on some points which will have to be decided at the Peace negotiations. When these negotiations are ended, and experience has been gained during the next few years by the new Commercial Counsellors and Secretaries, some adjustments may be found desirable, but they will not affect the validity of the distribution of posts as a whole, nor the actual allocation of more than a minute fraction of them. It is claimed with confidence that no better distribution of posts, at once scientific and practical, could have been made.[19]

Despite the city's lack of commercial promise, a political consideration already existed of equal geopolitical significance to the peace negotiations, which may have overridden trade issues and led to the British presence at Czernowitz – the Bolshevik revolution and the subsequent civil war in Russia.

RUSSIA'S CIVIL WAR

The First World War's Eastern Front passed through Bukovina, and Austrian and Russian troops occupied it at different times. It was the Russian Empire that first collapsed, when in October 1917 the

Bolsheviks overthrew the Provisional Government of Alexander Kerensky. The Provisional Government had followed the Tsar's abdication seven months earlier but had made the mistake of attempting to continue the war against the Central Powers, alongside Britain, France and their other allies. However, Bolshevik authority was limited and the new government fought a civil war against a variety of armies in its north, south and east. In the south west they were confronted from 1918 to 1921 at different times by Ukrainian nationalists, anarchist forces and the 'White' (former Tsarist) Volunteer Army under Generals Anton Denikin and later Pyotr Wrangel.

Britain and her allies strongly opposed the Bolshevik decision to seek peace with Germany – which was concluded by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918 – regarding it as a betrayal. They were also stung by Bolshevik publication of secret treaties the allies had agreed relating to the division of the spoils of victory after the war. Troops were sent to north Russia to fight against the Bolshevik army, in support of the Whites, and other support was provided elsewhere. Britain continued to assist the Whites after the First World War ended, scaling down its military intervention only in 1919. Bolshevik communist internationalism and brief communist revolutions in Hungary, Bavaria and Berlin gave further impetus to British fear and suspicion of Bolshevik intentions, and the new and expanded Eastern European states, such as Romania, were seen as a *cordon sanitaire* against them. The April 1922 Treaty of Rapallo between Germany and the newly formed Soviet government gave further cause for anxiety for those still suspicious of the two countries.[20] Bukovina, separated from the dismembered Austrian heartland of the old Empire by now independent Hungary, had become a part of 'Greater Romania', which had been significantly enlarged by the post-war settlement in 1919 and 1920.[21] 'The least ethnically Romanian' of the new provinces,[22] its Ukrainian, German and Jewish communities were unhappy with, and viewed with suspicion by, the new regime.[23] Nevertheless, it was relatively safe and centrally located in the *cordon sanitaire* near the Russian, Polish, Czechoslovak, Hungarian and Romanian borders – a good location from which to observe the course of the Russian civil war's south western theatre. The possible significance of this justification for the establishment of the consulate in Czernowitz is highlighted by its closure in February 1924, shortly after Cameron left in December 1923, by which time the civil war was over and Bolshevik control in the former Russian empire was well established.[24]

Czernowitz, despite its integration into Romania, was, at least as far as its Jewish community was concerned, still German-speaking.

Dame Mary wrote in her obituary of her brother's time in Czernowitz that 'there he had 14 languages (owing to refugees) and spoke two.' The two he spoke, based on his earlier experience, were almost certainly German and French, as well as his native English. And if Cameron had demonstrated a capacity for gleaning military and other intelligence from repatriated and escaped prisoners of war in Schaffhausen, he may have had ample opportunity to do so in Czernowitz also, from refugees escaping from the civil war just a few kilometres away. A large element within those refugees was Jewish.

ANTISEMITISM, THE RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR AND POGROMS IN THE UKRAINE

Although Bukovina remained for many years into the twentieth century associated with benign inter-community relations,[25] the partnership there between Germans and German-speaking Jews was declining by the 1890s, as it was at the centre of the Austrian Empire. For example, Bukovina Jewish community leader, Dr Benno Straucher, a supporter of accommodation between German and Jewish national aspirations, when elected to the Parliament in Vienna in 1897 'was immediately confronted with massive and verbally aggressive antisemitism'.[26] The same year Karl Lueger was elected to the office of mayor of Vienna, considered a major watershed in the popularisation of antisemitic politics in Austria.[27]

It was also his experiences in Vienna, as well as Paris, that turned the previously liberal secular Viennese journalist, Theodore Herzl, into the founder of the modern Zionist movement – dedicated to the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine, the Jewish community's *Eretz Israel.*[28] Zionism was established early in Czernowitz – pre-Zionist Jewish national organisations had existed since 1891 at the University[29] – and the community was very active politically. Three Bukovina representatives attended the first Zionist Congress at Basle in 1897, among them Doctor Mayer Ebner, the most prominent of Bukovina's Zionist leaders up to the late 1930s. Other Jewish nationalist movements were well represented and the first Yiddish language conference was held in Czernowitz in 1908. Indeed, the variety of approaches to the future of eastern Europe's Jewish communities – assimilationist, nationalist European and nationalist Zionist – was the cause of considerable and intense factionalism.

With the break up of the Austrian Empire in 1918, Bukovina and neighbouring Bessarabia were absorbed into the kingdom of Romania. Unfortunately, the position of Jews in Romania was not as secure as it had been in Austria; they were the target of religious discrimination and it was only belatedly that Jews were granted citizenship rights in

1923. The 'Jewish question' was a much debated one in Romania. While the problem has been characterised as more to do with 'an assertive Romanian nationalism on the offensive against the resilient particularisms of Bukovina's ethnic minorities and regional outlook' as 'the Romanian state ... had to assert itself not so much against non-Romanian ethnic groups as against the regionalism Bukovina derived from its Austrian heritage'. Nevertheless it is conceded that 'Jews were ... most affected by the policies of centralization and integration enforced in the 1920s' and that 'Bukovina's Jews interpreted the attempts at Romanizing the provinces as anti-Semitism'. For the Jewish community, Romanian occupation of Bukovina 'threatened their future like a spectre' and 'brought still unsuspected dangers with it'; subsequently, these included restrictions on citizenship, land use, business opportunities, civil service positions and education – for 20 years after 1918 'during the whole time Bukovina belonged to Romania the Jews fought a difficult fight for their citizenship. As stateless people, the Jew was a "stranger" subject to expulsion and the loss of his existence without notice.'[30] *The Times* of London reported Romanian opposition to international treaty provisions, which protected the rights of minorities in the new countries created after the First World War, which Romania regarded as 'remarkable chiefly for the great solicitude which it shows for Jews'. In a double-handed insult to both its Jewish and Romanian populations, the Romanian government's position was characterised as believing the Jews were so commercially astute and avaricious and the Romanian peasantry such a 'careless, illiterate, thriftless folk', that 'it was necessary to penalise them [the Jews] until such time as the native inhabitants were able by their own efforts to keep Romania for the Romanians'.[31]

Notwithstanding their difficulties, the Romanian Jewish community was significantly better off than the community resident in the former Russian Imperial province of Ukraine, just a few kilometres from Czernowitz, across the Dneister River. Here, after the 1917 revolutions had overthrown first the Czarist regime and then its short-lived successor, civil war approaching anarchy persisted until 1921, and the region, already devastated by the battles of 1914 to 1917 between the Austrians, Germans and Russians, experienced periods of supremacy, if not stable government, by the Ukrainian nationalists, anarchists, Denikin's White Volunteer Army and the Bolshevik army. A bitter and confused civil war built on a tradition of antisemitism and pogroms, and 'in 1919 and 1920 mass murder of Jews took place on a scale that was surpassed only during the Second World War'.[32] Old rivalries and grievances re-emerged, together with opportunities to revenge old scores, and the Jewish community was again the most affected:

> All subjects of the old Empire suffered, but the Jews were again
> an exceptional case … Traditional anti-Jewish enmities and
> fears were joined by new modern strains of anti-Semitism …
> The visibility of Jews like Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev
> among the Bolshevik leadership offered whatever confirmation
> skeptics might require. … [it was] a time of Jewish suffering …
> unparalleled in Eastern Europe before the Holocaust itself.[33]

The anti-Jewish violence began slowly after the revolution but gained
pace in 1918, peaked in the middle of 1919 when the White Volunteer
Army controlled much of the Ukraine and continued, declining in
intensity, through 1920. Victims were shot, bayoneted, hung, burned
or buried alive, and drowned. Many were 'raped, maimed, orphaned
or had their property and livelihood destroyed' and 'thousands died
of hunger, disease or exposure' as a result.[34] Although the pogroms
were not systematic, they were made much worse because they were
perpetrated by organised elements of large bodies of armed soldiers.
The violence did not cease until the Bolshevik regime established
control in the countryside in 1921. All the groups who exercised any
control over Ukrainian territory during this period, including the
Bolsheviks, were guilty of atrocities against Jewish communities.
However, it was the Bolsheviks who least offended, and who did most
to suppress antisemitism within the territories they controlled. The
Whites were worse, being responsible for perhaps half the deaths
which occurred, antisemitism being endemic among the White
officers.[35] Ukrainian nationalists under Simon Petliura and anarchist
bands, including the Black Army under Nestor Makhno have also
been accused of responsibility for a proportion of deaths.[36] Described
as the 'most vicious anti-Semitic attacks' in 300 years, these pogroms
killed perhaps one in thirteen of Ukraine's 1.5 million Jews, left tens
of thousands injured or diseased and hundreds of thousands
homeless. There were over 31,000 officially recorded burials, but past
scholarly estimates put the death toll at 50,000 to 60,000. However,
a 1920 report by Jewish organisations in Soviet Russia indicated
there were more than 150,000 reported deaths and up to 300,000
victims, when the wounded are included.[37] It has been said this period
was characterised by an attempt at Jewish extermination, which
'appeared for the first time in modern Russian history, and indeed for
the first time in 20th-century Europe'.[38]

   The plight of those left alive was dire, with the effects of years of
war and civil strife having crippled the regional economy in the
Ukraine. Newspaper reports carried accounts of tens, if not
hundreds, of thousands of displaced people and orphaned children.
As late as September 1923, the Chief Rabbi in Britain was reported in

the *The Times* of London as speaking to the Federation of Ukrainian Jews, saying:

> their brethren had been killed not only in 1919, 1920 and 1921, but even in the middle of 1922. Thousands of Jews had been tortured and massacred. ... Only a fortnight ago *The Times* pointed out that there were 1,500,000 waifs in the Ukraine. Of these waifs 300,000 were Jewish children. They lived without food, died without hope, and were buried without shrouds. ... They had to deal with the four catastrophes – war, pogrom, famine, and anti-Semitism.[39]

On 20 July 1921 the *New York Times* carried an account by a Jewish social worker and President of the Russian Joint Board of Jewish Societies, Dr Joseph Kreinin, of spreading famine, continued progroms, and mass flights from Russian territory:

> the Jews rushing to all borders and especially to Rumania, where there are 40,000 families camping along the frontier, hoping to find refuge. Among these ... at least 100 persons daily are dying from exposure and hunger.

Clearly, a humanitarian tragedy had unfolded in the Ukraine, especially among the Jewish community, after the end of the First World War, and had continued through the period of John Cameron's posting at Czernowitz.[40] A focus of that humanitarian tragedy was the concentration of displaced people on the new Soviet-Romanian border, which followed the Dneister River and passed very closely by Czernowitz. Despite early attempts by Romanian authorities to stop refugees from Ukraine entering their new regions – Romanian border guards were reported to have arrested and interred or expelled, shot or allowed to drown Jewish refugees from Ukraine attempting to cross into Romania[41] - many did make their way to Romanian territory. At one point it was reported that over 6,000 refugees from Ukraine had reached Czernowitz, and required support from the local Jewish community, which, with the help of international organisations, formed committees to provide aid and assistance.[42]

EMIGRATION AND ZIONIST PIONEERS

Despite the extent of the tragedy which had unfolded in the Ukraine, and the huge effort required to manage its consequences in Czernowitz, the position of Romanian Jews themselves remained a

significant concern, especially for the Zionists. Motivated both by their situation in post-war society and the on-going ideological conviction of Zionism for the creation of a Jewish home in *Eretz Israel*, people movement of another kind gathered momentum from 1919. Known as the Third *Aliyah*, or third wave, this was the emigration of Jews to Palestine, a movement strongly supported in Czernowitz.

Up to 1914, Zionism had failed to win the support of governments in Europe and the Middle East for its re-settlement programs in Palestine. Then the First World War set aside consideration of any other issues for its duration. Migration had occurred unofficially, as the Zionists set up funds to purchase land and settle Jewish migrants on it. Circumstances in eastern Europe led to renewed support for the process again after 1919. There was a strong movement to encourage *Chalutzim* or *Halutzim* - 'pioneers' in Hebrew – to migrate to Palestine to help establish the Jewish homeland there. Given the nature of economic development in Palestine at the time, the focus was on agricultural development and the movement in Czernowitz provided training in farming skills as well as 'spiritual and physical *Hachschara* ('preparation' agricultural training farms) for the new life there.[43] The renewed emphasis on migration to *Eretz Israel* was in part motivated by yet another, third, geopolitical development – the settlement of the question of the government of the post-war Ottoman Middle East.

BRITAIN AND PALESTINE 1917 TO 1923

The contribution of the Jewish community in Britain to the war effort, the need to attract the support of significant Jewish communities in eastern Europe to the Allied cause, and a similar need to win Arab loyalty in the Middle East from the Turks led Britain to pursue potentially clashing paths with regard to the post-war position of Palestine and the 'holy places' of Judaism, Christianity and Islam there. Between 1915 and 1917 several commitments were made about the area. One, the Sykes-Picot agreement, was one of those secret arrangements the Bolsheviks published prematurely. Another such commitment, made on 2 November 1917 in a letter to the Jewish community of Britain, was that the British government 'looked favourably' on the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. This became known as the Balfour Declaration, after its author, and sole signatory (although it was supported by the British War Cabinet), Arthur James Balfour, then British Foreign Secretary. In early 1920 it was decided that Britain would be granted a mandate to administer Palestine under the League of Nations (although the

mandate was not finally endorsed by the League until July 1922),[44] and that the Balfour Declaration would be incorporated into the peace Treaty with Turkey, the successor state to the Ottoman Empire. But Arab opposition to Jewish settlement combined with differing interpretations of what exactly was meant by the declaration gave rise to dispute and disagreement between the British government and the Zionists. The administration in Palestine in 1920 was accused of being 'strangely anti-Zionist', and Britain was accused of unnecessarily restricting Jewish immigration on the spurious base of the limited economic capacity of Palestine to support increased population. Nevertheless, the British policy from at least October 1920 was that 'Jews, whose application is supported by the Zionist organization up to an agreed number, may receive visas from British Consular Officers throughout the world, for admission into Palestine, the Zionist organization accepting responsibility for their accommodation and maintenance in the case of failure to find employment'.[45] Problems in early 1920, particularly riots around the Muslim feast of Nebi Musa, the differing Zionist, British and Arab interpretations of the Declaration and the subsequent Treaties of San Remo conference and the Treaty of Sèvres which incorporated it, and the pressure to do something about the situation of Jews in eastern Europe nevertheless continued to bedevil relations between the British administration and the Zionist organisation which they had agreed would be the avenue for Jewish immigration.[46]

These difficulties and continuing interpretative disagreements aside, British policy remained steady throughout the period in support of the principle of Jewish migration to Palestine.[47] As British Consul in Czernowitz, Cameron was authorised by his government to issue visas for that purpose. In doing so he was continuing the supportive example shown in March 1919 by the then British Consul in Bucharest.[48] The strength of the Zionist movement in Czernowitz and the desperate need of the Ukrainian Jewish refugees both provided strong incentive for him to do so. That he was enthusiastic in this effort is supported by the account of the time of Dr Chaim Ehrlich, writing later in Tel Aviv:

> Much importance was attached to maintaining a good relationship with the English Council (sic) who had his residence in Czernowitz. So spoke Council Cameron, who was a friend of the Zionist cause, at a banquet which took place in November 1921 to celebrating the anniversary of the Balfour Declaration the following empathetic words: 'If I was a Jew and I was 20 years old I couldn't imagine anything more beautiful

and ideal than to go to Palestine as a *Chalutz* [pioneer, early Israeli settler. Plural is *Chalutzim*].[49]

This close, cooperative relationship was appreciated by the Zionist organisation in Bukovina. For some years prior to Cameron's time in Czernowitz a 'Golden Book' (*Sefer Hazahav*) had been maintained by the Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael – Jewish National Fund in Jerusalem, to record contributions to the development of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Among those named in it was Theodor Herzl, and 'an entry in the Golden Book' was regarded as 'a mark of esteem and gratitude'.[50] In January 1924 Cameron's name was inscribed in the 'Golden Book' in recognition of the assistance he provided to the Zionist cause. The sponsor was the Zionist Organisation of Bukovina and the particular reason for it was 'his activity on behalf of Palestine immigration while in charge of the British Consulate in Czernovitz'.[51]
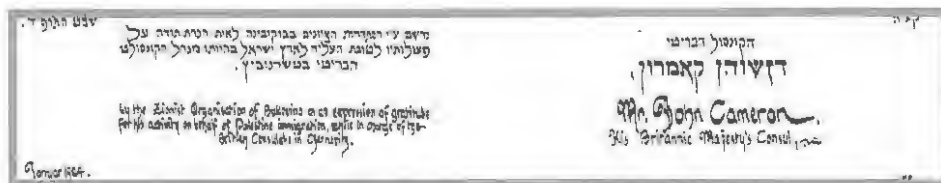
This description of Cameron's contribution is broad, perhaps sufficiently so to disguise a more 'pimpernel-esque' contribution in support of Jewish refugees under imminent threat in Ukraine – the Scarlet Pimpernel in Baroness Orczy's tale crossed into Republican France to rescue victims from the shadow of the guillotine – but the available record suggests that Cameron was simply doing his consular duty.

CONCLUSION

This outline of her brother's career and its circumstances in the early 1920s supports the overall tenor of Dame Mary's account. John Alexander Cameron was a member of the British Consular service from 1917 until his retirement in 1933; he did serve in Czernowitz in the period Dame Mary indicates. Czernowitz was close to the fighting in the Russian Civil War, across the border in Ukraine, and there was a significant antisemitic element to the war in this theatre. There was a refugee problem caused by the civil war, particularly for Jews, and the Bukovina Zionist Organisation established a range of organisations to deal with it. John Cameron was a supporter of those efforts and enjoyed good relations with the Jewish community in Czernowitz.

But there are discrepancies in the detail of Dame Mary's account. She was correct to emphasise the 'Czarist' (White) forces as the most guilty of mass murder, though not Tsarist Russia, which had ceased to exist by 1918. She also may not have been accurate in describing their methods. There is no reference in either contemporary Western newspapers or academic literature to mass graves of the kind Dame Mary describes. Where mention is made of Jews being forced to dig mass graves, it was to bury those already killed.[52] Mass executions beside graves dug by the victims have been more closely associated with the Second World War. Dame Mary, by her own account aware from childhood of antisemitism in her own community, in ascribing these methods to the Whites, may, in 1949, be confusing accounts of terrible atrocities from different times.[53]

This use of events and characters with which her family were sometimes very loosely associated to exaggerate or emphasise the family contribution occurs not only with regard to the Ukrainian pogroms. In her obituary Dame Mary states her brother, when a journalist in Coolgardie in Western Australia, 'helped in getting the famous water supply to the goldfields there'. Yet, the pipeline was commissioned in 1896 while up to the end of 1895 at least Cameron was still a schoolteacher at Exeter in New South Wales (his resignation took effect in February 1896).[54] By May 1897 Cameron was being described as a Perth, rather than a Coolgardie, journalist.[55] Dame Mary also states that when a war correspondent in South Africa in 1900 her brother was invited by the opposing Boer forces to attend the funeral service and burial of another correspondent killed when caught in an engagement between the two sides. Other sources indicate Cameron was led to the grave site only after the burial, and did not attend any ceremony.[56] Again, Dame Mary wrote that Cameron worked for a time on the *Freeman's Journal* in Dublin in the early 1900s, when the editor was Dwyer-Grey, who later became a Tasmanian politician and Premier. However, Dwyer-Grey had left the *Freeman's Journal* in the mid-1890s and was resident in Tasmania by the time Cameron would have been in Ireland.[57]

While such examples bring some of Dames Mary's assertions into question, there is little doubt that, for his part, Cameron was both willing and able to provide support to the Bukovina Zionist Organisation, issuing visas that enabled emigrants to travel from Romania on to Palestine and possibly other destinations, including Australia. However, this was official British government policy, and, to that extent Cameron was simply doing his job. There is no indication Cameron took matters into his own hands and went into Ukraine to bring people back across the border, or that he rescued specific individuals from imminent death (which is the implication of

the Pimpernel reference). He was perhaps enthusiastic in his support for, and cooperation with, the Bukovina Zionist organisation, but there is no evidence that he 'surreptitiously' saved the lives of 500 people at a time as a result of his direct intervention. The balance of those who were granted visas between refugees from pogroms and Bukovina locals emigrating to Palestine as 'pioneers' is also unclear, because of the revived post-war push for emigration to *Eretz Israel* among Zionists around this time. The balance between refugees and local pioneers can perhaps only be established through the migration records of the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem, which have not yet been studied for this purpose.[58]

In the end, Dame Mary's account of her brother's time in Czernowitz, in the overall impression it gives and in its time frames, is accurate. However, there may be a significant element of hyperbole, particularly in the Pimpernel reference. Nevertheless, it remains true that Cameron's support for the Jewish community and the Zionist Organisation was appreciated by them and recognised in the best way then open – shortly after he left Czernowitz for his next posting his name appeared in the Golden Book in Israel, and remains there to this day.[59]

ENDNOTES

1. ScotlandsPeople.gov.uk, register number 232, 1949.
2. W.H. Wilde, 'Gilmore, Dame Mary Jean (1865 - 1962)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1983), Volume 9, pp. 14-16.
3. W.H. Wilde, *Courage a Grace. A Biography of Dame Mary Gilmore* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1988), pp. 437ff. For one 'fabrication' see Les Hetherington, 'History and Recollection: the death of Daniel Boon', *Murrumbidgee Ancestor*, No. 52, January 1997, pp. 10-13.
4. *Wagga Wagga Daily Advertiser*, 31 August 1949. Elements of the story of John Cameron's life were also included in a letter Dame Mary wrote dated 17 December 1932 – see W.H. Wilde and T.Inglis Moore, *Letters of Mary Gilmore* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1980), p. 95
5. Wilde, op. cit., p 437.
6. *The Foreign Office List and Diplomatic and Consular Year Book for 1934* (London: Harrison and Sons, Ltd, 1934), p. 189.
7. Paul W. Doerr, *British Foreign Policy 1919-1939* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1998), p. 138.
8. *The Times* (London), 8 January 1915.
9. *The Foreign Office List and Diplomatic and Consular Year Book for 1934* indicates Cameron's position at Schaffhausen was temporary and the post closed in January 1919; for the role of the post, see UK National Archives, FO383/381 and 397.
10. *Scheme for the Reform and Development of the Consular and Commercial Diplomatic Services*, March 1919, UK National Archives, CAB24/5 (G243/82), p. 317.

11. According to Hugo Gold, ed, *History of the Jews in Bukovina*, Tel Aviv, 1958 (volume 1) and 1962 (volume 2), translation project coordinator Jerome Silverbush, accessed at http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/bukowinabook/Bukowina.html (hereafter Gold), the Jews of Bukovina and Czernowitz were very Germanised and held political positions until the 1890s as members of the Germau liberal party, not as Zionists or Jewish nationalists. German continued to be the language of political discourse among Zionist Bukovinan Jews; Zionist leader Dr Mayer Ebner's German-language newspaper, *Ostjudische Zeitung*, (1919 to 1938) was reportedly the chief Zionist organ in the region (see also http://czernowitz.ehpes.com/czernowitz8/ebner/ebner-bio.html). For the loyalty of the Jewish community to the Austrian Empire as a polity in which their identity as Jews did not conflict with their identity as German-speaking Austrians, see, for example, Marsha L. Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna 1867-1914. Assimilation and Identity* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), pp. 154-55 and 'The Jews of Germany and Austria: A Comparative Perspective', in Robert S. Wistrich, ed, *Austrians and Jews in the Twentieth Century: From Franz Joseph to Waldheim* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1992), pp. 5-9. 'Everyone was loyal to the Kaiser', wrote William O. McCagg Jr, in *A History of Habsburg Jews, 1670-1918* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989), p. 173, despite the rise of Austrian anti-Semitism from the 1880s.

12. Prof Dr Herman Sternberg, 'On the history of the Jews in Czernowitz', in Gold, op. cit., volume 2, pp. 27ff.

13. Albert Lichtblau and Michael John, 'Jewries in Galicia and Bukovina, in Lemberg and Czernowitz: Two Divergent Examples of Jewish Communities in the Far East of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy', in Sander L. Gilman and Milton Shain, editors, *Jewries at the Frontier. Accommodation, Identity, Conflict* (University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago, 1999), p. 57.

14. Marsha L. Rozenblit, 'Sustaining Austrian "National" Identity in Crisis. The Dilemma of the Jews in Habsburg Austria, 1914-1919', in Pieter M. Judson and Marsha L. Rozenblit, eds, *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005), p 180 and Dr Arie Leon Schmelzer, ' History of the Jews in the Bukowina *1849-1914)', in Gold, op. cit., volume 1, pp. 67ff.

15. *Scheme for the Reform and Development of the Consular and Commercial Diplomatic Services*, March 1919, UK National Archives, CAB24/5 (G243/82), p. 317; in future *Scheme for Reform*.

16. See *Bukovina Handbook Prepared under the Direction of the Historical Section of the British Foreign Office*, London, February 1919 (at www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/bukovina/Bukovina.html), pp. 23, 26; and *The Times*, 11 August 1922 and 14 October 1924.

17. *The Times*, 11 August 1922 and 14 October 1924.

18. *Scheme for Reform*, CAB24/5 (G243/82), p. 317

19. *Scheme for Reform*, CAB24/5 (G243/82), p. 317

20. Doerr, op. cit, summarised from pages 15, 31-32, 49 and 66-67.

21. See Joseph Rothschild, *East Central Europe between the Two World Wars* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1974), pp. 281-85.

22. Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building, and Ethnic Struggle, 1918-1930* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 49.
23. Rothschild, op. cit., pp. 286, 288.
24. See *The Foreign Office List and Diplomatic and Consular Year Book for 1934*; Cameron departed Czernowitz on 10 December 1923 and the post was closed on 8 February 1924. While the Whites were defeated in the Ukraine by the end of 1920, the Bolshevik and anarchist confrontation continued through 1921. These circumstances do not necessarily imply Cameron was working for British intelligence – the Foreign Office was ill-disposed to its consuls becoming actively involved in intelligence, and while Bucharest and Romania became a focus for British anti-Soviet intelligence activity, this seems to have occurred late in Cameron's time there and not to have been associated with him. See Keith Jeffery, *MI6. The History of the Secret Intelligence Service 1909-1949* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010).
25. See, for example, Melbourne's *Argus*, 15 April 1944, which headlined an article marking the Russian occupation of Bukovina by calling it 'A Small Country of Mixed Population, It Has Handled Minorities in [a] Model Manner'. Anna Reid, in *Borderland: A Journey Through the History of Ukraine* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999), p. 94, wrote of Czernowitz's 'rainbow' and 'heterogeneous' population 'that gave it flavour' – Jews, Armenians, Hutsul peasants, Swabians and Gypsies – 'a dozen different nationalities' that 'used to fill its streets' and markets.
26. Lichtblau and John, op. cit., p. 52.
27. See Carl E. Schorske, 'Politics in a New Key: An Austrian Trio', in *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna. Politics and Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), pp. 116-180.
28. For an account of Herzl's conversion and of the changing atmosphere in Austrian politics with regard to the Jewish community, see Schorske, ibid.
29. Lichtblau and John, op. cit., p. 53.
30. See Rothschild, op. cit., pp. 288-297 and Livezeanu, op. cit., pp 87, 78. The Jewish community view is expressed in Dr Manfred Reifer, 'History of the Jews in Bukowina (1919-1944)', in Gold, op. cit., volume 2, pp.27ff.
31. *The Times*, 15 March 1920.
32. Peter Kenez, 'Pogroms and White Ideology in the Russian Civil War', in John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza, eds, *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 293.
33. Klier and Lambroza, ibid, p. 292.
34. Kenez, op. cit., pp. 299-302.
35. Bolshevik official opposition to antisemitism did not imply support for Jewish religious or cultural observance which contradicted their desire to create a New Soviet Man free from such capitalist power constructs.
36. The involvement of nationalist and anarchist troops in the pogroms is contested and indiscipline rather than tolerance by senior officers is given as the reason for atrocities that did occur. Petliura and Makhno both issued proclamations condemning attacks on Jewish communities.
37. For the pogroms in Ukraine during the Civil War, in addition to Klier and Lambroza, see W. Bruce Lincoln, *Red Victory – A History of the*

Russian Civil War, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989), pp 317ff; and Orlando Figes, *A People's Tragedy. The Russian Revolution 1891-1924* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1996), pp. 670-679. According to Oleg Budnitskii, in 'Jews, Pogroms and the White Movement', *Kritika*, 2 (4), 1-23, Fall 2001, the number of deaths was between 50,000 and 200,000, with tens of thousands more maimed, raped and robbed. Jewish analyses of the pogroms can be found at http://www.zionism-israel.com/dic/Russian_Civil_War_pogroms.htm and http://www.zionism-israel.com/dic/pogrom.htm.

38. Budnitskii, ibid.
39. *The Times*, 17 September 1923.
40. The pogroms associated with the Russian Civil War were reported in the Australian press at the time, though in only limited detail. See for example, the Adelaide *Advertiser*, 13 October 1919, the Hobart *Mercury*, 29 March 1920 and the Melbourne *Argus*, 9 July 1921.
41. *American Jewish Year Book* – Events in Romania in 5861 (1920-21), pp. 203-205.
42. Reifer, op. cit. Also Dr Chaim Ehrlich, 'About the Characteristics of the Zionist Movement in Bukovina Between the Two World Wars (Sidelights)', in Gold, op. cit., volume 2, pp. 133ff.
43. Reifer, ibid.
44. *Times*, 26 July 1922.
45. Statement in Parliament by the British Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, reported in *The Times*, 28 October 1920. For the Balfour Declaration see R J Q Adams, *Balfour: The Last Grandee* (London: John Murray, 2007), pp.331-335; for an example of the accusations that the administration was 'anti-Zionist', *see The Times*, 27 April 1920, p. 17.
46. See the 1922 British White Paper on Palestine – widely available, for example on avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/mideast.asp. For an Australian dimension to international pressure to accommodate Jews from eastern Europe in Palestine, see reports on the visit of Israel Cohen, 'Special envoy to Australasia from the Zionist Organization in London', in *The Argus* and the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 August 1920.
47. See, for example, statements in the *Times*, 12 May 1920, 2 April 1921 and 8 May 1924.
48. *American Jewish Year Book 5679* (1918 to 1919), entry for 28 March 1919.
49. Ehrlich, in Gold, op. cit., pp. 133ff.
50. See the website of the Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael – Jewish National Fund at http://www.kkl.org.il.
51. Permission to reproduce the entry in the *Golden Book* was kindly provided by the Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael in Jerusalem, through the auspices of the Jewish National Fund of Australia.
52. See Lincoln, op. cit., p. 321
53. See the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 March 1938, for an account of an address by Dame Mary to the Australasian Conference of Jewish Women in which she recalled 'the disgust of other children when I played with Jews at school'.
54. New South Wales State Records, Education Department, Teachers' Roll, volume 5, page 774.
55. *The West Australian*, 29 May 1897.
56. See, for example, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 February 1900 (which

refers only to 'a Western Australian correspondent') and R.L. Wallace, *The Australians at the Boer War* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial and Australian Government Publishing Service, 1976), pp. 108-09 which does not mention Cameron at all; there may have been some confusion as another of the visitors to the grave was a Tasmanian officer also named Cameron.

57. See R.P. Davis, 'Dwyer-Grey, Edmund John Chisholm (1870-1945)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1981), Volume 8, pp 390-391, which states that after 1898 Dwyer-Grey had 'severed his direct connexion with Ireland' and had settled in Tasmania.

58. Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, email 11 March 2010.

59. In relation to Cameron's later career, it is interesting to note that his next posting was to Detroit, in the USA, where Dame Mary states he became friends with Henry Ford. This was at a time when Ford was involved in a highly publicised court case deriving from his antisemitism (see David L. Lewis, *The Public Image of Henry Ford. An American Folk hero and His Company* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1976, pp 138-147). Cameron's subsequent, and last, posting was to Danzig, just when the National Socialists were gaining political strength and, ultimately, in 1933, political power.

FAMILY FOOTSTEPS IN FREMANTLE

Hilary Silbert

Forty years ago the iconic Barney Silbert's Shoe Store merged with the Cecil Brothers Shoe empire. Things had come full circle from the beginnings in 1892, when the Breckler Brothers began a boot business in Fremantle. This merger reunited the two businesses initially run through two sisters: Fanny Breckler (nee Masel) and Minnie Silbert, and their husbands. The story of Barney Silbert, his wife Minnie, her sister Fanny, and his sons Keith and Eric, has contributed much to Fremantle and Perth's rich history.

We must first go back to the 1890s, the Swan River Colony's gold boom decade. The *Daily News*[1] of 7 October 1892 ran an advertisement announcing the commencement of business for the Brecklers - Yoel and Woolf.

WANTED KNOWN!

WANTED KNOWN!

WANTED KNOWN!

WANTED KNOWN.—That Breckler Bros., Boot and Shoe Makers have started Business in Fremantle. Hand Sewn and Revitted Boots and Shoes made to order. Repairs neatly and punctually executed. First-class workmanship guaranteed. A trial solicited. Remember the address, Breckler Bros., next door to O. & M. Luber, Clothiers, opposite the Town Hall, Fremantle.   3092

Yoel and Woolf Breckler had arrived from Russia via England. Yoel, having served four years' military service in Russia, was to do a second term for the third brother, Morris, who had gone into hiding, but they fled to England to a distribution centre for displaced people, including their cousin, Gustus Luber. He left for Fremantle and encouraged the four brothers, including the youngest, Myer, to join him.[2]

Many Jewish families, including those in this story, had every reason to leave Europe. There were *pogroms* (massacres), serious discrimination and compulsory Russian national service. After 1827 they were allowed to emigrate. They willingly exchanged life in the area known as The Pale of Settlement, which extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea, for an uncertain future in which they could at least use their skills. The most common trade was clothing; others went into boot making, food preparation and cabinet making. They all spoke Yiddish, the language of the ghetto.[3]

The brothers arrived in Fremantle, leaving their father, Yehoshua. Their mother, Chana, had died giving birth to Myer. Yoel, aged 28, and Woolf, 23, were boot makers. Their first Australian outlet was on the corner of High and William Streets, Fremantle, where they stayed until 1903. Significantly, a business neighbour was Joseph Masel and Son.[4] Five years later, in 1897, Yoel, now 33, married Joseph and Bella's oldest daughter and second child, Fanny (Feigel) Masel, 20, in one of the earliest wedding ceremonies at Perth's synagogue. Yoel and Fanny lived first in Fremantle but by 1905 had moved to Perth. Another Breckler-Masel wedding connected the families. In September 1898 Woolf married Eva (Chave) Masel.

In 1912 Yoel died, leaving 35-year-old Fanny with four children: Vera 14, Alec 12, Cecil 10 and Minnie 5. Fanny was well able to run a business, having worked for her father before marrying. Now she had to prove herself, moving back to Fremantle to run the shop. Vera ran the home in Swanbourne Terrace. The oldest son, Alec, should have stayed at school but managed to avoid the truant officer so he could work for his Uncle Barney Silbert, who had married Fanny's younger sister, Minnie.

Fanny concentrated on shoes and by 1915 had left Fremantle and opened Dainty Walk Shoe Arcade in central Hay Street, Perth. Sister Minnie and her husband Barney had already joined the business, Minnie having had a shop at 94 High Street, Fremantle, from her engagement. She imported white china from Japan and painted it for sale.[5] Barney and Minnie may have paid Fanny for Barney Silbert's Shoe Store, using the gold coin dowry. They built up the business in size and product until there were five departments, the sons adding branches. Fifty-six years later the business was to come full circle by merging back with the cousins.

BARNEY'S BACKGROUND

Barney, born Berel, was the youngest of four children of an arranged marriage between Jacob and Rachel Trinovsky. He was born in Bialystok, Russia, in 1886 and educated at a Jewish school to the age

of 14. He then worked in a textile factory to earn the fare to Fremantle.[6] Three years later, in May 1903, he left the German port of Bremen on the *Karlsruhe*.[7] He was 17 and spoke only Yiddish, but during the six-week voyage apparently learnt English from an Italian passenger. In Fremantle he joined his sister Fanny, who in 1900 had married her uncle, Abraham Silbert, and settled in Ord Street. Barney lived with his brother Solomon, who had also migrated to Australia.

How did Berel become Barney? Family folklore says that on arrival he was told that with a name like Berel he would need to be able to run or fight. So when he asked the Irish official what name he should have, the response was 'Barney'.

His first job was as a labourer for his uncle, Abraham, who owned Silbert and Sharp, Fruiterers. Abraham had arrived in 1886, aged 22, in the Colony of Victoria. Barney's naturalisation papers in 1906 state his occupation as fruit packer.[8] He was also a keen sportsman — a roller skater, sailed a yacht named *Vera* and rowed at Fremantle Rowing Club.

MEETING MINNIE MASEL

The woman he would eventually marry, Minnie Masel, was, as we have shown, the youngest daughter of Bella and Joseph. Minnie or Chaie Masel was born in December 1886. Joseph had gone to Adelaide ahead of his family. In October 1889, his wife left Bremen for Adelaide on the *Hohenzollern*, accompanied by her daughters, Fanny (10), Eva, Lena, Esther (Pese) and Minnie, sons Esau and Henry (Hirsch), and by Joseph's brother, Chaim Masel. The ship's manifest lists the nine Masels as 'British' and travelling steerage as 'labourers and domestics', even though they were Russian and included seven children aged between four and twelve.[9]

The family lived in Adelaide until 1893 when Joseph and Bella, their children and Joseph's brother and sister all moved to Fremantle. Minnie, known to her family as *Minox*, was educated at Loreto Convent and Princess May School. Her education in the widest sense was continued when in 1910 she was taken on a business trip to Europe, including Antwerp and Paris, with her father, a diamond buyer for Perth firms Levinsons, Stewart Dawson and Caris Brothers. Joseph was a champion chess player and while in France won competitions.

MARRIAGE

On 5 March 1913 Barney Silbert, storekeeper of 94 High Street, Fremantle, son of Jacob Sholam Silbert, 'retired gentleman' and

*Wedding group from the marriage of Esau Masel to Leah Cohen
13 October, 1897.
Back row L to R: Joseph Masel, Bella Masel, bride and groom,
Fanny Breckler (Masel) Yoel Breckler.
Front row L to R: Minnie, Lena, Henry, Eva and Esther Masel*

Tamarah Rachel Trinkovski, married Minnie Masel, daughter of
Joseph Masel, storekeeper, and Bella Kabuk.[10] In fact Minnie was in
business in High Street but as was the custom, it was registered as
Barney Silbert.

Their first home was 75 Solomon Street, Beaconsfield. In 1914
they bought land on the south side of Ellen Street from Mrs Alice
Pearse and by 1920 had built a federation home at No. 74. Barney
convinced Fremantle Council to allow him an 80 foot frontage and
3/8ths of an acre. Today the home exists as No. 55. The house was
surrounded by an English garden of citrus trees, dahlias, grapes,
arum lilies, jasmine, black-eyed Susan, German lilac, and 100 roses
from Newman's Nursery.[11] There was a view of the port from the
verandah. Less pleasant was the sound of inmates in the nearby
asylum. Opposite was Western Australia's biggest playing field,
Fremantle Oval, which included Fremantle Croquet Club and the
bowling and tennis clubs.

Keith, their first born, was three when they moved in and in 1922 Eric was born in the front room. During World War II the home was requisitioned by the United States Navy, and Minnie and Barney moved to Nedlands, though they did not sell the Fremantle house until 1946. They bought land further down their street to build the Ellen Court flats that became the last set of approvals granted during the war for private dwellings.

MINNIE AS AN ADULT

Both Barney and Minnie were well known in Fremantle business and sports communities. She was on the committee of Fremantle Ladies Croquet Club. In four years of playing she won the novice championship, B grade State championship and in 1927 was A grade champion of the Fremantle Club.[12] She won first prize for mixed fours at East Fremantle Bowling Club; was the first secretary of the Fremantle Ladies' Bowling Club; and was in the 1938 Fremantle Women's Bowls A Grade pennant team.[13] Minnie was also an accomplished musician. She was first violinist in the Fremantle and Perth Symphony Orchestra and gave many performances in Fremantle Town Hall.[14] She also played golf and chess and was a prolific reader, being a member of the Fremantle Literary Institute.

BARNEY AS AN ADULT

Barney could walk across the road to Fremantle Bowling Club, which he joined probably in 1919. He was in the team that toured New South Wales in 1931 and also won the Glick Trophy in 1935. From 1939 he belonged to Nedlands Bowling Club for 15 years until he died. The obituary in the Nedlands Bowling newsletter described him as 'a stalwart in play and splendid worker in club executive positions'[15] Barney also contributed to other areas of public life besides sport. He was a member of the original Fremantle Businessmen's Association in 1919 as Treasurer[16] and a Trustee and Foundation Member of the Fremantle Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes in 1939.[17] In 1924 he joined the executive of the Ugly Men's Voluntary Workers Association of Western Australia, which had been formed in 1917 to help families who had lost breadwinners in World War I.[18]

In June 1937, following the arrival of the first escapees from Nazi Germany, Barney joined the new West Australian branch of Australian Jewish Welfare Society. His son Eric was also involved with migration decades later.[19] In 1946 Barney was involved with the Advance Fremantle Association with son Keith.[20] He was one of the

first people in the metropolitan area with a car, a Willey's Overland Tourer number 124, which he already drove as an ambulance during World War I.[21] His sense of humour is clear from this tribute to him:

Ode to Barney Silbert, 1930s

Everyone knows Barney Silbert,
from the city to the port,
And they all agree that Barney
is a jolly decent sort;
If you enter his emporium
you'll always find him in,
And you'll always find him ready,
too, a breezy yarn to spin.
You'll observe his genial features
cast in Israelitish style,
In keeping with his temper,
wear a most good-humoured smile,
And you'll never hear him croaking
if in trade there is a lull –
For there's nothing in the universe
that could make Barney dull.[22]
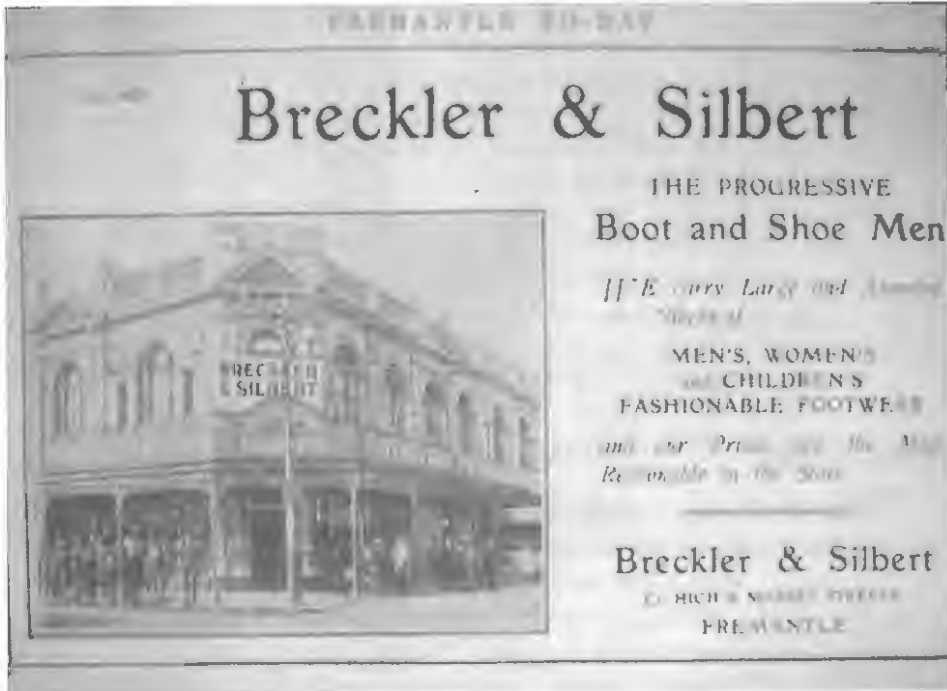
A letter from Palestine, addressed: The Jewish Community, Fremantle, was delivered to Barney.[23] However, it was not always 'good-humoured smiles'. Antisemitic feelings in 1938 were such that Stan Perry, the District Governor of Rotary, requested that Solomon Street in Fremantle change its name because it lowered property values. The irony was that his wife was Jewish.[24]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BUSINESS

In 1913, when Minnie and Barney started work at the corner store, Herb Oxbrow, a local identity, established Pellews, a family owned business, across the road in Fremantle. This was four years after Frank Gibson opened Gibson's Pharmacy. These three were believed to be the oldest shops still operating in Fremantle as stated in the *Daily News* in its fifty-fifth anniversary feature in 1968[25] Minnie was closely involved in the business, serving in the store for many years and looking after the sales side during World War II when her sons were away in the services. Eric believed his mother worked because she liked it. 'Without doubt she enjoyed the business world and didn't like housekeeping.'[26]

According to the Fremantle trade directories, by 1915-16 the

occupier of the corner of High and Market Streets was Breckler and Silbert, with the owner listed as Alfred Julian Manning and Florence Augustus Hall. The address was 131 High Street. The occupier of the Perth City shop that Fanny managed was also listed as Breckler and Silbert until 1921. The 1920-1 Fremantle rates list Fanny Breckler and Barney Silbert as the occupiers, this being the first mention of Barney by name. This was the longest running tenancy between Silbert and Manning, with one landlord, according to Ian Sanderson.[27]

The Breckler and Silbert Emporium, 1913

Business expansion was reflected in newspaper advertisements and articles.[28]

The shop grew and occupied 109-113 High Street, Fremantle. From 1926 to1928 the business was referred to as Barney Silbert's Boot and Shoe Emporium. In 1927 Barney Silbert bought out D.P. Sullivans' menswear store, another local business, which became the men's and boys' clothing department and extended the Silbert business from footwear to clothing.

The 1930s were an interesting period and Barney's sense of humour is seen in some of the advertisements: 'dyeing', 'fire sale No'...and 'for Sensible Mothers'.[29] We also learn that in October 1931 Barney travelled to the eastern states and bought stock. The December newspapers announce a new Ladies Department.

1933 saw the Silberts expand up High Street by buying out a hardware store with the women's shoe department moved to this site.[30] They also purchased the bankrupt stock. The business survived the Depression despite operating at a loss for three years, according to Eric.[31] The next step, in 1936, took in Maxwell's stationers that became the Barney Silbert's children's department. By 1938 articles in the *Fremantle Advocate* highlight the Silbert expansions and announce: 'Confidence in Fremantle'. On 4 November came 'a new era in shopping – the special opening of the extended and modernised emporium'. All departments increased in size: 'The new men's and boys' mercery and clothing departments are a revelation of an irresistible attraction. It is now three times its original size and covers over 5,300 square feet.'[32]

By 1939-40 the trade directory entries listed the business as 'boot & shoe merchants and boot & shoe repairers'.[33] In 1951 the Fremantle rate books – the first to be typed rather than handwritten – record Eric Silbert as the contact person for Barney Silbert's. The former billiard hall upstairs was used for receiving goods and was added in 1961. By the fiftieth anniversary in 1963 the claim was made that the store was four times the original area with a staff of 28. On this special birthday the business gave itself a thoroughly well deserved pat on the back with a feature article:

> *Thanks to Store Staff for a Fine Public Image*
> A firm's image depends very largely on its staff. It is through the staff with such long service that we are able to project our policy of "friendly service because we care".
> "Longest serving is Mr Ken Wilson, controller of the men's shoes department since 1935. (32 years) Mrs Vi Cruickshank, the administration secretary (31 years) and 21 years John (Jack) Keenan – coordinator of the branches and controls the women's and children's shoes.[34]

BARNEY BOWLS A WINNER

Barney's passion for lawn bowls gave him an idea on sports attire. He suggested to a major manufacturer. Sargood and Gardener, they make a sleeveless pullover. 'They thought it was just another one of Dad's funny ideas,' Eric recalls. 'Nevertheless they sewed him a cardigan and left the sleeves off – forerunner to the slip-on. Dad's shop sold cream ones to bowling mates. Sargood and Gardener added edging for smartness, producing samples in navy blue and other colours. Fremantle had produced a world first.[35] Barney's influence was spreading:

Mr. Barney Silbert, one of Fremantle's popular bootmen who had his "annual" at Mandurah recently, is enthusiastic regarding the well-patronised holiday place and its people. Mr Silbert lays great stress on the wonderful condition of the road to Mandurah, which he says can be reached in 65 minutes from Fremantle. During his stay at the seaside resort Mr Silbert acted as a Fremantle boomster, and he is confident that his efforts will bring much business to Fremantle.[36]

Thirty years later, the press was still writing about Barney's unique approach at Barney Silbert's shoe shop:

Friendly service is the keynote of Barney Silbert's. This well-developed use of the personal touch is mainly a result of the late Silbert Senior's own remarkable personality. Many of Fremantle's older residents can remember the times when they went to the Silbert store to buy a pair of shoes – and stayed for unscheduled hours listening to his stories.[37]

THE NEXT GENERATION

Eric, born in July 1922, always knew he would go into the family business. He would drop into the shop after school at Christian Brothers College, Ellen Street. At 17, in 1939, he joined brother Keith, who had joined five years previously, at the same age, after completing schooling at Perth Modern School. Eric wrote:

It was a smart young businessman who commenced work in his new three-piece navy suit and felt hat. This was the essential dress of anyone engaged in commercial enterprise... the minimum standard. I had a new image with a white two-collar fashion shirt; colours were not even available ...and twenty-two inch cuff bottom trousers really identified me as a young retailer.[38]

As Keith had concentrated on footwear, Eric was pleased to work in clothing:

My first chore each morning was to hang out the sticks and racks and flog them. A flogger was made of discarded ends of tailor's cloth attached to a round stick. The display methods in this era were above and between the windows and in doorways. The goods were hung so the public could touch, or see at close hand, the merchandise. They were put out for the day, ticketed, dusted and secured and made to look attractive.[39]

Pre-war clothing fashion changed very little. Silbert and Co sold men's underwear - athletic singlets for the young, and woollen, fleecy or brushed cotton half sleeve, for older customers, with long or short underpants. For Fremantle's many industrial workers there was grey flannel. Oxford cloth shirts in grey or black stripes on white, a grey flannel without a collar, cotton tweed trousers, bib and brace overalls plus aprons and cloth caps.[40]

Felt hats were in fashion and in 1939 the 'porkpie' shape had emerged – circular and not dented at the front or back. They were stacked in sixes and Eric had to learn to shape them correctly, brush the rabbit fur the right way and show the customer how to wear them. Socks were heavy black or grey, and black cashmere for military uniforms. Braces kept up trousers, which all had side straps and button fly. Sports trousers were either silver grey melange or the new colour, light fawn. For Fremantle's young fashion conscious males of the day, there were naval trousers with bell bottoms and drop front flaps. Arm bands were an essential article and there were front and back studs for separate collars, black silk armbands for mourners. No one would go to a funeral without a black tie. Men's swimwear was essentially knitted wool and usually black. Silbert's sold wool half-skirt trunks and a range of light cotton for competitors – these still full-length by competition regulations. The most popular men's shoes were patent leather elastic sided pumps, in either black or brown in calf or kid, Oxford style or Derby. All sales were wrapped in brown paper from rolls and tied with string attached to the ceiling.

As soon as Eric turned 17 and had a driver's licence he drove the Nash, one of Barney's cars, to Perth on Tuesdays. Removing the back seat enabled him to transport 200 empty boxes tied up in dozens for credit. He later wrote:

> The shop was rather quaint. The store and windows were lit by incandescent lights but we still retained gas lamps in case of a power failure. Posts held up the verandah in front of all shops; window dressing was crowded and basic with little artistic effort. Trams noisily passed and turned at regular intervals. The neighbouring shop was Coles and previously, the Majestic Picture Theatre, complete with a good looking French spruiker called Maurice.[41]

World War II brought great change. All businesses had to board up windows. Keith was in the army for the entire war. Eric joined the RAF when he was old enough. He recorded his religion as Church of England, and second name as Adrian instead of Abraham, in case he

was shot down. He was in England when Prime Minister John Curtin died in 1945 and had the honour of being invited to the memorial service at Westminster Abbey.[42]

Former staff member Betty Jarvis recalls Barney offering to supply champagne when the war was over. This promise was kept and drunk out of the oddment crockery/glassware available in the store! Betty was a young girl at the time and had never tasted it before. She also told of the other girls making holes in a shoe box before going to Coles for ice cream cones and carrying them back concealed to hopefully be eaten before a customer had to be served! And she believed Mrs Silbert knew exactly what they were doing![43]

AFTER THE WAR

In 1946 Keith and Eric, who had not seen each other for three years, returned to work. Barney, now 60, took the opportunity to retire immediately. He had heart trouble and died eight years later, in March 1954, during the polio scare that coincided with the newly crowned Queen Elizabeth's visit to Western Australia. Minnie died five years later.

All their working life, the brothers travelled together to work in Fremantle. They had separate duties but shared a mezzanine office. Eric dealt with staffing, including casuals taken on in summer. These included a future senior policeman in Hong Kong, lawyers, teachers and two priests, Don Hughes and Brian Gore. Brian was the longest serving of any casual through school and seminary training. Eric and his wife Joan were the only non-Catholics invited to Brian Gore's ordination. For 20 years Keith had lunch at noon and Eric at 1pm at the Boronia Tea Rooms, in Atwell Arcade off High Street Mall. Every Tuesday they visited warehouses and to see the Breckler brothers, Cecil (Keith) and Alec (Eric). Eric was involved with clothing and general office work and Keith, merchandising of footwear and displays. They initially worked at night to do the window dressing, and then employed a full-time window dresser, Ken Allen, uncle of Laurie Packham.

Their office girl, Vi Maloney, who became Mrs Cruickshank on marrying, stayed 30 years. Annual leave was two weeks, salaries were paid each Friday – cash in a yellow envelope. Twice a year the female staff chose the uniform material made into their own design. If particular shoes were needed in the branches near the railway line, they were taken to the guard's van for staff from the other branch to collect at their station.

In the 1950s Russian fishing and whaling ships began visiting Fremantle. Shoes and clothing were in short supply in Russia so the

Eric and Keith Silbert in 1997

crews would buy from Silbert's. Eric remembered that 'Ken Wilson was marvellous with foreign people, without knowing their language – he could communicate with them in ways we couldn't.'[44]

Ken, who says, 'I was almost part of the family,' was the seventh child of a family of nine. The Depression and his father Alexander's poor health meant that in 1935, aged 14, he left school to become shop boy for Barney. He had borrowed shoes for his interview. He described his employer as a good business man and excellent tutor, often kind to him and his family. In 1938 his father died and Barney opened the shop to dress the family for the funeral and paid Ken an extra five shillings a week. Barney decided there was room for two businesses to supply ships, when Jenkins and Co had a monopoly, so Ken was delegated to take samples to the ship to get orders. He joined the Australian Imperial Force in August 1942 and returned to Silberts in April 1946. After marrying he had a flat at the Ellen Street block the Silberts owned.[45]

UNIQUELY BARNEY SILBERT AND CO.

A stock control system helped buying and merchandising, using their own code for cost price of articles. An example of the codes was:

F1 - black fashion shoe
F3 - coloured
F11 - flat sandals[46]

Eric described the new look for men:

> Men's clothing had become very colourful for the very first
> time. It was fascinating to see that within a season or two they
> would follow the women. Who would have thought that our
> tough males would be wearing pillar box red pullovers? This
> had been the ladies' fashion leader two years before. Men's
> clothing did not take long to go to extreme so we opened a new
> section called *Las Vegas Cabana*. It catered for the young who
> wanted way-out pullovers, sport shirts and reversible swim
> trunks. We designed and created a lot ourselves and had them
> exclusively made up. Leopard skin inserts in sleeves,
> exaggerated contrasts and strong colours: all this following
> years of greys, fawns and marls.[47]

However, growing competition in clothing made the brothers opt to
continue only with footwear.

The store became the focal point for rugby in Fremantle as Eric
became involved in re-forming the local club. Silberts also sponsored
East Fremantle and South Fremantle Football Clubs. And in
Fremantle Week there was the Barney Silbert Cup for yachts.[48]

In 1969, when the Garden City Shopping Complex was proposed,
Keith and Eric were approached by Cecil Breckler because there was
a gentlemen's agreement on territorial grounds. The arrangement
was that Barney's would develop south of the river and Brecklers,
the remainder. The phasing out of clothing made it more compatible
to join the two entities. At the time of the discussions with Alec and
Cecil Breckler, Barney Silbert's Shoe Stores had four sites, including
the corner of High and Market Street, Fremantle.

An initial meeting in April led to an offer for the Silbert brothers,
as partners in Barney Silberts, to become shareholders in Cecil
Brothers (Suburban) Proprietary Limited.[49] Keith worked for the rest
of his career as the children's shoe buyer. Eric was 47 and began a
role equivalent to human resources manager. In fact he went on to
create a new life now he was no longer one of just two partners. Both
men became directors ending 30 years, minus the war period, in
which they drove to and from work together and shared the small
mezzanine office overlooking the original shoe shop and lunching
locally in Fremantle. It was only in March 1971 that the corner store
was converted to Betts and Betts. In 1986 the sign 'Barney Silbert's
Corner' was placed on what had long been referred to by that name.[50]
This is a permanent reminder of the earlier history of this corner in
Fremantle.

THE SPIRIT OF BARNEY LIVES ON.

March 1994 saw a reunion of former staff at the Esplanade Reserve, Fremantle. The oldest was Mary Muir (nee Mark) who had joined in 1920. Eric commented: 'The reunion roll-up showed that working at the family-run store was more than just a job to many of the former employees.'[51] One person still works at Betts and Betts to this day.

From Barney to the next generation, it was recognised that the strength of the business was the staff. They were often local to Fremantle and either related or known to the family. There were sisters, father and sons, uncle and niece and marriages amongst staff. Staff even named their children after Silbert children. Forty years after Barney Silberts ceased to exist; former staff are still in contact with each other.

CONCLUSION

From the first day the Russian-born Silbert family arrived in the Swan River Colony, many streets of Fremantle and its metropolitan area have been trodden by people wearing footwear provided by the business their founding father had established. So - what's in a name? – Breckler Bros, Breckler and Silbert, Barney Silbert's Boot Palace, Barney Silbert's Shoe and Clothing Emporium and Barney Silbert's and Co.......gone but not forgotten. Their story is indicative of the contribution made by Jewish migrants to the development of Australia's commercial and business life.

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SEEKING 'TREASURE ISLAND': MANPOWER AND ARMS FROM AUSTRALIA AND THE SOUTH PACIFIC TO ISRAEL, 1948-1950

Suzanne D. Rutland[*]

INTRODUCTION

Between 1948 and 1950, the Zionist leadership in Australia actively worked to secure aeroplanes. arms, and manpower for the newly established state of Israel. *Haganah*/IDF operatives came to Australia to assist in this endeavour but were ultimately unsuccessful, due to the official opposition of the Australian government, the active interference of the Department of External Affairs, and the close monitoring of the Australian security service. This untold story fits into the broader picture of arms deals that started in the United States and spread to other key Diaspora centres. Despite the risks of this undertaking, the relationships between Israel, the Australian government and the Jewish community leadership were not damaged. This present study draws on previously closed archival material from both the National Archives of Australia in Canberra and the Archive of the Israel Defence Force (*Archion Tzahal*),[1] to delineate hereto unknown facets of the Australian Zionist effort.

THE JEWISH STATE'S NEED FOR ARMS

With the end of World War II, the Jewish leadership of the *Yishuv* [the pre-Israel Jewish entity] realised that the creation of a Jewish state would involve a war with its Arab neighbours. From the beginnings of

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modern Zionist settlement activity in the 1880s, tensions had surfaced, resulting in violence between Arabs and Jews in Palestine. In 1920, the Haganah was created as an underground defence force for the Jewish settlements in Palestine, but the Haganah's arsenal of armaments was restricted, and it had neither a navy nor an air force. To overcome these limitations, a unit that was to be responsible for military acquisition, the Arms Acquisition organisation (*Rekhesh* in Hebrew), began its activities in 1945; in 1948 it was taken over by Shaul Avigor. Following a personal appeal by Ben Gurion while he was in the United States in July 1945, a group of American Jews collaborated to provide the essential support structure for the small group of Haganah agents. From 1945 to 1948, they undertook undercover work in the United States and Canada, to acquire not only armaments but also machinery to manufacture small arms in Israel.[2] Other American activities included the recruitment of experienced military volunteers, including airmen and the purchase of military aircraft, which were to be converted ostensibly for civilian purposes and sent to Israel once the State was created.

During the two years before the formation of the State in May 1948 recruiting was also undertaken in other Diaspora countries. In Canada, Major Ben Dunkelman was very successful with his recruitment efforts and over 1500 men and women volunteered from North America to fight in Machal (*Mitnadvai Chutz L'Aretz*–volunteers from outside Israel). Their expertise was very important, particularly for the nascent Israeli Air Force. They were joined by 800 volunteers from South Africa, who formed the largest Diaspora contingent on a *pro rata* basis, largely coordinated by Boris Senior.[3] Others were sent from England, recruited originally by Harry Fredkens,[4] a former RAF bomber pilot, and later by Emmanuel Zur.[5]

Throughout all these activities, those involved put aside questions of legality. One the key operatives of Rekhesh, Munya Mardor, later explained:

> The knowledge that the arms we might succeed in getting through to the Yishuv might well be decisive, drove us to examine even remote possibilities in and all manner of hare-brained suggestions. Every shipment that got through to Palestine and was safely received by the Haganah was a source of renewed vigor for us. . . . There we were, buying arms in strange countries, packing them in fantastic receptacles, and loading them on to foreign ships in foreign ports. We were conspirators, outside the law, and yet obeying what to us was to us was a higher law.

These illegal activities made an important contribution to the Israeli victory in 1948. However, in 1949 the FBI instituted court action against the various illegal projects. In January 1949, one of the American operatives, Charlie Winters, was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment, and in February 1949, Service International Airways was accused of selling aircraft to the Communists. Each of its company members was convicted and fined US$10,000.[7] As a result of these court decisions, *Rekhesh* closed in the United States.

AUSTRALIA-ISRAEL RELATIONS

Under the leadership of its Minister for External Affairs, Dr Herbert Vere Evatt, Australia played a central role in Israel's creation. Australia was one of the eleven nations constituting the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), which recommended either partition or the creation of a unitary state; but in its final vote Australia abstained, on Evatt's instructions. Following this, an Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine was formed, with all the member states of the UN represented. Dr Evatt, who had hoped to become chairman of the UN General Assembly but had been defeated by Dr Oswaldo Aranha of Brazil, was invited to chair the Ad Hoc Committee, which voted on the two proposals on 25 November 1947. While a majority of 25, including Australia, voted for partition, there were 13 against and 17 abstentions including New Zealand and some South American countries. In the intervening four days before the crucial vote at the General Assembly, Evatt requested the United Nations Secretary-General, Trygve Lie, to ask Aranha to persuade the Latin American countries to support partition because, as he urged, 'the choice now is between a complete washout and a positive solution'.[8] A two-thirds majority in favour of partition was required, and each vote was vital. On 29 November, 33 member nations, including Australia, supported Resolution 181, 13 opposed it, and nine abstained. The resolution recommended the creation of two states–Arab and Jewish-with Jerusalem to be under international control. In January 1949, Australia became the first Western nation to grant *de jure* in addition to *de facto* recognition to Israel.[9] Evatt chaired the United Nations General Assembly when Israel was accepted as a member in the same year. There has been much scholarly debate about his position and whether he was truly the 'midwife' of the Jewish state.[10] However, most analysts agree that his idiosyncratic chairmanship of the Ad Hoc Committee was vital in the eventual passage of UN Resolution 181, even though it is arguable whether he acted out of idealism or expediency.[11]

Australia's Zionist leaders played a role in influencing Evatt in

his strong support for the creation of a Jewish state. These included Polish-born Max Freilich, who migrated with his family from Vienna, first to Auckland, New Zealand in 1926 and two years later to Sydney, where he became a successful manufacturer and a key figure in Keren HaYesod and the Zionist Federation. His friend, Horace Bonham Newman, was also closely involved with the Zionist movement in Australia. The two men were stark contrasts–Freilich the foreigner, small of stature, and Newman, the tall Scotsman who in every way appeared very anglicised–yet the two of them worked closely as a team in all their endeavours. Freilich's most significant achievement was his public relations work with the Australian Labor Party in the 1940s. Assisted by Labor activists Abram Landa and Sydney Einfeld,[12] he established a personal friendship with Evatt. Freilich also influenced Peter Fraser, New Zealand Prime Minister, to support United Nations Partition Resolution 181.

THE CASE FOR ACQUISITION

Whilst Australia, together with a number of the countries of the English-speaking world, had supported UN Resolution 181, the country was not prepared to provide military assistance to Israel. One week after the passage of Resolution 181, on 5 December 1947, the United States placed a total embargo on the sale of arms to Jews and Arabs in Palestine. On 15 April 1948, the US introduced a further law prohibiting the export of civilian and military aircraft to the Middle East. Initially, the British decided not to follow suit because 'they had "contractual obligations" to the Arab states',[13] but during the first half of 1948 the British Foreign Office changed its mind. On 29 May 1948, two weeks after five Arab states had declared war and invaded Israel, the UN imposed an embargo, initiated by the British and Americans and directed at all parties involved in the war. Under Evatt's leadership, the Australian government followed suit. The embargo was strictly enforced by the Department of External Affairs, headed by John Burton, who 'even went as far as postponing the export by several Jewish firms and individuals of clothing to Israel unless it was approved by the UN mediator as destined for relief of refugees because "the chances of these items being put to warlike use in equipping Israeli forces are considerable."'[14]

Israel sought to evade the embargo and successfully appealed to Diaspora Jews. In spite of their close association with Dr Evatt, Australian Zionist leaders decided to support Israel in circumventing the embargo. To date, there has been no full investigation of this episode. Zionist leader Max Freilich briefly referred to this story in his memoirs, but denied being directly involved.[15] This position was

understandable, considering that he wrote his memoirs in the late 1960s and was concerned with keeping illegal activities secret. When interviewed in the early 1990s, his son Theodore expressed similar concerns.[16] In his book on Australia-Israel relations, Chanan Reich provides one brief paragraph about the aeroplane purchases in 1948.[17] The three-volume history of the Israeli air force also touches briefly on the topic, but does not refer to the role played by Australian Jewish activists, or the conflicts and tensions that arose relating to issues of Jewish loyalty.[18] In what follows, I shall fill in some of the missing parts of this picture.

The initiative for involvement came from Zionist leaders led by Freilich, who established contact with *Rekhesh* in Rome. The key representative there was Danny Agronsky, son of the founder of the *Palestine Post* (from 1950 the *Jerusalem Post*), Gershon Agronsky. Born in the United States in 1920, Danny Agronsky volunteered in 1939 and fought in the British army and the Jewish Brigade. He worked with Arazi liberating arms from British and Axis dumps in the Western desert; these activities brought him into Rekhesh activities, with his wife, Hassia, also becoming involved. In late 1947 Agronsky was sent to New York, ostensibly to buy printing equipment for the *Jerusalem Post*, but in reality to work with Arazi, who was acquiring arms and aeroplanes in the United States. Agronsky (an aviation enthusiast, according to his son Amos) was then sent to Rome to help coordinate the European activities.[19] His main role was to organise the acquisition of aeroplanes and coordinate the placement of the volunteer pilots arriving from the United States, Canada, England and South Africa.

Following Japan's surrender in August 1945, a significant supply of army equipment, including different types of aeroplanes, was abandoned in Australia and the Pacific area, particularly in New Guinea. A number of Lockheed Hudsons and Lodestars found their way into the hands of Australian businessmen, who transformed them into civilian planes, which were then hired to bring immigrants to Australia. Members of Israel's nascent air force sought to take advantage of this supply.

One type of aeroplane, the VHA RR, was built in Australia; a company called New Holland Airways, which was bringing immigrants from Italy to Australia, purchased these planes after 1945. One of its pilots was Gregory Hanlon, a non-Jewish Australian of Irish descent whose uncle was the factory foreman of Freilich's paper manufacturing company.[20] Through this connection, Hanlon met with Freilich and expressed his willingness to fly planes to Israel. Agronsky arranged to meet Hanlon in Catania, Sicily, in May 1948 before his next trip to Europe, at which meeting Hanlon told

him about a VHA RR plane that was available. Agronsky agreed to buy the plane but to pay for it only when it had safely arrived in Israel. Hanlon returned to Sydney to collect the plane and organise an export licence for it to Italy. He successfully delivered the VHA PR to Agronsky in Catania in June 1948, and from there he flew the plane to Israel. When he arrived in Israel, Hanlon met the commander of the Israeli Air Force, Israel Zlodovsky (Amir) in Haifa, and informed him that an Australian DC5 had been flown to Haifa in early June and was available. The DC5 was purchased on 5 June and was already in use on 6 June. The DC5 was in poor condition and needed constant repairs, but the official history of the Israel Air Force notes that its purchase was fully justified.[21] Australian Jews also raised funds to send needed goods to the Yishuv, including two ships with 5000 bales of fodder, which were seized by the Egyptians at Port Said in early 1948.[22]

A further four planes were sent to Israel. These included a Lodestar flown by Raymond Penny and three Lockheed Hudsons purchased by arrangement with Levi Eshkol, who agreed to pay £10.000 per plane. The Australian Department of External Affairs later interviewed one of the Australian non-Jewish pilots involved, A. J. Hurst. He stated that Southern European Transport, registered in Sydney in the name of George Marcel, a non-Jewish pilot who had served in the RAAF, owned two of the Hudsons; these left for Israel in February/March 1949, one flown by Penny and the other by Marcel.[23] According to Hurst, Guinea Air Traders delivered a third Hudson in February 1949 on charter to the Israeli government.[24] In fact from the evidence available, it seems as if Hurst himself may have been the pilot who delivered this third Lockheed Hudson for Guinea Air Traders, flying it from London to Israel. When interviewed by security officers, Marcel at first claimed that Service International Airways had chartered his two planes, but on further questioning he stated that SIA was negotiating to purchase the planes.[25] All financial transactions went through Max Freilich and the pilots sometimes had to wait some weeks to receive payment.[26]

It is difficult to ascertain what motivated non-Jewish pilots to fly planes to Israel; but their motives included being moved by the plight of the Jewish people; anger at the policies of the British Empire; a general anti-imperialist outlook; a belief in the strategic importance of Israel for the Western world; and a sense of adventure.[27] Hanlon's Irish background and a general sense of Australian 'larrikinism' – a characteristic disregard of the law–may have also contributed. The profit motive would have been another factor, as these ex-Australian airmen were paid for bringing the planes to Israel. The fact that Freilich had lost his entire family in Europe during the Shoah may

also have been an influencing factor. Although these Australians flew planes to Israel, they did not actually join the Israeli Air Force,[28] unlike a number of non-Jewish volunteers from other English speaking countries.

Jewish volunteers for Machal were also canvassed in Australia,[29] even though such activities were illegal, since they were contrary to the terms of the UN embargo.[30] The Australian government threatened to withhold the passports of volunteers who went to Palestine to fight on either side.[31] Recruitment activities were considered important as a means 'to raise the morale of Australian Jewry and to incorporate them in the war effort'.[32] Two groups, *HaShurah* and *Hagam*, were established to institute physical training activities for potential recruits.[33] However, the cost and length of the journey from Australia to Israel made it impractical to send large numbers. In January 1948. Theodor 'Teddy' Kollek took over control of the acquisition of arms and ammunition in the United States. He described his role during this period as that of 'the traffic cop. I directed all the moving of these people to and fro'.[34] Clearly this role applied to all of the secret operations, including recruiting personnel for Machal. Writing from the United States, he advised that only experienced soldiers should be selected, but the Israeli *shlichim* in Australia opposed this policy, arguing that young idealistic Zionist volunteers should not be discouraged.[35] In the end a group of about 20 Australians volunteered and travelled to Israel.

In early 1949, after the closure of Rekhesh in the United States, other locations for the illegal purchase of arms were sought. The Israeli Air Force together with Internal Security (Shai) decided to send Agronsky to Australia as an undercover agent, posing as a freelance journalist. In May 1949 he arrived in Sydney where he sought to buy arms in King's Cross, Sydney's 'red light' district. Max Freilich's daughter-in-law, Diana Freilich, an attractive, blue-eyed blond who had married his elder son Theodore in 1946, often accompanied him, acting as a decoy.[36] In his correspondence, Agronsky noted that when he arrived, there were significant debts, as £30,000 had not yet been paid for the goods already delivered to Israel. With assistance from a Keren HaYesod emissary, along with Jewish National Fund emissary Dr Shlomo Lowy, he was able to ensure that all debts were paid.[37] He also wrote that 'in contrast to my preliminary pessimism, when I arrived I found a treasure of goods', and that the problem was 'not in purchase but in delivery'. This same situation obtained to the United States, where buying up materials from the War Assets Administration in the period 1945-1948 was fully legal, but export of arms without the approval of the State Department was not. Agronsky stressed that the plan was to

purchase planes and other material, dismantle them, and send them as scrap metal, a type of shipment for which government approval could be sought.

In spite of Agronsky's stress on the importance of secrecy, the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) received information about his visit. Whilst in Sydney, Agronsky was detained and interrogated. He was described as follows:

Name:	Daniel Agronsky
Address Overseas:	49 West 53rd Street, New York, U.S.A.
Occupation:	Journalist
Date of Birth:	10. 1. 1922, New York
Passport issued:	Jerusalem, Palestine, 17/3/49
Height:	5' 11"
Marital Status:	Married
Hair:	Brown
Eyes:	Brown, wears glasses
Race:	Jewish
Length of stay in	Three months
Wife:	H. Agronsky, at present, Hotel San Giorgio, Rome[38]

Agronsky tried to be as evasive as possible, claiming to be a journalist for two Palestine newspapers, as well as a freelance. When asked whom he knew in Australia, he referred to Dr Shlomo Lowy, but on further pressing stated that he also knew Greg Hanlon, and 'a fat chap named Stan', both of whom he had met in Rome. The ASIO had obviously been monitoring Agronsky's movements but they were unable to find any specific evidence and released him.

Agronsky then moved to Melbourne where he undertook an ambitious program. He purchased 80 planes, retained an engineer to dismantle them and organised storage for them at different rural locations in Victoria, waiting for the government export licence, but in September 1949, he had to return suddenly to Europe because his wife, Hassia, needed to undergo an operation.

In November 1949, the Israeli Security Department, headed by Shaul Avigor, sent a new operator to Australia, Australian-born Cliff Power,[39] who initially sent optimistic reports.[40] However, in the elections of December 1949 the Australian Labor Party was defeated and the new Liberal government, led by Sir Robert Menzies, was less sympathetic to Israel. By early 1950, it became clear that the government would not grant an export permit. This meant that the Israeli operators were left with a large quantity of dismantled military material, dispersed over a wide area in different locations,

such as Laverton in the state of Victoria. They were faced with the possibility of a 'fire sale' of materials and a significant loss of money. Frantic correspondence was sent to the headquarters in Israel, but answers were very slow in arriving. As Power commented, 'due to the lack of specific instructions, our task is proving far from easy'.[41] Non-Jewish creditors who had sold the aeroplanes and engines to Agronsky were demanding payment. Power noted that a total of £50,000 was involved, and that they risked losing £40,000 if immediate action was not taken.

It was even proposed to sell unwanted materials to the Philippines, Korea or Burma. In the end, as Power had predicted, they were unable to ship or resell the materials, and did indeed lose the £40,000. This story of military acquisition and its ultimate failure highlights the difficulties that the *Rekhesh* emissaries faced.[42]

All these activities did not go unobserved by the Australian government. Country Party member Larry Anthony, raised a question on notice in Parliament. He claimed that these arms 'presumably were used to kill British soldiers' and asked if the government had issued permits for this export. Before replying to this question, Dr. Evatt telephoned Freilich to ascertain whether there was any truth to these allegations, but Freilich denied any knowledge of the matter. Evatt asserted that the reports were, 'unauthenticated', and that:

> The Australian Government has never permitted the export of arms to any country, except a country of the British Commonwealth, and then under only stringent conditions. So it can be taken as definite that no such permit as that referred to by the hon. gentleman has been given.[43]

By early 1950, the arms embargo on Israel was officially withdrawn, but Australia still enforced some restrictions on the sale of aeroplane parts to Israel. In April 1950, a request for the export of aircraft spare parts was approved, with the exception of 50 aircraft fuselages and 100 aircraft wings. No reason was given for the refusal to allow export of these parts.[44]

In January 1950, following the failure of the Australian acquisition activities, Avigur and Israel Amir of the Israeli Department of Security decided to send Agronsky together with Hassia to the Philippines. Initially optimistic, on his arrival Agronsky found that his task was not so straightforward. Over the ensuing months, Agronsky encountered enormous difficulties in acquiring and shipping miliary materials to Israel. In the end, he managed to buy up a quantity of bombs and other necessary

materials, and to send a couple of shiploads of materials to Israel via Italy. Thus, he finally experienced some success, in contrast to his clear failure in Australia.

AMBIGUOUS RELATIONSHIPS

This untold story of Israeli efforts to acquire aeroplanes and ammunition in Australia provides a good case study of the tensions in three interlocking sets of relationships–the interstate relationship between Israel and Australia; the intra-governmental relationship between the Public Service and the politicians; and the relationship between the Jewish community and the government. In his study of the relationship between Australia and Israel, Chanan Reich has argued that, since the formation of the State of Israel, the intergovernmental relationship has been an ambiguous one.[45] Reich's analysis focused on diplomatic relations, but issues of intra-governmental relations, and relations between the government and the Jewish community, have not yet been fully explored. The situation in Palestine at the end of the British Mandate, in which the Jewish Yishuv sought to create an independent state and then faced what was believed to be an existential military struggle, created another source of tension between the Australian Public Service and the political leadership, as well as between the Jewish community and the Australian government. Analyzing these tensions adds a further layer to the understanding of this ambiguous relationship.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE

To date the study of the connections between these different sets of relationships has focused on the history of the post-Shoah migration to Australia and the problem of the entry of Nazi criminals. My research has highlighted the tensions between the Public Service and the government. The Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell, supported post war Jewish migration, but anti-Jewish refugee hysteria together with the antisemitic attitudes displayed by the Public Service, led him to introduce a series of discriminatory measures. Yet, when challenged by the Australian Jewish leadership, Calwell denied any discrimination on the basis of race and religion. Similar tensions existed between Evatt and the Public Service. The correspondence within the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO), which to date has not been used for the study of the above-mentioned associations, sheds new light on this tension.

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL SECURITY

The role played by the Department of Internal Security (renamed ASIO in 1949) is a good example of the 'ambiguous relationship' within intergovernmental policy making. While Evatt was working in support of the Jewish state, this department kept all the Zionist organisations and key Zionist leaders under surveillance. During the 1940s, security officers closely monitored the Jewish press, filing weekly assessments (entitled 'translator's report[s]', even though the majority of the Jewish press was written in English). It is clear that security officers believed that Zionism and Communism were linked, and viewed Zionist activities as suspect. For example, a review of an article on page 6 of the Sydney-based *Hebrew Standard* of 11 July 1946 concluded:

> £7000 collected at one Dinner for Jewish education. As this education is under the present circumstances an identification of religion with nationalism there is no doubt that soon even more than now the nationalistic Jews will be the best organised, separated, national minority group in Australia, strongly standing against any assimilation and with the best and most powerful national backing from all overseas.[46]

In a similar vein, a comment on the Melbourne-based *Jewish News* of the same week noted that on page 2 'the "link" between Zionists and Communists is openly avowed'.[47]

Zionist leaders were also closely monitored. It was within the files of two leaders–Max Freilich[48] and Jack Skolnic[49] – that I uncovered information on the efforts to export arms and aeroplanes to Israel. From the 1930s, Australian security officers closely monitored Freilich's movements. His file contains detailed reports about his activities, the various Zionist emissaries who came to Australia, his overseas trips, and even about members of his family.

Zionist leaders in Melbourne were more active than their Sydney counterparts, and Melbourne became the centre of the acquisition activities. Samuel Wynn, also Polish-born, had arrived in Melbourne in 1913, and had become a successful restaurateur and winemaker. Wynn worked with Romanian-born Jack (Isaac) Skolnik, whose mother had fled with his family to Palestine at the turn of the century after his father had been murdered during a pogrom. Skolnik migrated to Australia in the mid-1920s and Wynn employed him to run one of his wine shops. Later, Skolnik became a successful businessman in his own right. Security closely monitored his activities and connections with key Jewish leaders. Although Skolnik

was suspected of being involved with the black market a security officer commented: 'I cannot find anything in the record to show that Skolnik is anything more than a keen and successful Jewish businessman who subordinates everything to business and places great value on "useful contacts"'.[50] A note in the Skolnik file from 1948 indicates that the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) had investigated the bona fides of a company called Tradair Ltd. Skolnik was one of the company's five major shareholders; another was Aaron Patkin, a prominent Zionist leader. Thus, at the same time that Dr. Evatt was working in support of the Jewish state and meeting with Freilich and Wynn, a key government department was seeking to undermine the Australian Zionist movement and its leaders.

THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

After 1945, members of the Department of External Affairs were also more diffident in their support of the newly emerging state of Israel. By August 1947, the Australian representative on UNSCOP, John Hood, had concluded that a Palestinian federation was preferable to partition. In contrast, Evatt strongly supported partition, but he believed that UNSCOP was purely a fact-finding mission and instructed Hood to abstain during the final vote, against Hood's own recommendation to support a unitary state.[51] In 1949, the department recommended that Osmond Charles William Fuhrman be appointed as the first Minister representing Australia in Israel. Fuhrman had a record of pursuing an anti-Jewish immigration policy in Shanghai, his previous posting from 1947-1949. When Jewish leaders objected to his appointment, Evatt insisted that he was the only career diplomat available, a response that indicated the influence of departmental officers.[52]

The split between the Australian political leadership and Public Service over Australia's level of support for Israel, and the determination of External Affairs to prevent the export of armaments and even scrap metal, mitigated against any chance of success for these illegal activities. Agronsky's successful acquisition in the Philippines shows that the control of the Australian bureaucracy was much more effective than political clout in terms of disabling arms export, especially compared with the American bureaucracy in the Philippines, where corruption was prevalent. Thus, the expressed hope of the Australian Zionists that Evatt would turn a blind eye did not materialise. Israel's efforts to acquire arms and aeroplanes in Australia through Agronsky's endeavours and other clandestine activities complicated the relationship between the Australian government and Jewish activists. It is important to remember that

these activities were kept secret from the Jewish public, who had no idea of what was happening. It is possible to hypothesise that many Australian Jews would have opposed these activities.

The files of the Security Department and the actions of some members of External Affairs illustrate the problematic relationship between Australian Jewry and the Commonwealth Government. The bureaucracy suspected the Jewish leadership of dual loyalties; support of Israel was regarded as a threat to Australia's national security. Zionist Israel was suspected of affiliation with Communism, and Australian Jews who supported Israel were suspected as potential security risks. Politicians such as Evatt and others, who did not share these suspicions, sympathised with the Zionist goals of the Jewish community, especially following the *Shoah*. Therefore, the Australian government's attitude to the Jewish community was an ambiguous one, similar to the attitudes that persisted in other western countries such as the United States.[53]

CONCLUSION

The efforts to bring aeroplanes and arms from Australia were of little significance and the Australian project proved to be an expensive failure. This was by no means a unique story. Major failures and substantial financial losses were an integral part of the history of Rekhesh. As Ilan stated, the history of Rekhesh 'is littered with failed projects for which no one claimed responsibility'.[54] A major part of the problem was the poor communication and lack of co-ordination within the Rekhesh. The Australian story demonstrated 'the limitations and difficulties of the efforts to acquire the coveted aeroplanes; and particularly, the lack of harmony between the headquarters of the Israeli Air Force and the centre of activity in Italy'.[55] This lack of coordination, an ongoing problem for the Haganah/IDF operatives, is evidenced by the frustration expressed in the confidential correspondence between the Israeli operatives in Australia and their colleagues at headquarters.[56]

The position of the Australian government and Public Service was another major obstacle to success. Despite Evatt's commitment to partition, he publicly supported the embargo—and any possibility that the government would 'turn a blind eye' was frustrated by the attitude of the Public Service. Sixty years on, it is difficult to explain why Evatt supported the embargo. It was not that he was afraid to oppose positions taken by either Britain or the United States; he was prepared to oppose both Attlee and the American proposal for a trusteeship in early 1948. He may have believed that the embargo would assist the peace process or he may have been trying to balance

his political position with the position of the Public Service.

The reasons for the dichotomy between the stances of Evatt and the Public Service are more easily explained. Much has been written on the reasons for Evatt's pro-Zionist position; the debate has focused on whether this resulted from his strong commitment to humanitarian principles and to the United Nations, or from reasons of political expediency. Australian Jews, particularly the Jews of Melbourne, were strongly pro-Labor, and their fundraising for the Labor Party may have influenced Evatt's policy. Freilich first met Evatt, then the treasurer of the Labor Party, after raising funds for the ALP in 1944. A number of Americans also influenced Evatt to become pro-Zionist, including the left-wing American publicist and campaigner for women's rights, Freda Kirchwey; Sumner Welles, a former Undersecretary of State who became a commentator on foreign affairs after his resignation in 1943; and the jurist, Felix Frankfurter.[57] On the other hand, 'among his official advisers, there appears no Zionist champion'.[58] The policy of the Public Service reflected the more conservative position evidenced in Australia's Liberal Party, which was very strongly pro-British, and the influence of the British Foreign Service, which supported the Arab position largely due to oil exports. Their views were probably also coloured by the terrorism of the Irgun and Lehi, whose attacks on the British alienated many Australians from Zionism. Menachem Begin was prohibited from entering Australia in the 1950s because he was classified as a terrorist.

The tensions relating to the issue of competing loyalties had the potential to undermine the good relationship between Australian Jewry and the state, but the signing of the armistice in January 1950 mitigated this potential, so that the efforts to acquire arms illegally had no long-term political effects. This was also because of the high level of secrecy relating to the whole episode. Whilst ASIO suspected that Agronsky, Freilich, Skolnik, and others were involved in secret arms deals, they were not able to find sufficient evidence to initiate legal action. In contrast in the United States, actual prosecutions did take place and a number of the operatives involved with arms smuggling were sentenced and imprisoned. Thus, these events were quickly forgotten and it is only thanks to the intelligence-gathering diligence of ASIO, together with documents in the IDF Archives, that it has been possible to provide a fuller picture of this episode in Israel's nascent period.

This story also sheds light on Israel/Diaspora relations during the formative years of the creation of the state. Previous studies have tended to underplay the importance of the part played by Diaspora communities in Israel's victory in 1948-1949. Israel's military success

resulted from a joint and determined effort across the Jewish world that involved even distant Australia. This story of the secret arms acquisition effort can be paralleled with narratives of other 'diasporic' communities, such as the Irish and the IRA (Irish Republican Army) in the USA. It also illustrates the lengths to which the fledgling state of Israel was prepared to go to ensure its survival, as well as the depth of commitment of the Australian Zionist leadership, despite the risks of prosecution.

ENDNOTES

1. Supported as well by the oral history testimony of some of the Australian Zionists involved in the story, as well as that of Amos Agron (Agronsky), son of Daniel (Danny) Agronsky.
2. Leon Slater, *The Pledge* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970), 42-77.
3. Brian Cull and Shlomo Aloni with David Nicolle, *Spitfires Over Israel* (London: Grub Street, 1994.), 81; and Henry Katzew, *South Africa's 800. The Story of South African Volunteers in Israel's War of Independence* (Ra'anana: South African Zionist Federation, 2003).
4. Cull et al, *Spitfires*, 81.
5. Ibid, 20, 70, 99, and 127.
6. Munya M. Mardor, *Strictly Illegal* (trans. H. A. G. Schmuckler; London: Robert Hale, 1957), 192-93.
7. Slater, *Pledge*, 320.
8. Kylie Tennant, *Evatt: Politics and Justice* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1970), 219.
9. Suzanne D. Rutland, '1948 and the Creation of the State of Israel: A Watershed Period for Australian Zionism', *Australian Journal of Jewish Studies* 18 (2004), pp. 97-124.
10. Howard Adelman, 'Australia and the Birth of Israel: Midwife or Abortionist', *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 38/3 (1992), pp. 354-74.
11. Daniel Mandel, *H. Evatt and the Establishment of Israel: The Undercover Zionist* (London: Frank Cass, 2004), 273
12. Abram Landa represented the seat of Bondi in the NSW Legislative Assembly from 1931-1933 and from 1945-1965, when he was appointed Agent-General representing NSW in Britain. Sydney Einfeld was elected to the federal Parliament 1962-1964, and then to the seat of Bondi 1965-1979.
13. Slater, *Pledge*, 132.
14. Chanan Reich, *Australia and Israel: An Ambiguous Relationship* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002), p.28.
15. Max Freilich, *Zion in our Time* (Sydney: Morgan Publications, 1967), pp. 203-5.
16. Interviews with Theodore Freilich, Sydney, 1994; Herbert Freilich, Sydney, 6 January 2003; and Diana Freilich, Sydney, 24 June 2005.
17. Reich, *Ambiguous Relationship*, p.28.
18. Avi Cohen, *The History of the Air Force in the War for Independence* (3 vols.; Tel-Aviv: Misrad ha-Bitachon, 2004 [Hebrew]).
19. Interview with Amos Agron, Jerusalem, 21 July 2004.

20. Interview Dr Herbert Freilech, Sydney, 16 January 2003.
21. Cohen, *History of the Air Force*, 2, pp.489-90.
22. Slater, *Pledge*, p.205.
23. Stanley Roe Vaux Godden was another non-Jewish ex-RAAF pilot who helped to fly these planes to Israel. Interview with A. J. Hurst, 10 August 1949, in 'Israel–Relations with Australia–Defence', Correspondence Files, Department of Ext. Affairs, CRS A1838, item 175/10/04, Part 1, National Australian Archives (NAA), Canberra.
24. Interview with A. J. Hurst, 10 August 1949, in 'Israel–Relations with Australia–Defence'.
25. Report by R. Williams, Deputy Director, Commonwealth Investigation Section, 12 May 1949, 'Freilich, Max Melech', Department of Internal Security, CRS A6126 (A6126/XMI), item 79, NAA, Canberra, p.88.
26. Report by R. Williams, 12 May 1949, 'Freilich, Max Melech', Ibid.
27. Yaacov Markovitzky, with Zipporah Porath, Eddy Kaplansky and Joe Woolf *Machal: Overseas Volunteers in Israel's War of Independence* (English ed.; Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: World Machal, 2003),9. 28. Interview with A. J. Hurst, 10 August 1949, 'Israel–Relations with Australia–Defence', Correspondence Files, Department of Ext. Affairs, File No. CRS A1838, item 175/10/04, Part I, NAA, Canberra.
29. There were 3,500 volunteers in Machal from 43 foreign countries. Of these, 1,100 were from the United States, 880 from South Africa, and 232 from Canada. The Israel Air Force was made up of 70% Machal volunteers, with an even higher percentage serving as actual pilots, and the language used was English. Markovitzky, *Machal*, p.15; and interview with David 'Migdal' Teperson, Israel, July 2004.
30. Amitzur Ilan, *The Origin of the Arab-Israeli Arms Race: Arms Embargo, Military Power and Decision in the 1948 Palestine War* (New York: New York University Press. 1996), p.60.
31. Reich, *Ambiguous Relationship*, p.28.
32. Nathan Slutzkin to Joseph [surname not included], 10 September 1948, File No 121/50/181, IDF Archive, Israel.
33. Interview with Shmuel Rosenkranz, Melbourne, 18 June 2004. These training groups were carried out with the assistance of Ehud Lederberger, the Habonim *shaliach* (emissary), Nathan Slutzikin. and Eliyahu Sardovsky. sent out from Tel Aviv for this purpose.
34. Slater, *Pledge*, p.180.
35. 'Re Manpower Supply from Australia', n.d., File No 580/56/225, IDF Archives, Israel.
36. Interviews with Theodore Freilich, Sydney, 1994; and Diana Freilich, Sydney, 24 June 2005.
37. Agronsky to Eleazar [surname not included], 10 August 1949, File No 632/56/16, June-September 1949, IDF Archive, Israel.
38. Report by R. Williams, 12 May 1949, 'Freilich. Max Melech', p.87.
39. Z. Dinstein, Hotel Belman. Paris, to Danny Agronsky, 10 July 1949, IDF Archives, Israel. Power had previously been stationed in Rome. Dinstein described him as 'the boy from Australia'.
40. Cliff Power to Aaron Hyman, Benjamin, Israel Amir, Danny [Agronskyl and Eliezer. 23 November 1949, 28/60/78, IDF Archive, Israel.
41. Cliff Power to Gabby and Zvi [Dinstein], 23 November 1949, 28/60/78, IDF Archive, Israel. Similar sentiments were expressed by Power in a 'Report of Activities to Date (No.3)', 20 December 1949, to Aaron Hyman,

Benjamin, Danny [Agronsky], Israel Amir and Eliezer, File No 632/56/116, IDI Archive, Israel.

42. 'Re Manpower Supply From Australia'.
43. Extract from *Hansard*, 4 October 1949. in 'Israel–Relations with Australia–Defence', Department of External Affairs, CRS A1838/T184, item 175.10.4, Part 1, NAA, Canberra.
44. Memo, 19 April 1950, from Department of Trade & Customs, in 'Israel–Relations with–Australia–Defence', Department of External Affairs, CRS A1838/T184, item 175/10/4, Part 1, NAA, Canberra.
45. Reich, *Ambiguous Relationship*.
46. Translator's report *Hebrew Standard* (11 July 1946), Department of Internal Security, CRS 6162 (A6162/XRI), item 35, NAA, Canberra.
47. Translator's report, *Jewish News* (12 July 1946): Department of Internal Security, CRS 6162 (A6162/XRI), item 35, NAA, Canberra 213.
48. Report by R. Williams, 12 May 1949, 'Freilich, Max Melech'.
49. 'Skolnik, Jack', Department of Internal Security, CRS A6119 (A6119/2), item 252, NAA, Canberra.
50. Security Minutes. 30 July 1954, 'Skolnik, Jack', Department of 1nternal Security. CRS A6119 (A611912), item 252. NAA. Canberra.
51. Reich, *Ambiguous Relationship*, p.22.
52. Rodney Gouttman, 'The Two Faces of Fuhrman', *Menora* 4/l & 2 (1990): 66-77: and Suzanne D. Rutland '"Buying Out of the Matter": Australia's Role in Restitution for Templer Property in Israel', *Journal of Israeli History*, 24/1 (March 2005): 135-54, pp. 141-44.
53. Ilan, *The Origin of the Arab-Israeli Arms Race*, p.219.
54. Ibid., p.66.
55. Cohen, *History of the Air Force*, vol. 2, p.492.
56. Ibid, p.493.
57. Mandel, *Evatt*, pp.60-63.
58. Ibid., p.63.

BOOK REVIEWS

TRUE BLUE JEWS

By Louise Rosenberg, OAM.[*]
Sydney Jewish Museum, 2011. 293pp.

This is another fascinating *pot pourri* from Louise Rosenberg and again exhibits her brilliant command of language and her wonderful storytelling style. There are lists of family generations and even recipes among the historical details.

Mrs Rosenberg has said that she writes to encourage an interest in Australian Jewish history and the Australian Jewish Historical Society. In many stories she also emphasises her strong beliefs and pride in her religion. She has dedicated this book to her late husband and cousin, Moshe Rosenberg and has acknowledged many family and friends for assistance and encouragement. The material in the book has been taken from a number of papers Louise has written over the years and from family research she has done. The variations in style and topic reflect this. Occasionally some more recent events have overtaken information provided. One such is the permanent loan of the finial from the Maitland Synagogue to the Sydney Jewish Museum.

Her chapters cover aspects of Australian Jewish history in past centuries as well as more contemporary stories and family tales from Israel and Australia. Her first chapter on the Adult Jewish Study and Discussion Group which ran for over a 20-year period in the mid-twentieth century recalls a time where scholarship was not just the preserve of formal university teaching. Louise has also produced an untitled book containing a number of essays from the members of this amazing group. It should be mentioned, in regard to the second chapter referring to farming, that Marcelle Marks did research on Australian Jews on the Land for the 1980 Beth Hatefutsoth – the Diaspora Museum, Israel – project. The interesting ceremony mentioned in chapter 14 using corn, wine and oil in Toowoomba synagogue's foundation stone laying ceremony in 1875 is attributed

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[*]   Louise is Honorary Historian of the AJHS Inc and a Fellow of the Society

by Louise to Biblical practice and Masonic creed. A recent celebration in Broken Hill re-enacted the same ceremony originally performed in 1901 at that location. Masons were also present in the 1840s at the inauguration of the Launceston synagogue.

In chapter 10 we get an excellent explanation of the attempt to settle Jews on the Roper River while Chapter 11 tells us about Rabbi E.M. Levy, a lesser-known member of the ministry who served at the Great Synagogue from 1935-1938. Chapter 3 includes contemporary Jewish musicians but does not mention the Sydney Musical Society, which met at the Maccabean Hall, and the well-known cantors and rabbis such as Louis Shifreen and Rabbi Francis Lyon Cohen as well as composers such as Barrie Kosky, although these stories appear elsewhere.

True Blue Jews has been published by the Sydney Jewish Museum as part of its Community Stories series. While it is well edited with interesting illustrations, I would have loved one of the 'cabbage baby' described in Chapter 21. Unfortunately it lacks an index and the usual header on the right hand pages repeats the book title instead of identifying the chapter title. There are a few errors which do need to be noted. One is the caption on page 253 where obviously the rabbi in the photograph is Rabbi Apple; on page 42 the reference to Gerald Krup should, I believe, be Krug; on page 44 the correct spelling is Larry Sitsky; note 45 on page 241 - the man who cut the ribbon at the opening of the Sydney Harbour Bridge was Francis De Groot – he was not the leader of the League of Rights but a member of the New Guard led at the time by Eric Campbell; page 38 has a reference to the Sali Mendelsohn's song *The Ladies of Brisbane* being sung to *Champagne Charlie*. The old music hall song has an entirely different tune. *Brisbane Ladies* is known to be based on a tune called *Spanish Ladies*.

Footnotes explain terms that may be unfamiliar to some readers. While most references are in the text, there are occasional quotations without sources. One long excerpt on pages 282-4 'Reply of a Jewish Politician in America to an Anti-Semite Opponent in the Late Nineteenth Century' has no provenance or signature whereas the prior quotation of Josephus's *Reply to Apion* is fully referenced.

As with Louise's previous book, *Of Folktales and Jewish Folk in Australian History*, this one can be read cover to cover or dipped into for some fascinating tit bits. At 97 years young, she has an amazing mind and seemingly endless energy. *Kol ha kavod!*

Helen Bersten

OBITUARIES

TRIBUTE TO PROFESSOR SOL ENCEL FOR THE PLENUM OF THE NSW JEWISH BOARD OF DEPUTIES: 17 AUGUST 2010

It is with great sadness that the NSW Jewish Board of Deputies marks the passing of Emeritus Professor Sol Encel on Friday 23 July. We wish tonight to pay tribute to him as a distinguished university educator and researcher, an esteemed contributor to ideas and knowledge and public policy in the Australian community and the Jewish community, and a wonderful committed family man, friend and colleague. It should be emphasised that Sol Encel made these contributions over six decades since his graduation as a political scientist from the University of Melbourne, from which time he was a teacher, researcher, writer and collaborator on many significant projects and public policy bodies until the day before he died. He truly lived the maxim of never giving up his intellectual work and writing, never giving up teaching and learning, or his contributions to the well-being of the community, or on his deep-seated policy commitments to human rights and anti-discrimination. He is an inspiration to us all on living a full, good, committed life with his family and wide circle of friends, and in the wider community and the Jewish community.

Sol Encel was born on 3 March 1925 in Warsaw, Poland and immigrated to Melbourne with his parents Godel and Hadassah and his older sister Stella when he was four years old. Sol's parents ensured that Sol received an excellent education including in Hebrew and Yiddish. At the age of 18 Sol entered Melbourne University as a science student. As this was in the middle of World War II, Sol felt it was important to contribute to the war effort, and as a peace—loving man, it suited him to become a medical orderly. He served on Morati in the Pacific where was eventually promoted to the rank of 'Leading Aircraftman'. On his return to the university, Sol moved from the study of science to the study of the humanities and social sciences, focussing on political science, because he considered these subjects to be for him of greater interest and importance.

From a young age Sol was committed to Zionism and the formation of the State of Israel through the Zionist Youth Movement, and it was through this connection that he met his wife of 61 years, Diana Hovev. They spent the first year of their married life on a kibbutz in the newly independent State of Israel, and Sol retained his commitment to Israel

throughout his life. Sol and Diana returned to Australia and had four children, Vivien, Deborah, Daniel and Sarah, creating a warm, close family life, in which Sol was a committed and loving husband and father.

Following the completion and publication of his PhD, a pioneering study of Cabinet Government in Australia, Sol taught and carried out research at three Universities: Melbourne University, The Australian National University and the University of NSW, first as a political scientist, but from his appointment to the Chair of Sociology at the University of NSW in 1966, he soon became known as the father of Australian Sociology. Following his retirement from the School of Sociology in 1991 at the age of 66 Sol, without missing a beat, became Emeritus Professor at the Social Policy Research Centre at the University of NSW, where he worked on a range of projects, contributing his great knowledge, experience and research skills and engaging productively with key public policy issues. He remained in this position until he passed away, still an active member of several important projects.

Sol Encel was a pioneer in the study of Sociology in Australia. He was a distinguished educator and researcher, mentor to countless students and colleagues, whose Honours and PhD research he supervised, and with whom he worked on many significant research projects. His influence on several generations of sociology scholars was profound, and I count myself blessed and privileged to have been an undergraduate, honours and PhD student under his supervision from 1968, and then as a lecturer in the School of Sociology where Sol was a guiding inspiration. His teaching and research strengths included European social theory; social class and inequality; power and political institutions in modern states; population ageing and its social implications especially for service provision; policies to address age discrimination in the workplace, particularly with respect to the difficulties faced by mature-age job seekers; science policy; the status of women and how to achieve equality; ethnicity and multiculturalism and how to overcome discrimination; and the relationship between government and the non-government welfare sector. Sol Encel's sociological enterprise always engaged with matters of policy shaped by his concern for human and social rights, for the eradication of discrimination on the basis of gender, age, and ethnicity - issues which reflect his values as a researcher, educator and his public policy activities. He was elected Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia in 1968.

Sol also sat on numerous public policy bodies: on ageing policy and retirement, age discrimination, science policy, multicultural issues, education, employment and unemployment policy, social justice and human rights. He was still working actively on the NSW Ministerial Advisory Committee on Ageing until the day before he died, and was a

key advisor on research and policy for the NSW Council on the Ageing, the Australian Human Rights Commission and the Jewish Centre on Ageing, of which he was one of the founders. His influence on research and education, both in universities and life-long community education through the University of the Third Age, and his influence on public policy in Australia was profound and highly distinguished. He was often called upon in the media for his expert, learned views on a range of social and political issues, often on ABC Radio National. As a tribute to Sol, the Science Show presented on 14 August a replay of his broadcast celebrating the Soviet nuclear physicist, dissident and human rights activist, Andrei Sakharov. Sol's knowledge was encyclopaedic, and his willingness to disseminate and share his knowledge unsurpassed.

Sol was actively involved in research and publication relating to the Jewish community and Jewish affairs since 1969, when he directed a large survey of the NSW Jewish community, which was updated in 1978. From 1976 he undertook analyses of the Commonwealth Population Census on behalf of the Jewish Communal Appeal. The results were very important for planning and for the work of Jewish welfare and education bodies, providing them with essential demographic information about the community.

In 2004 Sol and Associate Professor Suzanne Rutland of the University of Sydney were awarded an ARC Linkage Grant with the ECAJ, NSW Jewish Board of Deputies, and JCCV as the linkage partners to investigate 'The Political Sociology of Australian Jewry'. Sol and Suzanne conducted focus group discussions with community leaders in all the Jewish centres and published a number of articles in journals and books dealing with women, the smaller communities, and the issues of racism and multiculturalism. Sol was also a Deputy on the NSW Jewish Board of Deputies and active on the Board's Social Justice Committee, engaging in particular with issues of poverty and ageing in our community. He was a giant figure of influence and held in high esteem in the Jewish Community, on the Board of Deputies, the JCA, the Jewish Centre on the Ageing, among many other organisations which benefited greatly from his research, knowledge and unstinting contributions.

His wisdom, knowledge, experience and generosity of spirit will be sorely and greatly missed by all those who knew him, his friends and colleagues, those who worked and studied with him, learnt from him and were inspired by him. We send our deep condolences to his wife Diana and their family.

Bettina Cass
Professor at the Social Policy Research Centre
University of NSW
Chair of the Social Justice Committee
NSW Jewish Board of Deputies

PROFESSOR ALAN CROWN, A.M. 1932–2010

Alan Crown was one of Australian Jewry's greatest intellectuals. He made contributions to Australian Jewish historiography, notably by means of extended monographs on Australian Zionism and the Jewish press, but his main fields of scholarly attainment lay elsewhere. Born and educated in Leeds, he served in the British army and had a stint as a schoolmaster in Britain and Australia, but once he joined the Semitic Studies department at Sydney University in 1962 he developed a reputation as a Hebraist and Bible scholar and in time became a world authority on Samaritan Studies and the Dead Sea Scrolls.

He might not have liked the comparison, but his Samaritan researches and writings could have earned him the encomium of the Book of Job (29:11),

> Unto me men gave ear, and waited,
> And kept silence for my counsel;
> After my words they spake not again.

Alan's judgment was sound, but he was no dictator. He appreciated the contributions and views of others, and indeed his encouragement of budding scholars was legendary.

His Dead Sea Scrolls work was partly academic, partly administrative. The Oxford Centre for Post-Graduate Hebrew and Jewish Studies, where he spent long periods of time including holding the acting presidency, knew that with him in charge of the Scrolls publication project there would be progress without constant inordinate delays.

As a teacher, professor and thesis supervisor he was admired and loved. A polymath whose knowledge ranged far afield, a communicator almost without peer, a concerned and generous mentor, he was to so many students the embodiment of the long running *Reader's Digest* series, 'My most unforgettable teacher'. Students learned to live with his coffee drinking and his quirky sense of humour; he could argue with a straight face for preposterous assertions such as 'Biblical Israelites were all redheads' and 'Lemuel in the Book of Proverbs was the origin of the *shlemiel*'.

To me personally he was a wonderful colleague and department head. I taught in the department for over thirty years and felt flattered when he would sometimes say, 'I will be away next week – will you take my classes for me?' It all meant much more work, but I could get my own back every now and then when he would substitute in my own classes, though I suspect it was child's play to him whatever the subject.

Mandelbaum House at Sydney University was his idea. The

benefactor, Rachel Lipton, was an early woman graduate who left most of her considerable estate to trustees, who included me as well as Alan, charging them to create a college in memory of her parents. It was amazing how Alan relished the role of dealing with architects, builders and local councils, and how he grasped the financial aspects of building up the estate and then expending the funds wisely. Once the college was open, he was there every day. He and I were joint Masters, though after I retired to Israel he did most of the work. He created Mandelbaum Publishing and knew every publication almost by heart.

He also initiated the establishment of the Archive of Australian Judaica at Fisher Library and appointed Sister Dr Marianne Dacy as the archivist. Her position continues to be supported by Mandelbaum Trust to the present day. Marianne has built a unique documentary collection relating to the history of Australian Jewry, which has been central to research on the community. She also completed her doctorate under Alan's supervision on the separation of Judaism and Christianity.

He continued to research, write, advise, administer and encourage almost to his last day. Everyone who knew him was his friend. He and Sadie were a loving team and they enjoyed giving and receiving hospitality. Physically a short man, he was a giant in intellectual and personal stature. It is unbelievable that he has gone.

Raymond Apple

PRESIDENT'S REPORT 2010

At the Annual General Meeting in 2009 held on 22 November our speaker was Professor Konrad Kwiet. He talked about the *SS Dunera* and the problems faced by the German Jewish deportees on that ship after their arrival in Australia on 6 September 1940, with particular reference to Dr Kurt Epstein, whose diary he was preparing for publication. Professor Kwiet spoke of the dissatisfaction of the *Dunera* men with their treatment by the Australian Jewish Welfare Society. During discussion after the talk, whilst there was some criticism of the Welfare Society a number of members pointed out that generally it had been of great assistance to the new arrivals at the time.

Our first meeting in 2010 was on February 8. This commenced with the launch of the first part of Rabbi Apple's memoirs - *TO BE CONTINUED....* - a book about his life, activities and opinions, but not intended to be an autobiography. The book was launched by his friend and colleague on the Board of Trustees of Mandelbaum House, Emeritus Professor Alan Crown, AM. Following the book launch Rabbi Apple gave a most interesting talk entitled 'Northern Territory - the community that never was', that is from the viewpoint of the Australian Jewish community. This was a most intriguing lecture, bringing out a plethora of unknown facts.

Our next meeting was on 21 March when Irene Selecki spoke about 'Jules Francois Archibald, his Jewish connection'. Apparently, Archibald changed his first names to French ones, married a French Jewish woman and sometimes liked to give the impression of being of both Jewish and French origin, though he was neither.

Then on 27 June we had two speakers, Anne and Lisa Miranda Sarzin, mother and daughter, who together had researched and written a book commissioned by the NSW Jewish Board of Deputies *Hand in Hand*, dealing with the relations between Jews and Aborigines. They spoke about the circumstances of their research and of producing their book, and how moving the project had been. They had also brought about forty copies of the book and managed to sell them all. It was a heartwarming and interesting talk.

On 9 August the annual presentation evening of the prizewinning Dr Hans Kimmel essays took place, with a full hall of eager parents, grandparents and staff of Moriah College and members of the Society. Once again this was held in the College's Drama Theatre and, as has happened in recent years, the students

who read also gave audio visual presentations from their essay. Once more I chaired the meeting and judging by the reaction of the audience it was a great success.

The next evening 10 August, the JCA held a communal event to honour the volunteers of each of its constituent organizations with five years or more volunteering service. A capacity audience was in attendance at the Horden Pavilion and Jeannette Tsoulos and Stella Marshall from our Society were among the large number of volunteers honoured. Following the presentations to the volunteers, Ronni Kahn, the founder of OzHarvest, gave a most inspiring address telling of growing up in South Africa, living in Israel and then moving to Australia and of her success in business here which led to her decision to 'put something back into the community'.

The following Sunday 15 August, Gary Luke gave a most fascinating talk on 'Jewish Cemetery Management' and told us of the many cemeteries with Jewish burial sections in New South Wales, though not all in fact contain Jewish burials. The presence of our former committee member and expert in this field, Terry Newman, also enhanced the knowledge we gained.

Once again, in October we participated in the B'nai B'rith Day of Jewish Heritage and Culture. This year it was decided to hold an Open Day at our office with a display of some of our more unusual archives as well as offering many of our publications for sale. Due to the large number of events held on the day, which are spread over a large area, the response to our contribution was very disappointing.

Helen Bersten has indicated her desire to step down as Honorary Archivist after almost thirty-three years. We are fortunate that Sophie Gelski volunteered to take over; she has joined the committee and is assisting Helen, who wishes to retire in the middle of next year. With all Helen's hard work and dedication and the many new initiatives she has introduced we will certainly miss her. Sophie Gelski has recently been awarded a PhD in the field of Jewish Civilisation and we are sure that she will also do very well. She is already planning to create an oral history collection as an additional archive of the Society. The oral history project will focus on interviewing third and fourth generation Australian Jews to record their impressions of growing up and living within the Jewish community of the time.

Our treasurer Russell Stern continues to do a tremendous job in his portfolio and we are fortunate in having someone in that role who is knowledgeable and dedicated, particularly with the extra information requested by our new auditors. Russell has also done a lot of the work required to edit the Dr Hans Kimmel essays, which we are preparing for printing.

Our immediate past president, Professor Suzanne Rutland, continues to edit the Journal with assistance from Helen Bersten, Judy Shapira and Philip Moses. Helen Bersten also this year produced the quarterly newsletter, with assistance from Judy Shapira and Philip Moses.

A sub-committee headed by Russell Stern together with Sarah Vorchheimer, Philip Moses and Gary Luke has worked hard to prepare an updated constitution for the Society, which will be submitted to the members for approval at a Special General Meeting to be held in conjunction with the Annual General Meeting.

As I have done since 1977, I continue to assess the Dr Hans Kimmel Essay Competition leading essays. These are sent to me by the Jewish History staff of Moriah College. In addition, I organise the Presentation Evening and donate the prizes.

Earlier this year our committee member Julius Meyer requested leave of absence. Recently, due to worsening health, he has decided not to seek re-election. We wish him all the best and hope for a speedy recovery.

In the last three months we suffered the loss of three important members of the Society who had played very important roles in the Sydney Jewish community...First, in late July it was Emeritus Professor Sol Encel, who though not the first, was the pioneering professor of Sociology at the University of NSW and made at least two very important studies of the NSW Jewish community. His wife Diana has in recent years prepared several indexes of our Journal.

Then, on 27 October Dr Albert Silver, born in Glasgow, a general practitioner, passed away. He played a major role in the Zionist movement, first as president of the NSW State Zionist Council in the late 1970s, then as president of the Zionist Federation of Australia, then again on the State Zionist Council.

Finally, we lost Emeritus Professor Alan Crown who had established more solidly the study of Hebrew in Sydney and also been Hillel director and in recent years had been joint Master of Mandelbaum House. He died on 2 November. Not only had he been a leading Hebrew scholar, but also a world authority on the Samaritans, their scriptures and their languages.

Sophie Caplan, OAM
President

ERRATA

ERRATA AJHS JOURNAL VOL 19 PART 4 2010

• Inside front cover: One website should read: www.ajhs.info. The other should read: http://www.ajhs.com.au

•Contents p. 1: (a) Wilson should be Wilton.
     (b) Glen should be Glenn.
p. 2: George Sternberg should be Sternfeld

• There are a few typographical errors in the Hebrew text that appeared in the article on the Maitland Jewish cemetery by Janis Wilton due to problems with the Hebrew program used. The most troubling was that the word for a cemetery, *Bet Olam* (*ayin lamed vav mem*), was erroneously spelt with a *tzadi* instead of an *ayin*, so that it reads *Bet Tzelem*. This translates as *House of the Cross*.

• The 2009 Genealogical list was included instead of the 2010 list. This list is included in this edition of the Journal, with the 2011 names added.

• Contributors: Wendy Michael's biography is missing on the contributor's page:
Wendy Michaels, BA, PhD, is a former lecturer in the School of Humanities at the University of Newcastle where her interests were Drama, Children's Literature, Gender and Creative Writing. She is a committee member of the NSW Chapter of Independent Scholars Association of Australia. Her current research is into the writings of Jewish-feminist-Zionist, Ruby Rich.

ERRATA AJHS JOURNAL VOL 20 PART 1 2010, pp.5-21

An Appendix to 'The Skeleton in Isaac Nathan's Cupboard' (*AJHSJ* XX p. 5-21)
Jeremy Pfeffer

Due to an incompatibility between the bilingual computer in Israel on which the article 'The Skeleton in Isaac Nathan's Cupboard' was composed and the computer in Australia to which it was transmitted, the endnotes were missing from the published version. The notes below are intended to elucidate, acknowledge and credit the sources quoted in the article.

The source for much of what is known about Solomon Bennett is:
Barnett, Arthur, 'Solomon Bennett, 1761-1838; Artist, Hebraist and
Controversialist', *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of
England*, 17 (1953) pp.91-111.

An original of Bennett's flyer 'To Solomon!' is held by the library
of the London School of Jewish Studies (formerly Jew's College)
which also possesses more of his original writings.

The Cleves Get was one of the *causes célèbres* of the eighteenth
century which came to involve most of the great scholars of the day.
On 8 Elul, 5526 (14 August 1766), Isaac (Itzik), son of Eliezer
Neiberg of Mannheim, married Leah, daughter of Jacob
Guenzhausen of Bonn. On the Sabbath following the wedding the
bridegroom took 94 gold crowns of the dowry and disappeared. After
an extensive search he was found two days later in the house of a
non-Jew in the village of Farenheim and brought home. Shortly
afterwards, Isaac informed his wife's family that he could no longer
stay in Germany because he was in grave danger there, and that he
had to emigrate to England. He declared his willingness to give his
wife a divorce in order to prevent her from becoming an *Agunah*. His
offer was accepted, and Cleves on the German-Dutch border was
selected as the place for the *Get* to be given. On 22 Elul, the *Bet Din*
of Cleves, effected the divorce and Leah returned to Mannheim whilst
Isaac proceeded to England. When his father learned of the divorce,
he suspected that the whole affair had been contrived by the wife's
relatives to extort money from Isaac and moved to have the *Get*
invalidated.

He appealed to the rabbis of Mannheim and Frankfurt-am-Main
to disqualify the *Get*, claiming his son was insane and therefore
halachically unable to divorce. The rabbis of Frankfurt and
Mannheim soon issued a long and elaborately explained decision
disqualifying the *Get* and consequently defining Leah as still
married. Her family appealed to other leading rabbinical authorities
and the controversy echoed throughout the halachic community to
the point where every prominent expert in Europe had voiced his
opinion.

So many rabbis expressed their opinions that several years later,
when the Frankfurt congregation was seeking to appoint a new chief
rabbi, the leaders of the community were only willing to consider one
who did not disagree with his predecessors and they only found three
suitable candidates. The Frankfurt rabbis were the sole ones to still
insist that the husband had been insane and so the *Get* was invalid,
whereas all the others allowed Leah to remarry. Notwithstanding,
the couple finally remarried, though in deference to the opinion of
those who had invalidated the *Get*, no blessings were pronounced at

the ceremony. Instead the groom said that "with this ring you are still married to me."

An original of Solomon Bennett's Hebrew flyer headed (in translation) 'A Copy of a Letter of Censure and Apology' is held by the Israel National Library, Jerusalem (Item R75A434).

The two biographies of Isaac Nathan are:

Phillips, Olga Somech, *Isaac Nathan – Friend of Byron* (Minerva Publishing Co., London, 1940).

Mackerras, Catherine, *The Hebrew Melodist – A Life of Isaac Nathan* (Currawong Publishing Co. Sydney,

GENEALOGICAL ENQUIRIES 2010

This list represents enquiries made to the AJHS until April 2011, where we were not able to supply information. If you did not initiate the enquiry but would like to add information, please write to our genealogist at 385 Abercrombie Street, Darlington, NSW, 2008.

DEUTSCH, Friedrich, b.1909, arrived from Austria 1938, married Gisela Rosenstrauch, 1939. Lived Roslyn Gardens, Elizabeth Bay. Any information sought.

FIENBERG, Leman and Maurice arrived from UK around 1880. Harold and Violet, children of Leman, made Jewish marriages. Violet's daughter married a Mr Barnett. Seeking living descendants of the family.

FINK, Anton. Parents John and Mary, married Mary Elizabeth Egert 1882, lived Woollahra. Children: Max, Reginald, Eugene, Mabel, Myra, Francis. Seeking Jewish connections.

FRANK, Hilda and Charlotte arrived from Manchester with mother Kate and siblings in 1913. Living in Rose Bay in 1949. Information sought on their later whereabouts.

FRANK, Isaac, father of above, husband of Kate. Seeking information on his death. Not Isaak Frank.

LENTZ, George, arrived as convict 1815. His father in London made harps. Any information sought on this.

GENEALOGICAL ENQUERIES 2011

EISEN, Jules. Born Galicia, 1872, arrived 1895. Married Annie Yaffa. Information sought on how he made his fortune.

FREIDMAN family. Any connection with Broken Hill sought.

ISAACS family. Seeking information and any photos of Phoebe Isaacs who married Levy Vandenberg, Sarah Isaacs married de Groen, Kate Isaacs married Collins. Father of these women Judah Leon Isaacs.

KLITERNIK, Szymon. Came to Australia on the Oronsay as one of a group of Polish refugees on May 28, 1939. Went to Kuitpo Colony in South Australia but came back to Victoria and lived on North Carlton. He joined the Army in 1943 and was killed in New Guinea in 1945. Information sought about his life in Carlton.

HENNENBERGER, Alfons. Arrived from Germany 1955, converted

to Judaism in 1960s, changed name to Abraham ben Yehuda. Being sought.

LEVY, Daniel. Seeking family details.

NAZER, Reva. Arrived from Shanghai in 1949. Any information sought.

YAFFA, Sarbse. Father-in-law of Jules Eisen. Seeking information on whether he had a store in Buladelah or Karuah between 1887 and 1903.

NEW MEMBERS, 2010-2011

The following became members during the year:

Albert & Dinah Danon
Roger Davis
Geraldine Jones
Michael & Judith Lewis
Goodman Marks
Esther & Terence Morrish
David & Judy Solomon
Rina Solomon
P(eter) & N Strasser
Paul Vertes

CONTRIBUTORS

Raymond Apple, AO RFD, BA, LLB (Melb), MLitt (UNE), Hon LLD (UNSW), FJC (London School of Jewish Studies), Hon.D.Univ. (ACU) is patron and past president of the Australian Jewish Historical Society. He was senior rabbi of the Great Synagogue, Sydney, for 32 years and was also judge/registrar of the Sydney Beth Din, senior rabbi to the Australian Defence Force and a lecturer at Sydney and NSW Universities. He has written widely on Australian Jewish history.

Helen Bersten, OAM, BA, Dip Lib, a member of the AJHS Committee and its honorary archivist since 1979. In May 2011 she is retiring after almost 33 years of dedicated service to the Society as honorary archivist and, in recent years, office manager. She has also written articles for the journal and has represented the Society at the Royal Australian Historical Society.

Sophie Caplan, OAM, 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 prewar 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.

Les Hetherington, MA, B.Litt, is a retired public servant. His interests include Australian involvement in the South African and First World wars and Australian military, regional and local history from the gold rushes to the Second World War. He is the author of articles published in the *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, *Wartime*, *Sabretache* (the journal of the Australian Military History Society), the *Canberra and District Historical Society Journal*, the *Newsletter of the Wagga Wagga and District Historical Society* and *Murrumbidgee Ancestor*, the journal of the Wagga Wagga and District Family History Society.

Jennifer McNaughton, BA, Dip Ed, was born in Melbourne as Jenny Lazarus and has been a teacher at both secondary and tertiary level. Her parents were engaged in working for justice and rehabilitation of Jewish refugees in the 1940s, her father working with the Council

for Civil Liberties. In recent years, Jenny has worked for Courage to Care and speaks out whenever possible against antisemitism and anti-Israel propaganda. This paper was written in the 1960s and 1970s by Jenny's aunt, Mary Lazarus, a revered history teacher at MacRobertson Girls High School in Melbourne and later a principal in Geelong.

Suzanne D. Rutland, OAM, MA (Hons) PhD, Dip Ed, is Professor in the Department of Hebrew, Biblical & Jewish Studies at the University of Sydney. Her latest book is *The Jews in Australia*, Cambridge University Press. She has held numerous leadership positions, including being immediate past president of the Australian Jewish Historical Society, Inc, and Sydney *AJHS journal* editor since 1991.

Hilary Silbert, MEd, Dip PE, was a late starter into historical research and drew her inspiration from her desire to highlight the contributions of Edith Dircksey Cowan. She set up the Edith Dircksey Cowan Commemoration in the 1990s and only in the last few years has been captivated by her own family history when asked to write the history of her grandparents' business and present this paper to the Royal Western Australian Historical Society. Hilary has been President of Graduate Women (WA), is a member of the Senate of the University of Western Australia and has been invited to be an entry in *Who's Who of Australian Women* since 2008.

Graeme Skinner, B.Mus Hons (Melb) PhD (University of Sydney), is an independent scholar and musicologist. He is the author of the biography *Peter Sculthorpe: The Making of an Australian Composer* (UNSW Press, 2007), and a doctoral thesis on early colonial Australian musical composition. His current project is a history of Nineteenth Century Australian Music. He has also published articles and book chapters on the ritual music of Toledo Cathedral, Spain, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.